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हस्तलिखित संग्रह

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12th Sept. 1931

MR. GANDHI'S JOURNEY TO LONDON

MARSEILLES RECEPTION

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

MARSEILLES, SEPT. 11

The Rajputana, in which Mr. Gandhi and his party have travelled from Bombay, docked here at 7 o'clock this morning. The crowd waiting on the quay recognized the Mahatma, in his white woollen shawl, with Miss Slade and Mrs. Naidu, in purple and white *saris*, standing on the deck before the steamer berthed, and a few shouts of "Vive Gandhi!" were raised. These the Mahatma acknowledged by crossing his index fingers and raising them three times to his lips.

As soon as the medical formalities had been completed, journalists and photographers were allowed on board. The journalists were told that Mr. Gandhi and his party had enjoyed the voyage, that the P. and O. Company had provided excellent accommodation, that the Mahatma had spent the time on board either talking to the passengers or spinning, that he had prepared his own food of goat's milk and fruit, and had directed the religious observances of the Hindu passengers. Mr. Gandhi said that, if invited to do so, he would certainly visit the King and that his dress would depend on the climate.

At 10.30 Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by Mr. Andrews, Miss Slade, and Mrs. Naidu, landed to attend a reception at the headquarters of the Students' Association. Here, before a large audience of Hindu and European students, Mr. Gandhi talked of the campaign of civil disobedience and its effects on Indian politics. Mr. Gandhi returned to the Rajputana for luncheon, the remainder of the party being entertained at a Hindu restaurant. At 3 p.m. Mr. Gandhi and his party left for Calais.

ARRIVAL OF DELEGATES TO-DAY

Nearly 30 of the delegates from India for the Round-Table Conference are now in this country, and seven more arrivals are expected to-day at Folkestone from the Rajputana. Mr. Gandhi, the representative of the Indian National Congress, has as his associates in the Conference Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, is accompanied by the Begum and their two daughters. They will motor to Foots Cray Place, Sidcup, which he has taken for the autumn. The Rajah of Korea, an Indian Prince new to the work of the Conference, will reach London this evening, as well as Sir Prabashankar Pattani. Another arrival will be Maulana Shaukat Ali, who is taking the place of his brother, the late Maulana Muhammad Ali.

12th Sept. 1931

A Delegate among Delegates

It is not perhaps altogether unfortunate that the resumption of the Indian Round-Table Conference should coincide with an acute political crisis in the country. No doubt the imminence of its meeting caused great additional anxiety during August to the leaders both of the Government and of the Opposition. The former were overwhelmed with other troubles of their own. The latter might at any moment be called upon to take charge of proceedings with which, at least in their later stages, they were necessarily unfamiliar. To some extent these conditions still persist; but in spite of everything there will now be no breach in the continuity of the Indian discussions—the change of Government has enhanced rather than diminished the weight of the British delegation—and it is all to the good that work of this kind, which is essentially preparatory, should no longer occupy the whole centre of the stage.

To say that is not to detract in the smallest degree from the vast importance of the Conference. Nor is it to ignore the principal change that has come over the Indian delegates since they left these shores at the beginning of the year. MR. GANDHI arrived in Europe yesterday as one of them and was greeted at Marseilles with every manifestation of interest and curiosity. The inclusion for the first time of the Congress leader robs the critics of the Round-Table Conference of their chief complaint that the strongest section of Indian politicians had stood aloof from it. There can be no question now that the discussions will be incomparably more representative than heretofore, and that MR. GANDHI'S presence in England, if he will use it to the best advantage of his country, should greatly facilitate a mutual understanding of Indian aspirations and British responsibilities. But meanwhile there is a manifest risk that the great part which MR. GANDHI can play in the Conference may be hampered from the outset by the concentration of public attention on all those little idiosyncrasies of dress and diet and speech (and periodical abstention from speech) with which he has surrounded his position as a popular leader. For his own sake it is essential that these things should be treated with that restraint, whether of exaggeration or of ridicule, which is characteristic of Englishmen at their best in welcoming guests from overseas.

MR. GANDHI is in no sense a plenipotentiary from India. He has failed, to his bitter disappointment, to bring with him any solution of that profound communal controversy which is one of the most obstinate barriers to an Indian settlement; and it says a good deal for his patriotism that he has waived what at one time was to be the condition of his ability to take part in the Conference. He has plainly made great personal efforts during the last few months to carry out the terms of his undertaking to LORD IRWIN; and the fact that these efforts have certainly not been seconded by some of his principal lieutenants is all the more reason why his journey to England should be applauded, for every political leader knows the danger of leaving his extremists behind him at home. MR. GANDHI comes in fact as the representative, not of India as a whole, but of a powerful and widely extended political organization, not easily controlled by any leader, but for the moment owning a deep allegiance to himself. And he comes, be it remembered, to take his share on its behalf in a practical discussion which has already made considerable progress, and not to reopen the problem afresh. The best service that can be rendered to its solution, so far as he himself is concerned, is to regard him as a delegate among delegates—important, inevitably interesting, diverted for the time from a vague idealism to hard constitutional business—and neither as a social lion nor as an object of suspicion. Our own preoccupations should assist in maintaining a proper perspective.

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THE ROUND TABLE

14th Sept 1931

ARRIVAL OF MORE

but immediately we apply those means of truth and non-violence our patriotism and our nationalism become international. We want our freedom so as not to endanger the freedom of any other country or of any single individual. We believe not in the law of "might is right" or "the greatest good to the greatest number," but we believe in the greatest good to all, including the meanest of God's creation. If we in India can attain our ends through these means do you not think it will be well not only for India, but for the whole world? We ask you, therefore, to believe our mission and to work for the fulfilment of that mission as fellow-workers. (Cheers and loud cries of the Indian slogan, "*Bande Mataram*" ("Hail, Motherland").)

The audience stood as Mr. Gandhi left for Kingsley Hall, Bow, where he was received by the Mayor of Poplar.

Yesterday afternoon Mr. Gandhi sent a broadcast message to the United States over the Atlantic telephone.

MR. GANDHI'S BROADCAST TO AMERICA

"THE WORLD SICK OF BLOOD SPILLING"

Mr. Gandhi broadcast a message from Kingsley Hall, Bow, to New York and other stations on the North American Continent last night, in the course of which he said that in his opinion the Indian struggle in its consequences affected not merely India, but the whole world. If India was to revive the glory of her ancient past she could only do so when she attained her freedom.

"We Indians," he said, "feel that the law that governs the brute creation is not the law that should guide the human race. That law is inconsistent with human dignity. I personally would wait, if need be, for ages, rather than seek to attain the freedom of my country through bloody means. I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart, after a political experience extending over an unbroken period of close upon 35 years, that the world is sick unto death of blood spilling. I have therefore no hesitation whatsoever in inviting all the great nations of the earth to give their hearty cooperation to India in her mighty struggle.

"I am painfully conscious of our own weaknesses. We represent in India all the principal religions of the earth and it is a matter of deep humiliation to confess that we are in a house divided against itself, that we Hindus and Musulmans are flying at one another's throats. It is a matter of still deeper humiliation to me that we Hindus regard sections, millions of our own kith and kin as forever degraded for our touch. I refer to the so-called untouchables."

After his broadcast Mr. Gandhi presided at a Christian service at Kingsley Hall. Most of the congregation were men and women from the East End.

STATEMENT BY THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL

The Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, who, as reported in another column, arrived in England on Saturday, made the following statement to *The Times*:—

When I read in India of the change of Government in England I felt sure, from my experience of the attitude of all three British parties at the last Round-Table Conference, that this change of Government did not involve a change of policy towards India. I am glad to find that my anticipations have been confirmed; for, if I rightly read the statements which were made by the Prime Minister and Lord Sankey at the formal meeting of the Federal Structure Committee on August 7, there can be little doubt but that this point has been fully covered; and that India may rest assured of the continuation by Great Britain of that policy which was so largely responsible for the creation of the favourable atmosphere of the last Round-Table Conference.

Regarding the work which lies before the Conference, I do not desire to say much. But it is plain that, quite apart from the far-reaching and important issues which will arise for settlement when the reports of the various sub-committees of the Conference and the official documents prepared for our study are taken into account, there are certain additional problems of extreme importance, such as Federal finance, which fall to be examined at an early date. For my part, I have no doubt that these matters will be taken up, and that an early and satisfactory settlement in regard to them will be reached.

Regarding the prospects of success which lie before the Conference, I feel sanguine that much good work will be done. Judging from the sentiments expressed last year both by his Majesty the King-Emperor in person and by the representatives of the various political parties in England, I feel convinced that if we press on with the work of the Conference during this session in the spirit which proved so successful on the last occasion, we shall not fail in our endeavour to arrive at an honourable understanding which would lead to the establishment of happy and harmonious relations between England and India, and confer upon India herself those greatest of all boons—contentment and peace.

Rulers, the trustees of their subjects. As to the British Indian representatives, there was a widespread feeling at the last sittings that methods of election to the Upper Chamber should be indirect, and

[illegible] L. F. VOGEL.

[illegible] be [illegible] dient servant,

[illegible] for gradual payments.

[illegible] to have included some [illegible]

Mr. [illegible] feel sure that the Chancellor is [illegible] would not alter the estimated yield [illegible] by July 31, 1932. Such a con[illegible]tion by January 31, 1932, and of [illegible]ction of 2 per cent. on payments in [illegible]he Revenue would benefit definitely [illegible] collection to work out finally at four [illegible]st costs involved. Assuming the [illegible]r staffs for repayment by deductions [illegible]e the necessary amounts to permanent [illegible]ere are many firms who would be pre[illegible] prosecutions and distraints.

[illegible]nt over many months will be the only [illegible]ring January, and extension of time for [illegible]e, collect, or borrow enough to pay [illegible] number of weekly wage earners will [illegible]ome payment. Many of these will be [illegible] under the new scale of personal allow[illegible] payable by those in receipt of monthly [illegible]nimum. A substantial amount of the [illegible]e loans of the Government are to be [illegible]lection is necessary if the floating debt [illegible]s due for payment on January 1, 1932, [illegible] original Budget 75 per cent. of the [illegible] payers and to extend their number.

[illegible]eet the nation's pressing liabilities it [illegible], essential to make further heavy calls [illegible] are either produced here already or [illegible] a "luxury" nature as to make their [illegible]undesirable. Furthermore, something [illegible]ne to assist the farmer, and so bring [illegible]ack to the land and make the country [illegible]porting in the essentials of life.

[illegible] somewhat surprising that whisky for [illegible]d still be free of Excise duty. [illegible]n see no reason why the consumer [illegible]pore can get a bottle of Scotch whisky [illegible] half the price that is paid in Great [illegible]ritain has a monopoly in the manufac[illegible] the same applies to the "rum runner" [illegible] whisky, and, I take it, to the con[illegible]Colonies and abroad the price is not [illegible]s, and in consequence the reduction in [illegible] allowances to single persons according [illegible] married persons would not be so out

Yours obediently,

[illegible]ept. 11. L. G. WOOLDRIDGE.

THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

[illegible] only be equitable that there should be a [illegible]se of £4, but the married man with two [illegible] than double the previous tax, but the [illegible], who has not a quarter of the calls on [illegible] a married man, escapes with an increase [illegible]all. An even more unfair example is [illegible]come is £400: the single person will only [illegible]st £50 and £16 respectively.

[illegible]seen, therefore, that the married man has [illegible] earned incomes of £600 will be £73 and [illegible]x to be paid by single and such married [illegible]95. On this basis I calculate that the [illegible]men with, say, two children, is to be [illegible] be reduced by £35, while the allowance [illegible]parently irrespective of amount of [illegible]on, based upon the needs of the [illegible]ing from no duty upon such raw [illegible] may be necessary to industry up to [illegible]prohibitive rates on manufactured [illegible]n assist us is a measure of protective [illegible] be understood, a blanket tariff of [illegible] any assistance to this end; in fact it [illegible] opposite effect. The only thing that [illegible]e adjusted. Direct taxation obviously [illegible]es increasingly smaller, the balance of [illegible] so the income on which such tax is [illegible] that as income-tax becomes increas[illegible]f sufficient to assure the future. Apart [illegible]f so good, but to balance the Budget

THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

[illegible]h quite prepared to accept the new [illegible]ne reasons for which they are imposed, [illegible]ew of the fact that we were told that [illegible] would as nearly as possible be equal, [illegible]lowing anomaly should be rectified. [illegible]ew proposals the allowance to single

[illegible]

H. LESLIE HENDRIKS.

Wilkinson and Co., Limited, New[illegible]

[illegible]den, Surrey, Sept. 11.

THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

[illegible]ntime, those who relieve unemploy[illegible] extent of engaging a whole-time [illegible] manservant are taxed for doing so—[illegible]d.

Yours faithfully,

COMMUNAL ISSUE

There were recent rumours that Moslem members of the Committee might ask for postponement of issues which, like the one discussed above, are bound to affect minorities, pending the renewed efforts to be made in the Minorities Committee, when it meets next month, to compose communal differences. Lord Sankey has recognized that some of the questions before his Committee will raise, at least indirectly, the communal issue; but has expressed the hope that this will not prevent provisional agreement on the answers to be given to them—subject to any reconsideration of views which may be required in the light of decisions the Minorities Committee may take. It is understood that Moslem members will conform to this proposal on the clear understanding that their views are conditional and provisional.

On the assumption that all the Indian States accede to a scheme of Federation at the outset, on what basis is the apportionment of their seats to be made? On the assumption that at the outset some States decline to enter the Federation, on what principle is the voting strength of the constituent States as units of the Federation? Another question to be discussed within the next few days is to what minimum extent must the Upper Chamber should be indirect, and

[illegible] the other hand it has been argued that the question of the determination of the [illegible]tion of methods of election for each of the two Chambers bristles with complications. British Indian politicians strongly desire the introduction of the elective principle in the States, at least for the Lower Chamber. On Kashmir the converse condition prevails. At the former sittings the British Indian members were not disposed to concede "weightage" in the Lower Chamber, and suggested a population basis, which would give the States rather less than a quarter of the seats.

The States have a population of about one-fourth of the people of India. It has been argued on their behalf that they should have half the seats in the Upper House as well as "weightage" in the Lower House; but many objections are urged from British India. The question has a direct bearing on the still unsolved problem of the minorities. While the percentage of Moslems to the total population of British India (excluding Burma) is 25.21, in the Indian States (also excluding Burma) the proportion is only 13.43. Even States known as "Moslem," such as Hyderabad and Bhopal, because their rulers are of that Faith, have a great preponderance of Hindu subjects, though in Kashmir the converse condition prevails. At the former sittings the British Indian members were not disposed to concede "weightage" in the Lower Chamber, and suggested a population basis, which would give the States rather less than a quarter of the seats.

The question of methods of selection for each of the two Chambers bristles with complications. British Indian politicians strongly desire the introduction of the elective principle in the States, at least for the Lower Chamber. On the other hand it has been argued that the question of the determination of the [illegible]tion of methods is for the determination of the

[illegible]cussion with the Princes and representatives of British India. The range of subjects to be committed to it will also require further discussion.

To the many questions thus left open much thought has been given, both officially and in private conferences—by no one more persistently and patiently than by Lord Sankey. It is understood that the Committee will first address itself to the question of the suggested strength and composition of the Federal Legislature, including the proportions in each Chamber to be assigned to the States and to British India respectively. Consideration must also be given to the methods of election to the two Chambers and the relations between them. It is common ground that the States cannot be pressed into Federation against their will, and recent discussions have shown that there is a by no means negligible element in the States which looks upon the scheme so far outlined with doubt, if not indeed with aversion.

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Imperial and Foreign News 15th Sept 1931

OUTLOOK IN INDIA

VICEROY'S SPEECH

SIMLA, Sept. 14.—The Viceroy, in his address to the joint sitting of the Legislature to-day, said:—

As a preliminary to my general remarks, I wish at once to refer to the tragic death of Sir Steuart Pears, Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, which occurred at Nathia Gali on September 9. In him the Government of India have lost an officer of wide experience, sound judgment, and immense knowledge of the Frontier whose services could ill be spared at the present juncture. I wish to pay this brief tribute to his memory and to tender to Lady Pears an expression of my deep and sincere sympathy, with which I am sure you all desire to be associated.

Early in the New Year representatives of the Government of India will meet representatives of the Government of the Union of South Africa to consider matters arising out of the working of the Capetown Agreement, which was concluded in 1927. As honourable members are aware, the Union Government, in deference to our representations, have agreed to postpone consideration of the Bill to regulate the tenure and ownership of immovable properties by Indians in the Transvaal until after this conference, which will also consider this projected measure of legislation. My Government are deeply appreciative of the spirit of friendliness of which this decision by the Union Government is a sign, and we earnestly hope that it will help to ensure for the conference an issue satisfactory and honourable both to India and to South Africa.

Non-official Indian opinion, both in South Africa and in this country, has been greatly alarmed by this Bill, as also by certain other legislation, of which the recent amendment of the Immigration Act of the Union in respect of the value of Transvaal registration certificates is most important. The Government of India are of opinion that there is some justification for this feeling, but we do not despair of a satisfactory settlement of all these questions, provided that representatives of both Governments approach them with an earnest resolution to maintain, and indeed improve upon, the friendly relations which the conference of 1927 did so much to establish. I feel confident that the interests of India will be fully maintained by her representatives under the wise and able chairmanship of Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

COLLAPSE OF WORLD PRICES

In his speech at the opening of the Legislative Assembly in January last my predecessor referred to the collapse in world prices of agricultural products and the distress which was thereby being caused. Except in a few cases there has, I am afraid, been no improvement in the trend of prices since then, and the situation for a country which is as dependent as India on the prices that she realizes for the products of her fields is one of great anxiety.

My Government have been watching the situation with concern, and I am glad to be able to say that reports which we have received show that local Governments have been adopting vigorous measures to grapple with it. Substantial remissions and suspensions of land revenue have been granted wherever the situation rendered such a course necessary, and similar measures have been adopted in respect of local rates and irrigation dues. In several Provinces agricultural loans have been given on a liberal scale and concessions made in the matter of repayment of outstanding loans. When necessary, measures have also been taken to open test relief works and to distribute gratuitous relief. In Madras and the United Provinces committees were appointed by the local Governments to inquire into the existing situation and to suggest measures of relief. Recommendations made by these committees are being given effect to as far as possible.

Harvest prospects in themselves, I am happy to say, are promising. Reports which we have received show that, except in Sind, Upper Burma, and, in particular, parts of Bengal, which have recently been visited by most disastrous floods, the condition of crops and agricultural prospects are, generally speaking, satisfactory.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

India, as one of the original signatories of the Covenant of the League of Nations, has always taken a prominent part in the deliberations of the Assembly, and, in accordance with the desire expressed on many occasions by the Indian Legislature, our delegation is for the third time being led by a distinguished Indian. The League as you well know concerns itself not only with its primary objects of disarmament and peace, but also with other beneficent and humanitarian activities, and in these, as well as in the matter of cooperation in economic and social spheres, which form a considerable part of the League's functions, India is largely concerned, and her delegates have always evinced their lively interest.

I am sure that I shall be voicing the sentiments of all of you when I wish Sir B. L. Mitter and his colleagues on the delegation every success in the work of the Session which commenced last Monday.

In addressing you last January at Delhi my predecessor referred to the Royal Commission on Labour presided over by my right hon. friend, Mr. Whitley, which was then engaged in the conclusion stages of its work. The Report of the Commission has since been published, and their recommendations are receiving the careful consideration of the Government of India. After consultation with the Provincial Governments, proposals for legislation will, in due course, be placed before the Legislature. The thanks of the Government and people of India are due to Mr. Whitley and his colleagues for their valuable report, based on a very thorough investigation of the conditions of labour in this country.

I should also like to acknowledge the invaluable services rendered on behalf of India at the International Labour Conferences by Sir Atul Chatterjee, who has recently relinquished charge of his duties as High Commissioner for India. Sir Atul was associated with the International Labour Organization from its inception in 1919. Out of 15 Sessions of the Conference held so far, Sir Atul has attended no fewer than 11, and from 1926 he has been in addition the permanent representative of the Government of India on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization. His election as President of the International Labour Conference in 1927 was a signal honour to India.

NEED FOR RETRENCHMENT

I must express my appreciation of the great services rendered by those chosen by the Legislature to represent them on various retrenchment committees. This is an occasion on which my Government, in the desire to act in a manner responsive to public opinion, as represented in the Legislature, have invited the unofficial representatives to join with them and lend them their support in performing a very difficult, very unpleasant, but yet very necessary task. It is with great appreciation that I have been able to note how wholehearted has been the response to this invitation during the past months. A great number of your members have been devoting themselves in different places to exhaustive examination of various fields of public expenditure. Their work has been given ungrudgingly and often at great inconvenience and personal sacrifice. One member, the late Mr. K. C. Roy, whose untimely and tragic loss I and all of you so deeply deplore, continued his labours on one of the most arduous sub-committees almost to the very moment when he was struck down. I am glad to have this opportunity to express the appreciation and thanks of myself and of my Government for the public services thus rendered by all members of these committees. Their interim reports will receive the most urgent consideration by my Government, for the introduction of practical measures brooks no delay in present circumstances.

India, like practically every other country, must regard it as her foremost duty to devise means to weather the unprecedented economic storm which is now disturbing the whole world. It is essential in the interests of the country's credit that special action in this matter should not be delayed, and you will be informed shortly of my Government's proposals for dealing with the situation. For the present it suffices for me to announce clearly and decisively that we are determined to meet the situation adequately, and to maintain those principles of sound finance which India has always followed. This time of constitutional change is not one for making dangerous experiments with untried methods. On the contrary, we shall work on proved principles, which in the long run always reward those who have the courage and tenacity to hold fast to them.

I would add that rumours that my Government propose to meet the difficulties by such methods as lowering the value of the country's currency are entirely unfounded. Plans necessary to restore financial equilibrium will inevitably demand sacrifices from all classes, from the highest downwards, and I am confident not only that these sacrifices will be willingly made, but that India will emerge successfully from her present troubles.

The intrinsic position of India is thoroughly sound. She has not pledged her credit to finance extravagant or unproductive expenditure, her trade is based on commodities which are necessities for the world, and she can produce them on terms which can compete with any other country. Such difficulties as we must now encounter are caused not by any internal defects, but by the economic cyclone which has come equally upon all the world and which no single country by its own isolated action can alleviate.

Our task in these circumstances is to preserve the situation until the force of the tempest is past, and in order that we may succeed in this task one great need is that all classes and communities in India, officials and business men, Indians and Europeans, town and county, should pull together with a common effort. This is a time for all those who are serving India, or who owe to her their political and economic allegiance, to put public interest above all thoughts of private gain or political advantage. This is the appeal which I wish to broadcast to the country. If it is heard, then I can safely prophesy that India will emerge strengthened from her trials, and that in the years to come she will be able to look back upon the present purging process as an event which, though painful at the time, was a blessing in disguise. The public finances will have been thoroughly overhauled and the new Constitution will start with troubles of this kind behind it and with a clear road for improvement in the future.

ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

The eyes of India are now fixed on those statesmen who are sitting in London and carrying on the work of constitutional reform which received such an auspicious beginning last winter, culminating in the announcement of his Majesty's Government on January 19 which went far ahead of any previous declaration of their policy and set the stage afresh for cooperation in the great task of Indian constitutional reform. The delegates attending this Conference will be confronted with many difficult details, but it is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to know that every party is now represented at the Round-Table Conference, and it is my earnest hope that an agreed solution will be reached in regard to constitutional matters, including agreement on communal questions to the satisfaction of all communities, especially minorities, the safeguarding of whose rights has been assured by his Majesty's Government.

The Federal Structure Committee in London has already resumed its labours, accompanied by the good wishes of all in India, and I must emphasize once again the supreme desirability of maintaining peaceful conditions in India during the discussions which are now taking place, and I appeal, with all the emphasis at my command, to those who have the interests of this great country at heart to preserve an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.

We must all have been shocked and horrified at the brutal and senseless murders, and attempts to murder, which have taken place in this country during the last few months, and I am sure we should all wish to express our deepest sympathy with the families of Mr. Garlick and Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah, and Lieutenant Hext, who have all met their deaths at the hands of these assassins, and by whose deaths we have lost three officers who in their several ways were giving valuable service to this country and the British Empire. I think, too, that we should wish to express our feelings of grateful thanks for the providential escape from death of his Excellency the Governor of Bombay and Mr. Cassells, the Commissioner at Dacca.

A disquieting feature of these tragic happenings lies in the fact that these outrages have been committed for the most part by immature youths, who, at the most emotional and susceptible time of their lives, are being literally exploited through the teachings and writings of revolutionary leaders to carry out their criminal and murderous designs. While the local Governments are primarily concerned in the arduous and dangerous task of combating this movement, I feel that they are entitled to receive all assistance within reason that we are able to give, and I am confident that I and my Government, in the performance of our manifest duty, can rely on the support of honourable members in taking all necessary and reasonable steps to stamp out these terrorist and revolutionary activities which are destroying the fair name of India in the eyes of the world.

IMPROVEMENT IN BURMA

I am glad to be able to inform honourable members that the situation in Burma, which has for months past been causing us much anxiety and concern, has within the last few weeks been showing signs of marked improvement. It is a matter of particular gratification that there has been a cessation, which I hope will be maintained, of racial and communal strife, and I profoundly trust that before long peaceful conditions will once again be the happy lot of that Province. I am sure you would wish me to express our thanks to the officers and men, both of the Army and of the police, for the admirable way in which they have carried out their duties under most difficult and trying conditions, and, while we must all sympathize with his Excellency the Governor of Burma and his Government on the difficulties they have had to surmount, I can confidently assure you that their one desire is to get back to normal conditions as soon as possible, to pursue a policy of clemency as far as circumstances will allow, and to take all practicable measures for the relief of economic distress.

In leaving you to carry on your duties I trust that great Providence may guide you in your labours and that the results of your deliberations may prove of lasting benefit to our country and to all classes of its people.—*Reuter.*

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16th Sept 1931

ROUND-TABLE

16th Sept 1931

MR. GANDHI'S SPEECH

NO DESIRE TO OBSTRUCT

The expressions of satisfaction at Monday's sitting of the Federal Structure Committee at St. James's Palace at the presence in London of Mr. Gandhi as a delegate to the Round-Table Conference were renewed by speakers yesterday with greater emphasis after hearing him open the morning's discussion. There are shrewd Indian participants in the Conference who have predicted from the first that if the Mahatma shared in their work he would be responsive to argument and accommodating on matters of important detail so long as there was recognition of his adherence to what he regards as principles. Nothing that he said yesterday need lead to revision of this estimate. Though doors were kept open, there was no trace of the "ultimatum" tone which on Monday Lord Sankey deprecated as inappropriate to the beginning of discussions. The broad general impression of hearers of his first utterance at the Round-Table in the name of National Congress was that at least it was not unhelpful.

The first statement of the Mahatma was that he had come to the Conference "absolutely in a spirit of cooperation," and had tried his utmost to find points of agreement. At no stage would it be his desire to embarrass authority. He assured his colleagues that, however much they might differ about their points of view, he would not obstruct them in any shape or form. If at any time he found he could not be of any useful service to the Conference, he would not hesitate to withdraw from it: those responsible for the management of the Committee and the Conference had only to give a sign, and he would have no hesitation in withdrawing.

Since he was serving as "a poor humble agent" of the National Congress Mr. Gandhi deemed it his duty to indicate what the Congress stands for and what it is. His excursion into the political history of the past half-century included a statement that the Congress had stood for social reform as well as political advance. He laid stress much more strongly on the claim he made on arrival in London on Saturday that the Congress represents "in its essence the dumb, semi-starved millions" of the Indian countryside. It was essentially a peasant organization, and it was becoming so progressively. It was seeking to extend its organization to cover every one of the 700,000 villages of India.

CONGRESS MANDATE

These remarks brought Mr. Gandhi to his "mandate"—that of the Karachi Congress held a few weeks after the conclusion of his agreement with Lord Irwin. While endorsing this provisional settlement, the Congress desired to make it clear that the goal of *Purana Swaraj* (complete independence) remained intact.

The Congress delegation (it stated) "will work for this goal, and in particular so as to give the nation control over the Army, external affairs, finance, fiscal and economic policy, and to have scrutiny by an impartial tribunal of the financial transactions of the British Government in India, and to examine and assess the obligations to be undertaken by India or England and the right to either party to end the partnership at will."

There was, however, a proviso, which, it is evident, Mr. Gandhi will keep steadily in mind—namely, that the delegation "will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India."

The statement made by the Prime Minister in closing the sittings of the Conference on January 19 last seemed to him, he said, to fall far short of what was aimed at and claimed by the Congress. But he was emphatic in the admission that in the settlement reached at Delhi with Lord Irwin on March 3 the Congress had accepted the principle of Federation, with responsibility at the centre, and had accepted also the principle that there should be safeguards in so far as they might be necessary in the interests of India. He denied that severance of all connexion with the British was aimed at. The Congress contemplated a connexion such as should exist between two equal peoples. But it must not be a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another; hence the claim to the right to dissolve the partnership. What would best conduce to the prosperity of Great Britain? An enslaved but a rebellious India, or an India an esteemed partner of Britain to share her sorrows, to take part in her misfortunes? Mr. Gandhi dwelt upon the great possibilities of a free partnership between the great British nation and his own, with its glorious and ancient past. On the question of financial and debt adjustments he said that the Congress would never think of repudiating a single claim or a burden that India should justly discharge. He would love to go away from these shores with the conviction that there was to be an honourable and equal partnership.

PANDIT MALAVIYA'S SPEECH

The speech lasted about three-quarters of an hour, and was followed by one of equal length from the venerable Pandit M. M. Malaviya, who trod familiar ground in pressing the full Nationalist view that Dominion status should be established without delay. If that principle was accepted, he and his friends would be prepared to discuss the difficulties that might be urged, and would do all that was reasonably possible to remove misgiving and to allay apprehensions. If the new Government of India was to get a fair chance it should receive full power to administer the affairs which would be entrusted to it. The Pandit inveighed against military expenditure, and argued that the retention of British troops in India was not needed, since they had an Indian Army composed of different elements, officered by British officers. The British troops should be recalled—if not at once, then in the course of a limited period, which might be agreed upon. The Pandit expressed his hearty approval of federation between British India and the States. The question of minorities should not stand in the way of building up a Constitution; he was sure that they in India would be able to arrive at a settlement among themselves. It was inconceivable to his mind that the reformed Constitution of a great country like India should be blotted "by a small question like that of satisfying the minorities."

The Chief Saheb of Sangli spoke as a representative in the Conference of the smaller States, which, as he said, are considerable in their aggregate extent, and from the very limitation of their size have a form of administration more in touch with the daily life and interest of their subjects than is possible in the large States and Provinces.

He urged that some allowance in excess of a mere representation on the basis of population should be granted to the States in both the Federal Chambers, remarking that it was desirable that in a Federation as many as possible of the federating units should be individually represented. In regard to the division of subjects, the States did not wish to interfere in the affairs of the Provinces, and they did not wish the Provinces to interfere in their affairs. It followed that the subjects dealt with by the Federal Government should be as few as possible and should be strictly confined to the truly Federal sphere.

DUAL REPRESENTATION

An important feature of the day was the explanation given by two Secretaries of State of their respective dual positions. Sir Samuel Hoare was a Conservative Party delegate at the Conference last winter: he has not ceased to serve in that capacity now he is in charge of the India Office as a member of the National Government. Lord Reading finds himself in a similar dual capacity as at once a Liberal delegate and Foreign Secretary.

Sir Samuel Hoare told the Committee that in the course of their discussions he would probably express provisional opinions, and he would ask many questions that might not necessarily indicate the final and considered view of the Government as a whole. He took the opportunity to indicate that present silence on the speeches of that day and Monday did not imply acceptance of opinions expressed on controversial issues.

Lord Reading went somewhat farther than Sir Samuel Hoare. Pointing out that his capacity was dual, he said it might be difficult at times to realize in what particular position he was speaking. Questions might be asked and arguments might be advanced; but it must not be assumed therefrom that he and his friends might not take up a different attitude should they be in the Government which had to consider in the end the particular proposals which would have to be made by Parliament. The speeches of both Ministers were, in effect, a plea for recognition of their independence of view as members of British Party delegations.

These speeches brought to a conclusion the "second reading" observations and Lord Sankey suggested that the second head of discussion he had placed on the agenda—direct and indirect methods of election to the Federal Legislatures—should first be considered. The opinions put forward by the speakers—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Maharajah of Bikaner, Sir Muhammad Shafi, and Sir Akbar Hydari—showed that much thought has been given to the details of Federalism since last winter.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru claimed that the idea of Federation held the field: no serious alternative had been put forward either in India or this country. If the authors of a proposal of confederation of the States coming from certain high quarters (the late Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Maharajah of Patiala, was evidently in mind) thought that by such a plan the States could escape certain legal and constitutional consequences they were greatly mistaken: Such ideas were a block in the way of progress towards the finding of a suitable Constitution for India.

THE STATES' POLICY

The Maharajah of Bikaner disclaimed the power or intention of any of the States Delegation to dictate policy to the rulers of other States. Sir Akbar Hydari said that the spokesmen of the States shared the solicitude of Mr. Gandhi for, and were also the spokesmen of, the dumb millions of Indian peasantry. The States were the true repositories of the ancient Indian culture of which Mr. Gandhi had spoken.

The Maharajah of Kapurthala has accepted an invitation to join the Round-Table as a member of the States delegation. He leaves London for Paris to-day, but will return in October before the plenary sittings of the Conference are called. His membership will adjust the anomaly under which, in the absence of the Maharajah of Patiala, there would have been no Punjab Ruling Prince at the Conference.

The Aga Khan, who has been detained in France for a few days by dental trouble, arrives at 5.15 this afternoon at Victoria Station, where he will be received by friends in his double capacity as Chairman of the British Indian delegation and leader of the Moslem members.

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FEDERAL INDIA

17th Sept 1931

UPPER AND LOWER HOUSES

METHODS OF ELECTION

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference held a further meeting at St. James's Palace yesterday. The first speaker was Sir Mirza Ismail, Diwan of the great State of Mysore, who also represents at the Conference two of the most important Rajput States.

Sir Mirza Ismail held that the representatives of the States in the Upper Federal Chamber should be chosen by the Governments of the States or groups of States, and that the method of selecting members of the Lower House should be left entirely to the States: they would no doubt realize that the best method was by popular election, which might be either direct or indirect. The question of the distribution of seats among the States should be referred to a strong impartial committee, specially appointed by his Majesty's Government, who would allot the seats according to its recommendations.

Sirdar Ujjal Singh, while indicating general agreement with the conclusions provisionally reached last winter, declared that unless the communal question was settled it would not be possible for the Sikhs to commit themselves to a Federal scheme in which the Punjab would be an autonomous province. He regretted that, now the Conference was enlarged, the Sikhs had not been given another seat upon it. He added that he was not without hope that, with the help of Mr. Gandhi, they would find a solution to the baffling communal problem.

Another Punjab delegate, Mr. Zafrullah Khan, laid stress on the desirability of uniformity in the method of electing representatives of the Indian States and British India.

There followed two speeches of somewhat contrasted types of Nationalism.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, the South Indian journalist, thought that the Upper Chamber should represent the conservative, stabilizing elements in the country, and the Lower Chamber the democratic and progressive elements. The idea of territorial election should be strictly enforced in the Lower House. The Lower Chamber should be one which represented Indian nationality, in which citizens of the Indian States and of British India should have equal rights, as well as responsibility, without distinction of class or creed or even of the boundaries which might divide them politically. The Lower House, "as in all Constitutions," should possess the money power, and "no taxation without representations" should be a fundamental maxim.

TRADE UNION VIEW

Mr. Joshi, the trade union leader, does not always speak to the orthodox Nationalist book. He said, for instance, that he was much more interested in the establishment of democracy than in the establishment of a Dominion. The mere change of the face of the rulers was not sufficient for him. All classes of the community should be represented in the Legislature, but only in accordance with their numbers. He was opposed to Second Chambers, which were not needed to prevent partisan decisions. Such decisions could be provided against by other methods, such as that of presenting a measure twice over a period of one or two years before it could be passed. It might be possible to agree to a Second Chamber as a temporary measure, but that would depend upon the changes in the Constitution. There should be no difference in the methods of obtaining representatives from the Indian States and British India. There should be no property qualification for the franchise.

On the question of an Upper House Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy joined issue with Mr. Joshi, in a speech of characteristic force and plainness. He has been a member of the Council of State since it was set up, as part of the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme, nearly 11 years ago.

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy said that during those 11 years the Upper House had saved India from disaster. He held that the Upper House should have concurrent powers, financial and other, with the Lower House. He was prepared to give provisional consent to the proposal that the Upper Chamber should be constituted by an indirect form of election, but he did so on the distinct understanding that the nominated element would continue to exist as at present. He added that, in view of the new and great experiment they were about to make, it was essential that the official *bloc* should be maintained in the Legislature for at least a number of years.

On one matter Sir Maneckji expressed himself in agreement with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—namely, that of fixing a high minimum age for eligibility for the Upper House. Sir Tej had spoken of 30 years of age as suitable; Sir Maneckji would be glad if it were found possible to raise it to 35 or even to 40. For membership of the Upper House he held a property qualification to be essential.

RESPONSIBILITY AT THE CENTRE

Dr. Ambedkar, a newcomer to the Committee, not having spoken earlier in the week, made his "second-reading" contribution.

He favoured direct election of British Indian representatives to the Lower House and indirect election to the Upper House by the Provincial Legislatures. As a spokesman of the Depressed Classes, he held it to be necessary to insert in the Constitution a proviso as to the quantum of representation to be granted to minorities. As regards special interests, he was against giving special representation to landowners, trade and commerce, on the ground that in all Constitutions and in all countries these people had been able to take care of themselves. So far as labour was concerned, if they could not put through a system of adult suffrage, and if they thus kept out a large mass of working people so that they could not control the Government and influence it to bring about their own welfare and prosperity, then it would be necessary to make special provision for labour representation. The unions might be appointed electoral colleges for selecting members.

Dr. Ambedkar then referred to a difficulty which has perplexed many thinkers on the subject.

It was right, he said, that the States should come into the Central Executive, as they would gain little by merely coming into the Legislature; their real gain would be in having a hand in the Executive Government. The system at the Centre was to be that of collective responsibility. If, while representatives of British India were elected, the representatives of the States entered the Legislature by nomination, with definite instructions from those who would nominate them, he failed to understand how the system of collective responsibility with divided mandates, with different instructions, would work. It had been argued by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that there should be no official *bloc*; but were they quite certain that the Princes' nominees to the Federal Legislature would not play the part of an official *bloc* D Dr. Ambedkar ended his speech on the note that there could be no real federation which did not provide for a common citizenship.

Sitting, with luncheon interval, from 11 to a little after 4, the Committee had heard six speeches. Lord Sankey announced at the close the first six names before him for to-day.

THE AGA KHAN'S ARRIVAL

The Aga Khan reached London last night, and, in his capacity as Chairman of the British Indian Delegation and as leader of the Moslem group, he was welcomed at Victoria by a number of delegates and officials of the Conference. The Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, left a meeting of the States Delegation to greet his Highness, and others present included Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Sultan Ahmad, Sir Geoffrey Corbett, Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Mr. Bajpai, Mr. A. Latifi, Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Zafrullah Khan, the Imam of the London Mosque, Mr. John Coatman (who conveyed a message of welcome from Lord Reading), Mr. P. K. Dutt, and Mr. Qureish.

In a statement to *The Times* the Aga Khan said that he came to the Conference, at which all Indian political parties were now represented, in a hopeful spirit.

India, he continued, must make her contribution to the world-wide desire for peace. When so large a part of the globe was unsettled and disturbed, the peace and prosperity of the whole world were injured. He knew only too well that the Conference had formidable difficulties to face; but much depended on the settlement of some of the more complicated and intractable questions. Human experience showed that when, in a many-sided problem, two or three outstanding points were settled the adjustment of the many others calling for solution was greatly facilitated. These were among the grounds on which he based his hopes.

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Asked if he was more hopeful than he was when the Conference assembled late last autumn, his Highness replied, "I am always an optimist."

Mr. Gandhi attended a meeting of Labour members held in a Committee room at the House of Commons last night. Mr. J. F. Horrabin, who is vice-president of the Commonwealth of India League, presided.

The Joint Committee of the cotton trade organizations announced yesterday that Mr. Gandhi will pay a personal and unofficial visit to Lancashire next week. All sections of the trade are anxious to make his visit both pleasant and useful. At a later date, probably towards the end of the Round-Table Conference, it is hoped that Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of Indian opinion will pay official visits to Lancashire, for which more elaborate arrangements are now under discussion.

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SEPTEMBER 18, 1931

INDIAN FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

LORD PEEL'S VIEWS

CONGRESS AND THE PRINCES

The outstanding points of yesterday's sitting of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference were Lord Peel's arguments in favour of indirect elections to the Federal Legislature and Mr. Gandhi's first contribution to the discussion of details.

At the outset of his speech Mr. Gandhi said that an oppressive feeling had been growing upon him since Monday. He had followed the discussions with the greatest attention. Then came the strange admission from a political leader that he had not studied before the list of his fellow-delegates. Now that he had done so his first feeling of oppression was that they were not the chosen ones of the nation they should be representing, but the chosen ones of the Government. He saw "some very noticeable gaps"; he was oppressed with a sense of unreality in connexion with their composition.

Another reason for this sense of unreality was that the proceedings seemed to him interminable, "leading us practically nowhere." It seemed that the various points would "be discussed threadbare before the Committee." He tendered his thanks to the Chairman (who has established cordial relations with this zealous, note-taking committee man) on his courtesy, and expressed the hope that at the end of their task they might congratulate him on "having enabled us, or even compelled us," to show some tangible results.

CARDS ON THE TABLE

Later, Lord Sankey interpreted these remarks as an appeal for economy of the Committee's time, which he endorsed.

Mr. Gandhi next asked that the Government's cards should be laid on the table.

May I here [he said] lodge a gentle humble complaint against his Majesty's advisers? Having brought the Committee together from oversea, and knowing, as they did, that we are all of us, without exception, busy people—as his Majesty's advisers themselves are—and that we have left our respective posts of duty, is it not possible for them to give the Committee a lead? Can I not, through the Chairman, appeal to them to let the Committee know their mind? I should be delighted, and I feel that it would be proper procedure if they would bring forward concrete proposals for taking the Committee's opinion.

Without pausing to consider that the avowed purpose of the Round-Table Conference is to secure "the greatest measure of agreement" among the delegates after exercising the "unfettered right of examining the whole problem in all its bearings," Mr. Gandhi deprecated the Committee "simply resolving themselves into a debating society," and suggested the appointment of a "sub-committee" to give the Chairman some points for conclusion, so that their proceedings might be terminated in fair time. He wanted the Government to guide the Committee and place their own cards on the table. He wanted them to say what they would do, supposing that the members of the Committee appointed them as arbitrators of their destiny. The Committee would give their advice and opinion if asked. That would be, in his opinion, really better than a state of hopeless uncertainty and endless delay.

LORD PEEL'S VIEWS

At the morning sitting there had been support from Sir Sultan Ahmad, Mr. Gavin Jones, and Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan for indirect election to the Upper Chamber. In respect to the Lower House, Lord Peel, speaking before the luncheon adjournment, said that the case for indirect election had rather gone by default. In taking a different view he had against him such prominent politicians as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Muhammad Shafi, and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar. Meeting the argument that there were no precedents in existing Federal Constitutions for indirect election to the Lower House, Lord Peel said that, even if this was the fact, it did not greatly impress him, for the reason that India was facing problems without parallel or precedent.

He had never been very anxious, Lord Peel said, that, in shaping a Constitution, India should closely follow Western precedents. She might well strike out new and original fields of her own. Much was said of the trend of public opinion in India, and he wished to treat it with all respect; but had it really weighed up and become seized of the fact that the old-established unitary system was being given up? They wanted as much harmony as they could have between the Federal and the Provincial Councils. The whole tradition of British India, from the political point of view, was that the Provinces had regarded the Central Government as their masters: they had never regarded the Central Government as something they had created themselves. Now it would be for the Provincial Governments to regard the Federal Centre as their own creation—a part of themselves. If, without such bonds as representation of the Provincial Governments at the legislative Centre, they created big local Governments with populations of 40,000,000 or 50,000,000, there would be danger of centrifugal tendencies. It was most important to maintain the closest ties between the federating units and the Centre; and one effective means was a Federal Legislature based on the representation of the Provinces and States.

THE CONGRESS METHOD

Lord Peel had an unexpected ally in Mr. Gandhi, though his plan was different. He declared himself wedded to adult suffrage—a plan by which Congressmen swore. But he shared Lord Peel's fears that if they had unwieldy constituencies it would not be possible for a candidate to get into personal touch with all the multitude of people.

Mr. Gandhi prefaced an outline of the Congress method of getting over such difficulties by reference to the Government of India's accusing Congress of insolently setting up a parallel Government. They had not done this; but they certainly aspired some day or other to displace that Government. In the Congress constitution they had practically adult suffrage, imposing a nominal fee of 4 annas (4½d.) a year. The scheme made the village the electoral unit, and they voted for a representative to attend local district meetings, which in turn elected representatives to the provincial Congress gatherings and to the full All-India sessions. Mr. Gandhi thought that some such scheme might be evolved in Federal India. Such a scheme would keep the ultimate voting lists within reasonable compass; and a link would be provided between the villages and the Central Legislature.

When entering upon a discussion of sub-heads, the Mahatma said he must consider them in the terms of the Congress mandate. Then came another criticism of the Committee—that it was not homogeneous, but "an ill-assorted group, each member of which was perfectly independent and entitled to give his or her own views."

Hence, Mr. Gandhi said, they had no right to say to the States, under the various sub-heads of discussion, what they should and should not do. But he felt he could make suggestions for the sympathetic consideration of the great Princes. They should keep in view the fact that they would, if all went well, more and more come into contact with popular India—if he might so call British India. There was no vital division between the two Indias. He wished the Princes well. He wished them all prosperity, and prayed that their prosperity and welfare might be utilized for the advancement of "their own dear people." It was up to British India to make it easy for them to come into the Federation; it was up to the Princes to make it easy for British Indians to welcome them with open arms. Without the spirit of give-and-take he knew they would

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not be safe to come into any definit
of Federation, or, if they did, they w
mately quarrel and break up. The
would rather they did not embark
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OPINION IN THE STATI

Earlier in the day the Chairr
given an indication of the view
Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, who a
this country at the week-end
represent on the Committee sc
conservative sections of opinio
States. His suggestion is that,
are some Central subjects which
concern of British India and ot
concern only of the States, ther
be some organization to deal with
subjects of the latter descript
thinks this might be the Cha
Princes, "substantially enlarg
constitutionalized." It should al
electoral college to elect men
represent the States in both H
the Federal Legislature.

Last night Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting of M.P.s at the House of Commons organized by the Commonwealth of India Parliamentary Committee. Mr. Gandhi is arranging to visit Blackburn, Preston, and other Lancashire towns at the week-end. He is being offered a civic invitation to visit

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ROUND TABLE

INDIA AND THE NEW SESSION

NOT "A ONE-MAN SHOW"

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA, SEPT. 18

At the end of the first week of the second Session of the Round-Table Conference it is possible to put on record some of the more important of the earliest reactions in this country.

First, it is most satisfactory to note the immense public interest that is being taken in the proceedings. The second Session has an advantage over the first in that people here are able to follow it undisturbed by the alarms and distractions of a civil disobedience campaign waged in the immediate foreground. If the Delhi Pact had done nothing else, it would have performed a valuable service in giving the Conference a comparatively clear stage. The Indian Press this time is devoting page after page to news of the proceedings, even the smaller newspapers printing messages from their own correspondents, in addition to reports from the two news agencies and the British official wireless. So far as comment is concerned, the editorial articles are naturally cautious, if not suspicious, but on the whole they are written in a tone of commendable restraint.

As was inevitable, Mr. Gandhi occupies the entire foreground in the Congress newspapers, very little of the rest of the Conference being seen behind him. This attempt to represent the Conference as practically a one-man show has its serious side. Messages purporting to describe Mr. Gandhi's "secret negotiations" with Mr. MacDonald have caused much uneasiness here among those communities who, flatly and properly, refuse to recognize Mr. Gandhi as a sort of plenipotentiary for the whole of India, and belated explanations of the significance, or lack of significance, of the meeting at Dorchester House are too late to catch up with misstatement of fact. [As reported in *The Times* on Tuesday, Mr. MacDonald saw Mr. Gandhi at the Dorchester for a few minutes on Sunday. No reference was made to the business of the Conference.]

A CONGRESS BOGY

The resentment freely expressed by Moslem members of the Legislative Assembly in the lobbies here is regarded as the probable explanation of a message from London, printed here this morning, asserting that Sir Muhammad Shafi had made a protest against the procedure in London. The truth is that this perfectly innocent meeting between Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Gandhi immediately had the unfortunate effect of reviving the grotesque bogy, which was first raised in the Congress *Pandal* at Karachi, that while the members of the Round-Table Conference twiddled their thumbs Mr. Gandhi would meet Mr. MacDonald alone and settle the future relations of India with the rest of the British Commonwealth in exactly the same way as he had met the Viceroy to settle the terms of the truce between the Congress and the Government of India.

It is unnecessary to expose the absurdity of this fallacy, but a headline in the Congress newspaper this morning reading "Gandhi Alone Will Do It" shows the danger of allowing people at this end to suppose that the representative of the Congress is being treated on a different plane from the other delegates. As for Mr. Gandhi's public utterances, they have caused neither surprise nor alarm.

The utmost satisfaction is felt in responsible circles here at the news published to-day indicating that Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, does not propose to take any action in response to a request from those members of the Conference who have seen fit to ask him to interfere with the passage of the Press Control Bill.

A HEARTENING SIGN

It cannot be too clearly stated that the large majority in the Assembly in favour of referring the Press Bill to a Select Committee was not so much a victory for the Government, or was even directly inspired by the admirable note sounded by Lord Willingdon in his speech last Monday, as a victory for the courage and good sense of the members themselves. It is much the most heartening sign of the Legislature's readiness to back up the Executive in the maintenance of law and order that we have seen for many a long day.

That there is abundant need for this spirit is suggested by a report of the Naujawan [Youth League] conference held at Tirupur, which began its proceedings with a resolution paying a tribute to "the courage and self-sacrifice of Bhagat Singh." The president-elect of the conference is Mr. Subhas Bose, the Mayor of Calcutta. A Lahore newspaper this morning winds up its leading article on the Round-Table Conference with the sentence: "What we have to do in this country is to keep our powder dry."

The Congress Press is making much capital out of a message Mr. Gandhi has sent to the Madras *Hindu*, in which he urged the Government to withdraw the Press Bill as a reactionary measure disturbing to those who hoped and believed that the Round-Table Conference would result in the devolution of power to the people of India. Mr. Gandhi's telegram was published in Simla on the very day that the Select Committee appointed by the Assembly held its first meeting, at which satisfactory progress was made.

The Government of India has appointed a committee, with Sir Samuel O'Donnell as chairman, to inquire into the claims of Orissa to be constituted a separate Province.

*** Yesterday's proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference are reported on page 12.

CONGRESS PROPAGANDA IN DELHI PROVINCE

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, SEPT. 18

Landholders throughout Delhi Province are organizing meetings and training speakers to counteract propaganda by Congress agents, who are going among the villagers telling them that Mr. Gandhi is organizing a religious war in which all should join; urging the villagers to prepare to go to gaol; and praising Bhagat Singh and other terrorists.

At Badli, eight miles from Delhi, a counter-meeting organized by landholders was addressed by a landholder, who urged the villagers to be loyal to the King-Emperor, whereupon Congress members appealed to the police to stop the meeting. The police declined.

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THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

ELECTORAL METHODS

COMPLAINT OF SLOW PROGRESS

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference begins its second week of work at St. James's Palace this morning. It is evident from the remarks of Lord Sankey at the close of the last meeting that the question of procedure has been receiving attention, and that Mr. Gandhi's appeal for expedition has not been disregarded. Much of the time last week was occupied with statements from new members of the Committee defining their attitude towards conclusions which were provisionally "noted" and reported on before the first sessions of the Conference were adjourned in January. No negligible proportion of this time went to Mr. Gandhi himself and Pandit M. M. Malaviya as interpreters of the Congress position.

The Prime Minister of Patiala, Nawab Liagat Hayat Khan, and other delegates arrived at the week-end. Only two of the new delegates, however, are members of the Committee, the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur and Mr. M. A. Jinnah. The former may desire to explain briefly the distinction between his views and those of most of the States delegation about All-India Federation. He wishes all the States to come in and form a Union which could serve as an electoral college for electing representatives to the Federal Legislature, in place of nominations thereto by the larger individual States, or by groups of States. The proposed body, which might be an enlarged Chamber of Princes, might sit together to consider matters of common interest to the State.

In this connexion it may be noted that the Secretary-General of the States Delegation, Colonel Haksar, who is representing the absent Maharajah of Kashmir, recognized in his speech on Friday that the smaller States must be grouped to nominate, say, one member for each group —"a process akin to election." Such a method, he said, should go some way towards salving the conscience of the doctrinaire democrat, even though the electors might be originally nominees of individual States forming the group.

Though much business was done last week, Colonel Haksar said, there is a sense in which the Committee was marking time. The first head for discussion—the strength and composition of the Federal Legislature including the proportions in each Chamber to be assigned to the States and to British India respectively—was held over, since members representing minorities felt themselves precluded from expressing opinions pending some agreement being reached on the communal issue. No one seriously challenged the view that the working out of the full Constitutional scheme must await efforts at adjustment of minority claims.

MINORITIES COMMITTEE

Very little has been done so far in private conversations to prepare the way for such adjustment. However, four members of the Minorities Committee—Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Mr. Ramchandra Rao, and Maulvi Muhammad S. Daoodi—have arrived in London in the last two or three days, and nearly all their Committee colleagues not already in this country (including Sir Saiyed Ali Imam, the representative of the Nationalist Moslems) are expected on Saturday. That was the date arranged for reaching London, with the expectation that meetings could begin "early in October."

When this official announcement was made on August 5 no one anticipated that a General Election would be impending. This change in the political situation points to the desirability of calling the Minorities Committee together at the earliest date possible, and the Committee may be assembled well before the end of the month. It need scarcely be said that the "signs of the times" as to the date of a General Election are keenly scanned by Indian delegates, who recognize how great, if unavoidable, the inconvenience would be of a suspension of the Conference, or the relegation to it of only minor points, during the electoral struggle. Nor is it to be forgotten in this connexion that a Round-Table Conference for Burma is to assemble within the next few weeks.

A feature of last week's proceedings was the contraction, rather than the widening expected in some quarters, of the breach between the representatives of the States and British-Indian politicians. With one or two exceptions, such as Mr. Joshi and Dr. Ambedkar, the politicians have shown themselves more impressed by the spirit in which the States are facing the project of Federation than by any discrepancies arising from the fact that conditions in the States and in British India are not "on all fours." Little or nothing has been heard of the stock arguments of advanced politicians about the grievances and claims of States subjects. British-Indian speakers, whether Congress, Liberal, or Moslem, have shown a desire to make easy the adhesion of the Princes to the Federation. They have done so in two ways: first, by avoiding the imposition of rigid conditions about the choice of State representatives in the two Houses; and, secondly, by a recognition that the States have real difficulties to meet in entering the Federation, and should be helped by sympathy and not hindered by criticism in their endeavours to surmount them. It is noteworthy that now and again, when statements were made by the one or two delegates who did not take this view for the purpose of scoring off the Princes, the critics were answered by fellow British-Indian delegates, and it was not necessary for States delegates to intervene.

THE CONGRESS IN MADRAS

Another clear impression from the proceedings of the past week has been that of variety of view, and the unsubstantiality of the claim of any one section, however important, to speak for the whole of India, whether the masses or the classes. Mr. Gandhi's exaltation of the Congress organization as having shown the way to democratic franchise was well answered by Mr. Mudaliyar, a representative of the Non-Brahmins of Madras, who claim to have effectively defeated the Congress machine in that province. He said that those who stood outside the Congress organization were perhaps in a better position to see the way in which it was working than those within. Their idea was that the Congress organization was the negation of democracy, as it led to dictatorship.

Though what may be termed the major mind of the Committee emerged, variety of view was shown on the sub-heads discussed under the subject of methods of election. One illustration must suffice. Six speakers urged that for the Lower House of the bi-cameral Legislature election in British India should be direct by territorial constituencies. Two other speakers were constrained to agree, having regard to the force of public opinion in India, though they were conscious of the drawbacks of big constituencies, to which the Simon Commission directed attention. Another speaker thought that the indirect method propounded by Lord Zetland last winter should be tried. Mr. Gandhi favoured indirect elections through the villages, and Pandit Malaviya sought to explain this support as not inconsistent with adult suffrage. Sir Provash C. Mitter upheld the indirect method, and urged that in the electorates towns should be separated from rural areas.

The subject down for discussion to-day is that of the relations between the proposed Upper and Lower Chambers. Lord Sankey has formulated six sub-heads, and has asked for attention to be first directed to the question whether the two Chambers should be equal in power, or whether there should be some exception. In finance, for instance, is one of the Chambers to be the master? Should the Lower House have full power, with perhaps the Upper House having the power of a suspensory vote?

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar gave an informal afternoon party on Saturday at the Dorchester to meet Mr. Gandhi and Pandit M. M. Malaviya. The two principal guests sat apart, and each had short conversations in turn with most of those present. The company included many delegates, among them Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Akbar Hydari, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, and Mr. Birla.

Lord Elibank has given notice of the following motion to be moved in the House of Lords on Thursday:—

That in the opinion of this House it is vital, more especially in the grave circumstances which exist to-day, that no reform in the Constitution of the Indian Empire shall impair the authority of the Imperial Parliament over such matters as finance, the Army, and foreign affairs; and further it is essential that any reform shall secure fair treatment of British trade.

*** A message about the Conference from our Special Correspondent in Simla is printed on page 12.

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THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

PRINCES' TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP

CASE FOR TWO CHAMBERS

The Indian States delegation to the Round-Table Conference decided a few days ago as "a token of the feeling of friendship" for Great Britain entertained by the Princes and peoples of the States to offer to forgo at this time of financial crisis the contribution which his Majesty's Government makes towards the expenses of the visit of the delegation to London. The offer was communicated to the Prime Minister in a letter from the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. Mr. MacDonald, on behalf of the Government, has accepted with hearty thanks this "friendly and generous gesture of helpfulness."

Of 21 States' representatives invited to the Conference only three or four have not been available for consultation on the subject, and it may be confidently expected that, in the words of the Chancellor, they will wish to associate themselves with this decision. The individual rulers and statesmen have not been accustomed to make personal use of the allowances, which have been credited to the Special Organization of the Chamber of Princes : so the gift now made is in a real sense collective.

The Nawab of Bhopal writing on September 15 said :—

My dear Prime Minister,—We in India have watched with intense interest the widespread response of the British people to their country's need, occasioned by the acute financial situation, and their regard and readiness to make sacrifices for the common weal have evoked the warmest appreciation of the Princes. They have followed with deep sympathy the efforts of his Majesty's Government to meet the situation, and have been much impressed by the proposals for economy which have been so carefully worked out and boldly put forward.

In the belief that at the present moment any saving would perhaps be helpful, all the members of the Indian States Delegation now in England have authorized me to convey to you that they wish to forgo the contribution which his Majesty's Government was making towards the expenses of the visit of the States Delegation to London. They are almost certain that the remaining members of the delegation who have yet to arrive would also like to associate themselves with this decision. But I shall let you know of their decision as soon as I am in a position to do so.

We realize that the amount that would thus be saved will only be a drop in the ocean, but you know that it is being offered as a token of the feeling of friendship which the Princes of India and their subjects have always entertained for the people of Great Britain.

Yours sincerely, HAMIDULLAH (Chancellor).

Mr. MacDonald replied on the next day, September 16, as follows :—

My dear Nawab Sahib,—Your letter is really a most friendly and generous gesture of helpfulness, and I wish to thank you and the members of the Indian States for your resolution. It is, as you say, not merely the amount of money, but the largeness of heart which the Government values. I venture to express to your Highness and your colleagues my most sincere hope that this is an earnest of feeling of unity and cooperation which may last through many generations, and enable both India and Great Britain to stand side by side for the honour of both and the benefit of mankind.

Believe me to be, with my best wishes to you and your colleagues, yours very sincerely, J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

By an undesigned coincidence a day in the Federal Structure Committee devoted largely to consideration of the relative financial authority of the proposed two Houses of the Federal Legislature began with the announcement of the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare (given on another page), that Indian rupee currency is to rest, during the suspension of the gold standard, on a sterling basis as most conducive in the circumstances to Indian interests.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHAMBERS

Sir Muhammad Shafi, responding to a request made by the chairman (Lord Sankey) on Friday, opened the discussion on the major head (3), namely, relations between the two Chambers. He laid down the working normal principle that, subject to any requirements necessitated by the safeguards, the assent of both Chambers should be required for the enactment of a Bill.

History and federal practice (outside Russia) pointed, he said, to the necessity and utility of a bicameral Legislature—as, indeed, did the experience of the Central Legislature at Delhi and Simla in the past 10 years. When, in the Second Assembly, the Swarajist Party came in with the avowed purpose of non-cooperating from within they would have succeeded, he thought, in smashing up the Assembly but for the stabilizing effect of the action taken by the Council of State. He expressed surprise that Mahatma Gandhi should have spoken to the Committee in favour of a single Chamber, based upon an indirect electorate. He agreed with Mr. Mudaliyar that such a unicameral Legislature was calculated to lead, not to the coming into existence of a really representative Government, but of a dictatorship.

Sir Muhammad went on to say that he and his Moslem friends held that the functions and powers of both Chambers should be approximately equal. Voting of supplies, however, should continue to be the function of the Lower House, as it was now of the Assembly. When acute differences arose between the two Chambers on a Bill the summoning of a joint Session should be statutory.

SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY, who followed, supported for the most part the views of Sir Muhammad Shafi. He urged that it would be unfair to deprive the Upper House of the right now existing in the Council of State to consider Bills sanctioning the imposition of, or varying, taxes.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU held that, except in regard to money Bills, the powers of the two Houses should be equal. Money Bills should originate in the Lower House, although the two Houses should have the power of passing them. In the event of a deadlock a joint Session should be called. The power of calling it should vest in the Government of the day.

SIR PROVASH C. MITTER also held that, since the aim should be to make the Governor-General the Constitutional head, the decision to summon a joint Session should lie with the Government.

For the most part the British delegation is ascertaining the currents of Indian opinion and doing little in Committee discussion to influence it. But yesterday Lord Lothian brought to bear, in a brief speech, his long study of Constitutions.

He challenged the view that in the event of differences a joint Session should be summoned forthwith—though with due recognition that urgency might attach to a finance Bill or other measure. He showed that one of the powers possessed by almost every Second Chamber in the world (including that of which he is a member) is that of delay. One of the objections to the automatic prevention of delay was that this would almost force parties and Governments to organize both Chambers on a party basis at the beginning of a Session, with a view to establishing an absolute majority in both Houses, so that the possibility of revision of a Bill might not arise. It was very important that the working of the system of joint Sessions should not be purely automatic. It was worth while considering whether provision should not be made, as in the South African Constitution, for a prescribed period of delay.

The Committee will continue to-day consideration of the relations between the two Chambers.

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THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

POSITION OF THE RUPEE

MR. GANDHI'S COMPLAINT

At the sittings of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference at St. James's Palace yesterday references were made in passing to Sir Samuel Hoare's announcement on Monday that during the suspension of the gold standard Indian currency is to be linked to sterling.

Before resuming the discussion on the relations between the two proposed Federal Chambers, SIR AKBAR HYDARI, speaking for the States delegation, referred to the appeal of the Secretary of State to the delegates to cooperate in meeting the crisis. The appeal, he said, had not been made in vain, and they would cooperate to the fullest measure of their ability in doing what they could to tide over the difficult time which might face them in India also. He made the appropriate addition that Hyderabad, the big State of which he is Finance Member of Government, had always cooperated with the Government of India, both in investments and recently in large railway purchases.

Later in the day Mr. GANDHI struck an unhelpful note by complaining that the decision about the rupee was "taken over the heads" of the Legislative Assembly. Every thoughtful Congressman must sympathize with the British nation in the present crisis; but he had to express his sorrow over "the manner of the action taken in India." He held it to be a striking proof of the unbending and unbendable attitude of the Government of India. On matters of the most vital importance to the nation they were not yet considered fit to be consulted, much less to decide, what was good for them. On this ground he was unable to give the support which the Secretary of State asked for the measures taken in India.

This complaint, that in India (as in this country) action was taken by the Executive on a matter of pressing urgency before the approval of the Legislature could possibly be obtained, was met in vigorous fashion by SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY, who was a member of the Royal Commission which recommended the 1s. 6d. rate and has great knowledge of those financial matters of which Mr. Gandhi confesses that his knowledge is elementary. The action taken by Lord Willingdon and the Finance Member in India, Sir Maneckji said, was "essentially necessary" in the interests of India. Those interests in financial matters were intimately interwoven with those of Great Britain. Sir Maneckji gave a short outline of recent Indian currency history to justify these general observations. Personally he did not think the gold standard had worked well in England, and he foresaw months ago the necessity for the step now taken. In view of the close contact between British and Indian finance it was not fair to quarrel with the action taken in India.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHAMBERS

In a clear-cut, closely reasoned speech SIR AKBAR HYDARI expounded the views of the States delegation on the question of the relations between the two proposed Chambers. It was prefaced by some pertinent observations on the recognition by most of the British Indian speakers that on such matters as methods of selection or election the States must be left with full freedom of decision. The States, Sir Akbar said, did not resent advice or desire to be impervious to the trend of outside opinion. They desired to be neither reactionary nor unprogressive, but to have freedom to order their affairs in the manner best suited to the traditions of their people. It would not do for Dr. Ambedkar to say that unless they of the States did so and so he would not agree to their entry into Federation. That was not the language of business. Federation (he went on to show by specific examples) was in the interests of British India as much as in those of the States. It was axiomatic that their work should be solely directed to the welfare of their subjects and should carry with it their cooperation in the fullest possible measure. But they were not sure whether the principle of election or the principle of selection, having regard to the circumstances in which they were placed, their traditions and their history, would best achieve that end.

On the immediate question under discussion Sir Akbar held that the governing principle with regard to legislation should be that the assent of both Chambers was required for the enactment of a Bill. The words Upper and Lower applied to the two Chambers in the debate were really misnomers, and other names should be employed. The two Houses would not represent one the people and the other a hereditary aristocracy, but different points of view. He did not believe in one Chamber being fashioned with the set purpose of being a stabilizing influence over the other; he would endeavour to make them both equally stable. They should start on a footing of absolute equality so far as the written Constitution was concerned. He would not therefore exclude from the Upper House the power of initiating a money Bill or amending a vote of supply. When a joint Session was necessary either for the passage of legislation or of grants, in the event of difference of opinion between the two Houses, the joint Session should be composed of an equal number of representatives of each House.

PROPORTIONS IN LEGISLATURE

After further speeches the discussion on the relations between the two Chambers closed, and the MAHARAJAH of BIKANER opened the consideration of the postponed first head on the agenda—namely, the strength and composition of the Federal Legislature, including the proportions in each Chamber to be assigned to the States and to British India respectively. He pointed out that the States could not be coerced or driven into federation. They could enter into the federation only through another treaty with the Crown on receiving adequate and effective guarantees from the Crown ensuring to the States their existence as one of the two great entities of India and ensuring the continuance of their sovereignty and their treaty and other rights, except in so far as they might voluntarily be delegated to the Crown for the specific purpose of federation. His faith in federation remained unaltered. He considered it was the only alternative which would help India at the present juncture. But if he were asked to say whether the States would come in at the present moment he could only say he very much hoped that that would be so and that they were going to do their best to secure that very desirable end.

Coming to numbers and proportions, the Maharajah suggested a membership of 250 in the Upper and 350 in the Lower House. The representation of the States should be one-half of the total membership of the Upper and one-third of the total membership of the Lower House. He suggested that all the seats allotted to the States should be filled from the first, whether few or many States entered the Federation. As further States adhered to the Federation the distribution of those seats should be varied accordingly on some fixed plan, ensuring a share in the representation on the part of each adhering State.

FINANCIAL QUESTIONS

It is expected that the Committee will finish the discussion of the present agenda of four heads in time for a brief general debate on Friday on certain financial memoranda being placed in the hands of members. Lord Sankey suggests that a sub-committee should be appointed to examine this material, and that it might be getting on with its work next week while the Minorities Committee is sitting and he is preparing a report on the results of the 10 days' sitting the Committee will then have had.

The announcement that Mr. Gandhi has abandoned his intention to visit Lancashire from Friday to Monday next coincides with the publication of a letter to the Secretary of State for India from Mr. T. D. Barlow, chairman of the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organizations of Manchester, an organization which represents all sections of the industry, both employers and operatives. The letter conveys to the Indian delegates a cordial invitation for any one of them who would care to do so to visit Lancashire whenever their responsibilities at the Conference will permit them to leave London for a few days. The Social Secretaries of the Round-Table Conference are to cooperate with the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organizations in making the necessary arrangements for these visits.

Mr. Barlow wrote:—"I need not dwell upon the historic link of common interests which has through many generations existed between India and the cotton industry of Lancashire. We in Lancashire feel that such visits might provide an opportunity for a frank and friendly discussion upon our mutual economic problems, and should help to bring about a better understanding of the difficulties with which both India and Lancashire are faced."

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ROUND-TABLE

MR. GANDHI AND MINORITIES

STATES' PLACE IN LEGISLATURE

In connexion with the Prime Minister's decision to convene the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference early next week, it may be noted that Mr. Gandhi called on the Aga Khan late last night at the Ritz Hotel, where they had a long conversation. His Highness, who has always borne testimony to Mr. Gandhi's personal fidelity to agreements and understandings when once reached, has been in consultation with the other Moslem members of the Conference at present available in London. He is broadcasting to the American Continent on Sunday evening a statement of the Moslem case for safeguards in the Constitution.

The Federal Structure Committee yesterday resumed and concluded discussion of the strength and composition of the Federal Legislature, including the proportions in each Chamber to be assigned to the States and to British India respectively. The proceedings went to show that the Chairman had exercised a wise discretion in postponing this head until two others had been disposed of. The speeches revealed wide divergences of opinion on important questions between various members of the States Delegation and also the spokesmen of British India. The differences gave sharp point to the suggestion of Sir Mirza Ismail that a special independent committee should be set up to recommend a schemed apportionment between the States of their quotas of seats in the two Houses.

The first speaker, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, judged rightly when he said that the claim the Maharajah of Bikaner had made on the previous day that the States should have half the total seats in the Upper Chamber would meet with challenge from the British Indian side. On the other hand, little or no exception was taken to the proposal for the States to fill one-third of the seats in the Lower House. The note struck in this respect by Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy was maintained throughout.

ALLOCATION OF SEATS

A constructive contribution came early from Sir Akbar Hydari, the experienced representative of the Nizam's Government, who took exception to the idea that the Federal Chambers must have a large membership as a means of bringing in the States as a whole. He did not support the idea that each of the 109 States whose rulers are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right should have a representative. Taking the lowest figure of membership mentioned at any time as appropriate for the Lower Chamber, 150, and assuming that one-third of the seats were allotted to the States, he set out an illustrative scheme under which the 24 States which have salutes of 21, 19, and 17 guns would each have a member. Together they comprise nearly two-thirds of the aggregate population of the States. Sir Akbar would then allot 12 seats to grouped States, leaving 14 seats for distribution between the larger State units.

Such illustrative figures were not palatable to the Chief of Sangli as a spokesman of lesser States. He would have 150 seats allotted to the States in the Upper Chamber and the same number in the Lower Chamber, thus making the total membership of the latter, on the one-third basis, 450. The Chief Sahib put in a plea for the 126 States which are represented in the Chamber by 12 members of their own electing; also for the 327 third-class States. Many of these, he said, were inconsiderable in individual size; but their aggregate size and influence was considerable.

STATES AND CONFERENCE

Though Sir Akbar Hydari did not put forward his sketch of the distribution of State seats in the Upper House as anything more than illustrative, the Nawab of Bhopal intervened to claim, in his capacity as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, that the question of the distribution of seats *inter se* was the concern of the States and not of the Conference, a view supported by the Maharajah of Bikaner.

This brought up Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, who also represents two important Rajputana States, Jaipur and Jodhpur. Dissociating himself from the view of the Chancellor, he said it was manifest that the States would find great difficulty in coming to an agreement on a question of so much complexity and difficulty. He therefore suggested the appointment of a special independent committee to examine the question of apportionment. No representative of the States should be upon it, so that all concerned might have confidence in its recommendations. These would be submitted to the Viceroy and by him to H.M. Government, whose decision would be final.

Much discussion turned on Sir Akbar Hydari's suggestion that Federation could and should be implemented if and when a bare majority of the population of "Indian India" comes in. He showed that the adhesion of 12 of the larger States would give 51 per cent. of the population. Sir Akbar also agreed with the argument of the Maharajah of Bikaner that, on the initiation of the federal system, the quota of representatives allowed the States as a whole should be utilized to the full by the adhering States, adjustments being made within the allotted numbers as other States adhered.

MR. SASTRI'S CRITICISM

Mr. Sastri was the chief critic of the latter suggestion. The vacant seats, he said, should remain "warm" for those States to which they would belong. He could not see why States like Kashmir or Jodhpur, for instance, should not only start with an additional representation due to "weightage," but also receive an accession of strength by reason of some other States standing out for the time. He asked the Princes to give earnest consideration to Sir Mirza Ismail's suggestion. The Princes had started the idea of Federation at the last Conference. He asked them to consider the difficulties of the British Indian side, so that, instead of all the demands proceeding from one side and the concessions from the other, sometimes British Indians might make requests to their Highnesses to listen to their difficulties.

SIR S. HOARE'S VIEW

In an important speech the Secretary of State for India made incidental reference to objects of the Conference which were rather overlooked by Mr. Gandhi in his plea the other day for the Government to lay its cards on the table. Sir Samuel Hoare said he wished to hear the views of delegates from India and did most sincerely wish to see agreement reached between the various sections of Indian opinion gathered round the table. He was as anxious as at their sittings last autumn to see an effective All-India Federation. He meant one based upon a definitely federal foundation and one with definitely federal organs to carry out its duties. He regarded as one of the conditions of an effective All-India Federation a sufficient participation of the Princes. Speaking for himself he felt that the 51 per cent. of population basis, the test suggested by Sir Akbar Hydari, was not a very full representation of the Princes. From no partisan political motives he was genuinely nervous of making the two Chambers too big. They wanted Chambers of a manageable size that could

(Continued in next column)

effectively carry out the explicit federal duties assigned to them.

During the morning Mr. Joshi had talked of 600 members in the Lower and 400 members in the Upper Houses—making a total of 1,000 to meet in joint sessions. On one observation of Mr. Joshi's, however, Sir Samuel Hoare was in full agreement—that there was no question of ultimatums from one side or the other. The last thing the Secretary of State wished to do—and he believed he was speaking for all his British colleagues—was to lay down hard and fast conditions at this stage as to the details they had been considering.

Another point in Sir Samuel's speech was an indication of support for the view that adhering States should have more than a strictly proportional representation pending the adhesion of other units. "As a word of general caution," Sir Samuel said that the Princes might feel that they were placing themselves at an unfair disadvantage if they entered the Federation, even though in comparatively small numbers, without having an effective voting power.

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SEPTEMBER 25, 1931

THE ROUND-TABLE

DIFFERENCES AMONG STATES

SIR T. B. SAPRU'S APPEAL

The expectation that the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference would devote yesterday's sittings at St. James's Palace entirely to consideration of the distribution of financial resources between the projected Federation and its units was not fulfilled. Only two speeches were made on the subject, as the morning was devoted to repercussions of the differences of opinion in the States delegation which had been brought into strong relief on Wednesday. The Maharajrana of Dholpur, who had been absent owing to indisposition, defined his divergence from the scheme which has the imprimatur of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes.

The Maharajah of Bikaner reopened the issue by "wishing to make it clear" that such individual expressions of view, as those of Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Mirza Ismail should not be taken to imply that they represented by any means the views of the States delegation as a whole. Since he had specially in mind the suggestion that the distribution of seats allotted to the States should be worked out by an independent committee, Sir Mirza Ismail intervened with the important statement that not only the much respected representative of the Nizam's Government, but also the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda was in agreement with him. (It should be noted that at the 1921 census the three States of Hyderabad, Mysore, and Baroda contained more than 20,500,000 of the 72,000,000 inhabitants of the Indian States.) Sir Mirza reminded the Committee that he also spoke for the Rajputana States of Jodhpur and Jaipur.

AN EXPERT COMMITTEE

The Maharajah of Bikaner thereupon read the text of a resolution passed at a meeting in Bombay last July of the States delegation, claiming that the distribution *inter se* of seats among the States should be left to be settled by themselves, but, failing agreement, should be referred to an expert committee appointed by the Crown. His Highness suggested that, after discussion among the States, and in the Chamber of Princes, a thoroughly representative committee should be appointed to work in close association with the Viceroy, as a result of which, and through the good offices of the Viceroy, he hoped conclusions equitable to all concerned would be arrived at. If agreement was not reached, then such points as were still in dispute would doubtless have to be referred by the Viceroy to an expert committee of arbitration, to be appointed by the Crown. He could not see what any of the large or important States had to fear from preliminary attempts to arrive at unanimity, or at least the greatest achievable measure of unanimity. The Maharajah claimed that the interests of the smaller States were the interests of all the States.

Next the Maharajrana of Dholpur outlined his alternative scheme in very conciliatory fashion. He said that he and his friends had been wrongly accused in some quarters of trying to wreck All-India Federation; their only difference was about the way in which the federation was to be brought about. They held that there should be some sort of union of States to act as an electoral college for the Federal Legislature. Such a method would put at the disposal of the Federation the united wisdom and the selected talent of the States. The Maharajah of Rewa drew attention to the vital importance of a proper distribution between the States. The terms "bigger" and "smaller" States must not be unduly stressed; treaties, tradition, and historical importance must be kept in view.

There followed a detailed contribution to the discussion by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. He wanted to know what was the strength of feeling behind the idea of confederation, as proposed by the Ruler of Dholpur, and what was to happen while it was coming into being. If confederation were established, what would become of the sovereignty of the Princes, to which they attached so much importance? They would be imposing on themselves a super-Sovereign in the form of a Chamber of Princes. He appealed to both sides of the Committee: if there were certain features of the Constitution which did not strike them as being perfect either from a purely democratic or a State point of view, let them not aim at too much. Their immediate aim should be to get a working Constitution, with which they could make a good start.

THE MOSLEM VIEW

On the question of the claim of the Maharajah of Bikaner to half the representation in the Upper House for the States, Sir Tej urged the Princes to accept a 40 per cent. basis. A passing remark enabled Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan to intimate that when, on the previous day, he urged that the proportion allotted to the States should be based on their population relative to that of British India, he was speaking for the whole Moslem delegation, which had given due consideration to the subject.

In the afternoon Sir Provash Mitter opened the discussion on the distribution of financial resources between the Federation and its units. He commended the proposal of the chairman to set up a sub-committee on the subject, and said that its task would be to provide the Committee with a lead. Subject to the Federal Parliament having adequate resources, as much revenue as possible, he argued, should be set free for the Provincial Governments. He foresaw an intermediate or transitional period during which some of the sources of revenue available to the Government of India should, to some extent, be made available to the Federal Government. This was especially so in regard to income-tax, which the Princes had shown they were not willing to impose upon their subjects. There should be one Budget, but a *pro forma* distinction should be drawn between Federal and central income and expenditure. The Federal Government should rely upon indirect taxation, the Provincial Governments having the benefit of all direct taxation. During the transitional period, however, up to half of the income-tax should be available to the Federal Government.

References to the debt of India from Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar were the more noteworthy since he is serving Mr. Gandhi as political secretary. There was in them but little echo of the Congress Committee report claiming a huge reimbursement of Indian debt expenditure from Britain. The editor of the *Hindu* showed that of a total public debt at present of Rs.1,001 crores, only about Rs.172 crores is a dead-weight debt not covered by great public works; and even this is a diminishing liability, as it is covered by a sinking fund. He agreed that the covered part of the debt should be federalized and that the uncovered part must remain a charge on the ordinary general revenues of India. He added, however, that certain items, such as expenditure on the Frontier after the War and pension charges, must be examined for equitable adjustment between the provinces, the States, and the British Government.

The discussion will be resumed to-day, when a sub-committee to examine financial details will be set up.

Yet another change in the *personnel* of the Conference is announced. Last winter the Raja of Parlakimedi was successful in securing recognition of a *prima facie* case for the shaping of a new province for the Oriya-speaking tracts in Eastern India. As the matter has now been referred to a committee by the Government of India and the Raja is promoting the claim, he cannot leave India. Accordingly his place is being taken in the Conference by his fellow-zemindar the Rajah of Bobbili.

MR. GANDHI'S LANCASHIRE VISIT

Lord Irwin, who came to London yesterday from Yorkshire, will have conversations to-day with Mr. Gandhi and the Aga Khan. Mr. Gandhi has now decided to pay an unofficial visit to Lancashire to-day, returning in time for Conference work on Monday. His cancellation of the visit earlier in the week was due to the great financial change announced on Monday. Mr. Gandhi and his party will stay at Springfield garden village, near Darwen, and will seek information on the position of the cotton industry from various sections of those engaged therein.

To-day week Mr. Gandhi will be 62. He is to be entertained at a fruit luncheon by members of the I.L.P., the Gandhi Society, and the Indian Commonwealth League, under the chairmanship of Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P. In the afternoon there will be a reception in his honour at Victory House, Leicester-square.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1931

MR. GANDHI'S VISIT TO LANCASHIRE

Mr. Gandhi left London last night for Lancashire, accompanied by Miss Slade, Mr. T. F. Andrews, a friend, and his secretaries. At Darwen Mr. Gandhi will stay at the Springvale Mill Social Settlement. During his visit he will see mill-owners and mill-workers, and will discuss with them the Indian situation and its effect on employment in the Lancashire cotton trade.

THE ROUND-TABLE

STATES' FINANCIAL RELATIONS

RUPEE AND STERLING

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference concluded yesterday morning a general discussion on the distribution of financial resources between the projected Federation and its units. A sub-committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Peel to examine and report upon the general principles upon which the financial resources and obligations of India should be apportioned between the Federation, the British units jointly and severally, and the States.

Lord Sankey, in announcing that Lord Peel had accepted the chair of the sub-committee, said he hoped that soon the British Parliament would be engaged in discussing these questions. When a Bill came on in the House of Lords Lord Peel would be in a position to explain its financial aspects. He expressed his gratification that the former Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, and his successor, Major Elliot, would serve on the sub-committee, and also Mr. Oliver Stanley. They were busy men, particularly in existing circumstances, but they would endeavour to be present as much as they possibly could.

The States delegation will be represented by four experienced Ministers—Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Mirza Ismail, Diwan Bahadur Krishnama Chari, and Colonel Haksar. The British Indian members of the sub-committee will be Sir Sultan Ahmad, Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Mr. Benthall, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar.

The sub-committee will meet on Monday afternoon. It is hoped that it will complete its laborious task within the week; in any event the parent Committee will meet on Monday week, October 5. Meanwhile the stage will be cleared for the all-important Minorities Committee, which will hold its first meeting of the session on Monday, at noon, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. Several of its members and other delegates arrive in London this afternoon, and will be welcomed at Victoria by Mr. Clausen, one of the private secretaries to the Secretary of State for India, and on behalf of the Prime Minister by Mr. J. G. Laithwaite.

"TRIBUTES" FROM STATES

At the outset of yesterday's discussion the important question of the payment of "tributes" from certain of the Indian States was raised, not by Prince or Dewan, but by an ardent Nationalist, Mr. Iyengar. He declared that, whatever might have been the nature, the equity, or the propriety of these levies in the past, it would be fundamentally wrong for such "tributes" to be paid by States to the Federal Government. The question whether the States should contribute to the expenditure of the Federal Government by definite contributions, or by allocating definite resources, or through taxation, stood on a different footing.

These remarks from a prominent British Indian politician gave Sir Mirza Ismail the stronger ground for his well-put argument that the question of abolition of the tributes could no longer be postponed on any question of expediency. The change of name to "contribu-

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grave injustice to the people of the States concerned. It had been admitted in official memoranda that these subventions denoted relations of a feudal character, and that the States would accept no such relationship between themselves and a Federal Government. Yet, to his surprise, it was proposed that the contributions should be continued until such time as the position of Federal finance should permit of their abolition. He asked for immediate abolition of payments which, under present conditions, were an anachronism, and in a Federal future would be a contradiction. Sir Mirza asked pardon for speaking strongly on the subject, giving the reason that the State of Mysore, of which he is Dewan, pays no less than one-third of the total payment under this head of Rs.70 lakhs. It was there regarded, he said, as a crushing burden. It may be added that no word was spoken yesterday in defence of the "tributes," though Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy thought that other debits could justly come against the States under federation.

With the downrightness of a business man Sir Maneckji argued that, since federation in India was not to be an evolutionary growth from autonomous provinces, federal finance would be a hot-house product. Federation, unfortunately, was being started from the wrong end, the federating units scarcely existing as defined entities. The claims of the States against British India and of British India against the States needed to be examined and adjusted before there could be be any real system of federal finance.

PROVINCIAL POWERS

While holding that the Federal Government should have complete domain over both direct and indirect taxation, Sir Maneckji took his stand with Moslem members in urging that residual powers should vest in the provinces. Mr. Joshi also thought that the centre should have the power to levy direct taxation. To confine its powers to indirect taxation would encourage extravagance of expenditure. His experience of the Indian Legislature had shown that the pressure for economy on Government only became strong when there were proposals for an increase of income-tax.

A brief contribution to the debate by Sir Muhammad Shafi was devoted to exposition of the desirability of the disappearance of "central" subjects, as a necessary step towards simplification of the Budget, and to an endeavour to show that this was quite possible. Only nine heads had been grouped as "central"; and it seemed to him that some of them might be relegated to the provincial and others to the federal realm. Dr. Ambedkar also attached great importance to the point, and thought some general conclusion should be reached before the sub-committee was set up. Mr. Gavin Jones favoured a deliberate attempt to eliminate "central" subjects, and Sirdar Ujjal Singh gave his adhesion to the idea of a single federal budget.

Three principles of importance were laid down by Mr. Gavin Jones. The first was that the Federal Government finances should be in a sound position to maintain public credit and look after defence; and the second that the greatest possible measure of self-government compatible with that requirement should be given to the provinces. The third principle was that of free trade and free communications between States—which depended upon adjustments with constituent units. While respecting the sovereignty of the States, he deprecated the imposition of terminal taxes, octroi, and other local imposts. Mr. Gavin Jones further insisted that the Federal Government should have some control over borrowings in the States as well as in British Indian provinces.

Laying down the unexceptionable proposition that the governing principle of federal finance must be an equitable distribution of burden, Colonel Haksar drew upon his long experience in "Indian India" to controvert Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy's point that the States owe anything to British India on the score of defence. Defence of the States, he said, was an obligation of the Crown; and, independently of this, the States had made important contributions to the cost of defence, such as the cession of territories, the provision of troops, and the obligations undertaken by treaty. A later speaker, Sirdar Ujjal Singh, said that, while State "tributes" should go, State forces should not be taken into account for federal finance purposes, since they could be kept up or not, as the States thought fit.

For the first time in 10 days of sittings Mr. Gandhi was absent from the Committee. This was on account of a visit to Lord Irwin at his home in Eaton-square lasting from 10.30 to nearly one o'clock. The Aga Khan also had a long conversation with the ex-Viceroy. In the evening Mr. Gandhi left London for a visit to Darwen, whence he will return on Monday. Both the Aga Khan and Mr. Gandhi were in a group of important delegates who assembled on Thursday evening at the India Office, at the invitation of Sir Samuel Hoare, to hear from Sir Henry Strakosch (a member of the India Council) an exposition of the strong, indeed imperative, grounds for the decision to link rupee exchange with sterling now that the gold standard had been suspended. Various questions were asked, and it is understood that at the close Mr. Gandhi said he must retain an open mind about the wisdom of this policy.

The Ali Khan, son of the Aga Khan, has been appointed an additional honorary member of the secretarial staff of the British Indian delegation. The Ali Khan is reading for the Bar at the Inns of Court. Other members of the additional staff are Mr. Mahadeo Desai (Mr. Gandhi's secretary), Pandit Govind Malaviya, Pandit R. K. Malaviya, Professor K. T. Shah (who was a member of the Congress Committee on British and Indian Financial Relations), and Mr. A. H. Molson.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1931

ROUND TABLE

MOSLEM AND OTHER MINORITIES

The second assembly of the Round-Table Conference in London enters upon an important stage to-day. The Minorities Committee meets at noon at St. James's Palace under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, and late at night, in the rooms of the Aga Khan at the Ritz Hotel, Mr. Gandhi will discuss the Hindu-Moslem question with the Moslem delegates. Between the two engagements there will be an afternoon meeting of Lord Peel's sub-committee on finance of the Federal Structure Committee.

The meeting of the Minorities Committee follows upon the arrival in London on Saturday afternoon of more members of it and other delegates. They were met at Folkestone by Mr. Vincent, one of the Social Secretaries, and were welcomed at Victoria by Mr. Clauson and Mr. Laithwaite, representing the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister respectively; Mr. Carter, the Secretary-General of the Conference; and Colonel Stewart Patterson and Mr. Patrick, of the Political Department, India Office.

The members of the Minorities Committee arriving were Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the poet; Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq; Sir Henry Gidney; Khan Bahadur H. Hidayat Husain; Sir A. P. Patro; Rao Bahadur A. T. Pannir Selvam; Sardar Sampuran Singh; Sir Sayed Ali Imam; and Diwan Bahadur Raja Rajendra Nath. The other delegates were the Rajah of Sarila (a small State in the Bundelkhand Agency); the Bengal landed proprietor, the Maharajah of Darbhanga; Mr. S. B. Tambe (sometime Acting Governor of the Central Provinces); and Diwan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, who represents States of the Madras Presidency. Captain Sir Muhammad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhitari (a member of the Executive Council, United Provinces), arrives to-day. He is on the panel of the Minorities Committee. There are now available for the Conference about 70 members from India.

Sir Henry Gidney was met at Victoria by a number of Anglo-Indians and was received with flowers. A statement he made to *The Times* serves as a reminder that the Hindu-Moslem question is not the only issue the Minorities Committee has to face. It did not constitute, he said, the whole 16 annas of the political rupee. On the contrary, if all the other minorities were grouped—the Depressed Classes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, the Europeans—they made a total of not less than 60,000,000. So the problems they raised were not greatly inferior in magnitude, when brought together, than that of safeguards for the Moslems.

NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

Another aspect of the differences of life and outlook in India confronting the Conference was brought out in a statement by the leader of the non-Brahmin community, Sir Annepu Patro. He arrived a month ago, but left London a few days later to serve as a member of the Indian delegation to the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva. He said on Saturday that he had noticed the claim put forward by Mr. Gandhi in the Federal Structure Committee that the National Congress represented the masses of India, and Mr. Mudaliyar's prompt challenge of the statement. In Madras the non-Brahmins, who had opposed the Congress element, had been in office and power through their elected majorities since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms 11 years ago, with the exception of a relatively short period when Independents were in office—a position they held only with non-Brahmin support. In the Central Provinces, too, the non-Brahmins were in office and power.

The non-Brahmin movement, he added, was a mass movement, and had support from small agriculturists and the Depressed Classes, many of whom were members of its organizations. The movement was constitutional, supporting or opposing the Government according to circumstances, without giving any countenance whatever to non-cooperation. In the Bombay Presidency also non-Brahmin members of the Legislature had been pursuing the same policy, and there had been a non-Brahmin Minister in the Government from the first. Mr. Gandhi seemed to regard the demonstrations with which he was greeted in his travels as connoting acceptance of the Congress creed everywhere; but as a matter of fact (though the Congress was one of the best organized movements in India) these demonstrations were far more a tribute to his great personality.

The new arrivals, like those already in this country, were anxious for news of the political situation, and especially of the date of an election. They are asking how far a General Election will mean the curtailment or postponement of the work of the Conference. It may be stated that the Government is most desirous that any inevitable slowing down may be as brief as possible, and consideration is being given to the methods by which this end could best be reached.

The immediate thought of delegates is of the communal problems which will come before the enlarged Minorities Committee to-day. It is expected that the Prime Minister will make some general statement, and that opportunity may be given for newcomers to the Committee to speak briefly. It is not expected that leaders of any of the groups will attempt any detailed exposition of their views, since the main purpose is that of establishing contacts and thus paving the way for further exploration of possibilities.

THE TROUBLE IN KASHMIR

Regret and resentment were expressed among Moslem delegates over the week-end that statements have been made, on what is claimed to be good authority, that the present troubles between the Maharajah of Kashmir and many of his Moslem subjects have been fomented from without and were carefully timed to synchronize with Conference discussions. Such statements are indignantly repudiated, and note is taken of the raising in this connexion of the Pan-Islamic bogy. Some of the Moslem delegates are members of the All-India Kashmir Committee, which has urged that there should be an impartial inquiry under the authority of the Viceroy into allegations of serious and long-standing grievances of Kashmir Moslems.

It may be noted that in his broadcast message to the American continent last night on the Indian Moslems the Aga Khan described as "unfounded" the accusation that they are looking beyond the frontiers of India and are not concentrating all their political patriotism on their Motherland. His Highness said that the Moslems of India would resent as much as any other Indians any intervention in the affairs of the country from any outside Moslem.

Mr. Gandhi's meeting with the Moslem delegation to-night issues from his long conversation last week with the Aga Khan. There is reason to believe that he will intimate a willingness to make concessions provided the Moslem delegation as a whole will ask the British Government to appoint Dr. Ansari, the leader of the Nationalist Moslems, a delegate and place him on the Minorities Committee. This request does not seem a very cordial way of greeting the newly arrived Nationalist Moslem delegate, Sir Ali Imam; but it is known that Mr. Gandhi, with all his apparent individuality, is very much in the hands of his more immediate political associates, and is staunch in reflecting their statements and opinions. The stress laid on the presence of Dr. Ansari may be taken as another way of upholding his formula that he would concede anything which came as the unanimous demand of the Moslems. Immediate results are not to be expected from to-night's meeting, for it is understood that Mr. Gandhi will deem it necessary thereafter to get into contact with those in political association, direct and indirect, with him. There might ensue a full informal conference of the two parties within the next few days.

A meeting of members of both Houses of Parliament will be held in Committee Room No. 10, House of Commons, on Thursday, at 5 p.m., to meet the Aga Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, and other Moslem delegates. The Lord Mayor of London will receive Maulana Shaukat Ali at the Mansion House on Wednesday morning.

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THE ROUND TABLE

MR. MACDONALD'S ADDRESS

MINORITIES PROBLEM

Presiding at the first meeting of the enlarged Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference at St. James's Palace yesterday morning, Mr. MacDonald, the Prime Minister, urged that the problems confronting the Committee were internal Indian problems, and that the delegates should agree among themselves about the safeguards that might be necessary for each of the communities. Arbitration by the Government would not be satisfactory, and the delegates should take upon their own shoulders the responsibility of solving this very difficult and intricate problem.

The appeal of the Prime Minister led to acceptance of the suggestion made by Pandit M. M. Malaviya, and supported by the Aga Khan, that there should be an adjournment of the Committee to provide opportunity for conversations between the various groups, and after a sitting of little more than half an hour the Committee adjourned until Thursday morning. Last night, in pursuance of the effort to reach agreement by private conference, Mr. Gandhi met the Moslem delegates in the rooms of the Aga Khan at the Ritz Hotel.

The meeting lasted nearly three hours. Although there had been statements early in the evening that Mr. Gandhi would not adhere to the demand to which reference was made in *The Times* yesterday, he made it a *sine qua non* of any settlement by negotiation between the parties that the Moslem delegation should request the Government of India to appoint Dr. Ansari, the national Moslem leader, to the Conference, and that without this he could do nothing. It was pointed out to him that there were many points of contact between him and the members of the delegation that at least might be discussed with a view to settlement, but he answered that everything must be settled simultaneously, and this could not be done unless Dr. Ansari was sent for. He was also obdurate in holding that the presence of the national Moslem representative, Sir Ali Iman, did not sufficiently meet the requirements.

The meeting broke up without coming to any definite conclusion, and it was stated that the Moslem delegation would meet this afternoon to give the matter full consideration.

PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS

The Minorities Committee as enlarged now comprises 50 members, and there was a full attendance of those delegates who are available at yesterday's meeting. Mr. MacDonald welcomed the delegates and noted with satisfaction that new members were bringing into their counsels "an extended representation and also an extended authority." He expressed his regret that "certain preoccupations" had made it impossible for him to see many of the delegates personally; but he was sure that in the circumstances they would forgive this shortcoming. In a special word to the newcomers he bespoke "the most hearty and the most friendly cooperation in the solution of a problem which in its nature is exceedingly difficult, but which is as important as it is difficult."

Mr. MacDonald continued:—

If one were to turn to any great philosophy or any great system of thought upon which could be built up a harmony between races, a harmony between conflicting thought, where could one go to find it more readily than to the great philosophies of India itself? Those philosophies where brotherhood is inculcated, where peace and harmony and cooperation are enjoined; those philosophies which look at the world not in a mere abstract way, but as something essentially composed of differences, and yet essentially calling for a harmony of difference rather than a mere uniformity of thought or of action.

That is the problem which is before the Round-Table Conference. We do not want to change the Hindu; we do not want to change the Moslem; we do not want to change the Sikh. We want to change none of you, with great and noble historical traditions of which you are very proud, and I hope you do not want to change us. But we do want, recognizing our differences and maintaining and cherishing those differences, nevertheless to find some means by which we can find cooperation for the good of each other, and through that good for the good of the whole world. In that spirit I take the chair at this Committee.

When we met last the problem of minorities, I candidly confess, and I am sure those of you who were with me then must also candidly confess, baffled us. We could not come to a solution of the difficulties. I took the view then that this minority difficulty should be settled by yourselves. To my mind it is a problem internal to the Indian problem, and I again appeal to you, as I appealed to you then, to agree among yourselves regarding the safeguards that are necessary for each of you for your existence, and to make those arrangements which will be satisfactory to all of you concerned in this matter.

SUGGESTED ARBITRATION

Some of you were good enough, when we last met, to suggest that in the end the Government or some of us should arbitrate when you failed to agree. I think, my friends, that is a most unsatisfactory solution of the difficulty. (Cheers.) Any arbitration would probably be unacceptable to you all; it would meet the needs or the desires of none of you. And imagine the fate of the poor arbitrator when you go home to India and you begin to explain the work that has been done and the arrangements that have been come to by this Conference. I have often been a scapegoat in my life, and I am willing to be a scapegoat again if it is good and if it is necessary; but I think you yourselves in this respect, if I might say so, should become your own scapegoats, and take upon your own shoulders the responsibility of the solution of this very difficult and intricate problem.

If you are responsible for an agreement, you will work it out, you must work it out, you will have to work it out; because you will have nobody to blame for it except yourselves. If somebody else offers a solution and imposes it upon you, you will not have upon you that same obligation to work it with all your hearts, all your strength, and all your souls. I therefore repeat what I said to you before—to those of you who were here before—and appeal to you to do your best to settle this among yourselves. If you would allow me to help you, if any help from me is necessary, it is at your disposal; I shall be only too glad to be of any assistance to any of you, individually or as sections, in order that this agreement may be reached.

INTERESTS OF THE MASSES

Now, I do not think that any long speeches will be necessary on this occasion; I want to get to conclusions as quickly as conclusions can reasonably be come to. There are many problems to solve, many difficulties to discuss, and we shall have to have patience with each other during those discussions, but it is quite unnecessary for us to make very long speeches of a general character upon the problems themselves. We are face to face with the question: How can the various majorities, minorities, how can the various communities, how can the various people with a past, with traditions, how can those who have been outside the pale and those who have been inside the pale, now that we are considering a new Constitution for India, a Constitution that will be based upon democracy, a trust of the people, how can we all together devise means by which we will share in the power of that Government and use that power not in the interests of a sect or a community or a class, but use that power in the interests of the whole of the masses of the people which compose the Indian population? (Cheers.) That is our problem; that is your problem. Set about it and solve it. (Cheers.)

Sir Sayed Ali Imam, making a first appearance for what is known as the Nationalist Moslem Party, asked whether he should place their point of view before the Committee. He had heard generally of discussions which were to take place in private. The Aga Khan thereupon intimated that Mr. Gandhi would be meeting the Moslem delegation that night; that was all he knew so far as any possible negotiation was concerned. Next came Pandit M. M. Malaviya with the suggestion of an adjournment in order that pending conversations might have a chance. His deprecation of discussion at the moment was supported by the Aga Khan.

NON-MOSLEM MINORITIES

The proposal for adjournment was well received, but representatives of some of the non-Moslem minorities indicated feelings of concern lest arrangements should be left too much in the hands of the two larger communities. Regarding a suggestion from the Chair that during the adjournment members of the smaller minority communities should prepare their case, Dr. Ambedkar said that the Depressed Classes put their case before the Committee last time. However important it might be that the two larger communities should come to an agreement, they were not plenipotentiaries and could not bind other sections. So far as he and his friends representing the smaller minorities were concerned, they would put forward their claims irrespective of the demands of others. Whoever made any claims for "weightage," and whoever gave in to the claim, would not be able to do so at the expense of, say, his minority. Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, the spokesman of the Anglo-Indians, took a similar line. If the Congress made a settlement with the Moslems, where would the lesser minority communities come in? He argued that at any settlement these minorities should be represented.

These remarks led the Prime Minister to point out that any final settlement must come before the Committee. If there were minorities or communities who had been in conflict with each other, they should use the short time of the adjournment for the purpose of overcoming their difficulties. He would like all the members to feel that they were cooperating together for a general settlement: a complete settlement.

The meeting did not close without an expression of Sikh opinion. Sirdar Ujjal Singh said that the Hindus and Moslems could not negotiate for all the minorities. Moreover, the Moslems were not a minority in all the Provinces. The main problem would be in the Provinces. While not opposing adjournment, he suggested that representatives of other minorities should be present at any negotiations. The Prime Minister answered that the claims of other minorities could be stated in Committee as a useful measure, without prejudice to the other negotiations now initiated. In reply to a suggestion that a small committee should be appointed to negotiate, the Prime Minister said it would be best for such a committee to be set up independently of the formal Conference proceedings. Thereupon it was agreed to adjourn until Thursday morning.

The Federal Structure Sub-Committee on Finance met in the afternoon under the chairmanship of Lord Peel. It was agreed to proceed on the basis that a single Budget for central as well as Federal purposes should be the guiding principle of discussions. This is in accordance with the prevailing view when the Federal Structure Committee considered the financial aspects of federation last week. The Sub-Committee spent the rest of the afternoon in discussing generally various questions in connexion with the service and security of the public debt of India, past and future. This subject will be further considered this morning.

Mr. Gandhi returned to London from Lancashire by night train, arriving at half-past 5 yesterday morning. He was at the Minorities Committee meeting at noon, but his day was spent in silence until 7 p.m., when he had completed 24 hours without speech.

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SEPTEMBER 30, 1931

HINDU AND MOSLEM

MR. GANDHI AND HIS COLLEAGUES

Yesterday morning and afternoon the Federal Finance Sub-Committee of the Round-Table Conference met at St. James's Palace, and later the British-Indian Moslem delegates met under the chairmanship of the Aga Khan to consider their position in relation to Mr. Gandhi's insistence on the presence at the Conference of his Moslem colleague in the Indian National Congress, Dr. Ansari. A reassuring letter was received from Mr. Gandhi intimating a willingness to consider the views of the Moslem delegates sympathetically, and it was decided to ask him to meet the delegates this afternoon.

The news of the attitude of Mr. Gandhi when he talked with the Moslem delegates into the small hours of yesterday morning [given in the later editions of *The Times* yesterday] had been received with regret in many quarters, and not least in those of the Hindu Nationalists, who are eager for the Round-Table Conference to be brought to a successful issue. They were unable to see that that end would be served by Mr. Gandhi's apparent determination to make his personal predilection for the presence of a political associate a matter of vital principle. The Mahatma is not without responsibility for the absence of Dr. Ansari, since he sought and obtained from the National Congress at the Karachi session the position of sole representative of the organization. Later, when the question of representation of the Nationalist Moslems was under discussion, some of the other Moslem delegates opposed the selection of Dr. Ansari most strongly, and in some instances their own abstention from attendance, in that event, was urged at public meetings. Similar exception was not taken to the selection of Sir Ali Imam (who is not a Congress leader) to represent Nationalist Moslems.

It is understood that at their meeting yesterday evening the Moslem delegates came to the conclusion that they could fairly ask Mr. Gandhi to define his own attitude to the claims of the community, and if—as some of his public statements indicate—he showed a willingness to meet them, other and secondary questions, such as Dr. Ansari's membership, might be discussed.

OCTOBER 1, 1931

THE ROUND TABLE

SIKHS' REQUEST TO MR. GANDHI

While the Federal Finance Sub-Committee of the Round-Table Conference went on at St. James's Palace yesterday with its detailed examination of financial apportionment between the Indian provinces and the centre, important steps were taken in preparation for the resumed sitting of the Minorities Committee this morning, after an adjournment since Monday. The Prime Minister had private conversations at the House of Commons, first with Mr. Gandhi and later with the Aga Khan, in the hope of finding that progress had been made in the private negotiations for the settlement of Hindu-Moslem differences. They were able to inform him that a further conference between the Mahatma and the Moslem delegates was to be held that night. It began shortly after 10 p.m. at the rooms of the Aga Khan at the Ritz Hotel.

Meanwhile the anxiety of at least one of the numerically lesser minorities lest their interests be overlooked in any understanding that might be reached has found expression in a letter written yesterday to Mr. Gandhi by the two Sikh delegates, Sirdar Ujjal Singh and Sirdar Sampuran Singh. They reminded him of "assurances given to the Sikhs by you personally and by the Congress at its Lahore session [at the close of 1929] that no settlement would be acceptable to you and the Congress which would not satisfy the Sikhs." They intimated a desire to know how the negotiations being carried on with the Moslems would provide for the meeting of Sikh demands.

These demands were placed before Mr. Gandhi in Delhi last March under 17 points, the most important of which was that the Sikhs wanted effective protection, which could only be secured by not placing one community in an absolute statutory majority in the Punjab. They claimed reservation of seats in the Punjab and "weightage" to the extent at present enjoyed by Moslem minorities in various provinces, and they also claimed a 5 per cent. representation in the central Legislature. They suggested, however, an alternative—that if settlement could not be reached on these demands they would agree to the redistribution of the Punjab.

The two Sikh delegates, in reminding Mr. Gandhi of these points, asked him "to be good enough to inform us how the Sikh claims can be reconciled if, as by the Press reports, you are said to be prepared to make a surrender to the Musulmans."

Yesterday morning Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by Pandit M. M. Malaviya, had a long conference with representatives of minorities other than Moslems and Sikhs. There were also present workers for understanding and settlement such as Sir Annepu Patro and Mr. Ramchandra Rao. After much discussion Mr. Gandhi said that, while the Moslems and Sikhs should have some concessions, he was not prepared to accept communal or "compartmental" claims from other minorities; he could not support claims for special electorates. He intimated that he would probably make a statement in the Minorities Committee to-day to the effect that, if the British Government did not promise India her "freedom," he would favour the transfer of the problem to Indians themselves by the setting up of arbitration boards. If Indians had their freedom they could adjust these matters for themselves.

At the meeting at the House of Commons this afternoon to hear the views of the Moslem delegation speeches will be made by Lord Brentford, the Aga Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, and Lord Lloyd. The meeting will be in Committee room No. 10 at 5 p.m.

Members of the Indian community in this country have arranged a reception to Mr. Gandhi at 8 p.m. to-day, the eve of his birthday, at the Guild House, Belgrave-road, S.W. An address of welcome and a purse will be presented.

The Lord Mayor of London received Maulana Shaukat Ali at Guildhall yesterday.

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OCTOBER 2, 1931

MINORITIES IN INDIA

NEW EFFORTS AT A SETTLEMENT

MR. GANDHI'S ASSURANCE

The Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference held a second sitting yesterday morning at St. James's Palace, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, and further adjourned for a week to give time for the several British-Indian groups to seek a general understanding on the question of safeguards for the minorities. This procedure was proposed by Mr. Gandhi and seconded by the Aga Khan. The first meeting of the representatives of the groups will be held at St. James's Palace this afternoon.

The adjournment on Monday to yesterday, it may be recalled, was for the purpose of enabling conversations arranged between Mr. Gandhi and the Moslem delegates to precede any discussion in the Committee on the merits of the various minority claims. The outcome of these and other conversations was indicated at yesterday's meeting by Mr. Gandhi, who was called upon as soon as the Prime Minister took the chair.

The Mahatma first spoke of the result of his second meeting with the Moslems late on Wednesday night. The conclusion reached was that the objects in view would be better served by a further adjournment of the Committee for a week. He then spoke of his meeting with other groups, to which reference was made in *The Times* yesterday. They "were not able to make much headway," but felt that the time at their disposal was too short even for exchanging views. The Aga Khan and the other Moslems had laid upon his shoulders the burden of calling together representatives of the different groups and holding consultations with a view to arriving at some final settlement. Accepting the task, he expressed the hope that by the end of the week's adjournment it would be possible to report some sort of settlement. He added that he did not wish to convey the impression that he had something to build such a hope upon. "But I am an irrepressible optimist, and often in my lifetime when the horizon has appeared blackest, some turn has taken place which has given good ground for hope. Whatever it may be, so far as human endeavour is possible, I have no doubt that members of the Committee will endeavour to arrive at a settlement."

DEPRESSED CLASSES

The proposal was seconded by the Aga Khan, and received "whole-hearted support" from Sardar Ujjal Singh; but Dr. Ambedkar once more had his doubts.

Disclaiming any desire to make difficulties or to obstruct the proposal, Dr. Ambedkar asked whether the Depressed Classes were to be represented in the informal committee. Receiving an assurance from Mr. Gandhi that they would be represented, Dr. Ambedkar asked whether he or his colleagues belonging to the community could usefully serve on the committee. The reason was that the Mahatma had told the Federal Structure Committee that, as a representative of the Indian National Congress, he was not prepared to give political recognition to any community other than Moslems and Sikhs. Unless, Dr. Ambedkar added, he had an assurance that the proposed informal committee would start with the assumption of taking due account of the claims of all those communities which the Minorities Committee last year recommended as fit for recognition in the future Constitution of India, he did not feel that he could whole-heartedly cooperate with the informal committee.

A similar attitude was taken by Sir Henry Gidney, representing the Anglo-Indians, and by Mr. A. T. Pannir Selvam, a Catholic Christian, both of whom felt that they could not usefully serve on the committee unless discussions were based on an implicit recognition of the claims of the smaller minorities. Dr. Moonje sought to pour oil on the troubled waters by suggesting that Mr. Gandhi's move was tactical—intended to "facilitate conciliation and understanding and to smooth over difficulties." He reminded the Committee that in two Provinces—the Punjab and Bengal—the Hindus are minorities and therefore [illegible] interests. Sir Muhammad Shafi intervened to clarify the position.

The proposal, Sir Muhammad Shafi said, was not for the appointment of a sub-committee of that Committee. It was that each group should elect one or two or three representatives to meet together and consider, after an exchange of ideas, whether some settlement satisfactory to all could not be arrived at and thus lighten the burden resting upon the shoulders of the Committee. The adjournment was to enable them to meet in a friendly spirit, in a spirit of cooperation, as sincere well-wishers for peaceful progress in their common Motherland.

WOMAN DELEGATE'S PLEA

Mrs. Naidu spoke for the first time in the official proceedings of the Conference.

She did not believe, she said, that any minority, however small, need have any apprehension. Every minority was as much a part of the nation as every majority. In an evident allusion to President Masaryk, she pledged herself to follow the exhortation given to her by one of the greatest statesmen in Europe, whose boast was that he built up an independent nation without an army and without money. He said to her two years ago: "Madam, keep your minorities happy; you cannot ever be a nation without giving a sense of security to your minorities." She supported Mahatma Gandhi and the Aga Khan in the appeal "that we shall not bring our small domestic quarrels before those who are not concerned primarily with them, but that we should settle them ourselves with equity, magnanimity, and a sense of chivalry which is justice, and a sense of self-respect which does not permit of outsiders to know of our domestic quarrels."

To Dr. Ambedkar's renewed inquiry whether all minorities were to be brought in, the Aga Khan replied that the effort would be to promote a settlement for all. Mr. Gandhi then made a reassuring statement, as there had been "some kind of misunderstanding as to the scope of the work" proposed.

"Who am I [he added] to deny political status to any single interest or class or even individual in India? . . . I should be unworthy of the trust reposed in me by the Congress if I were guilty of sacrificing a single national interest. . . . I can only act as a humble messenger of peace, try to get together representatives of different interests and groups, and see whether, by being closeted in one room and by heart-to-heart conversation, we may be able to remove cobwebs of misunderstanding and see our way clear to get to the goal that lies so hazily before us to-day."

Sir Hubert Carr, chairman of the delegation of Europeans from India, and Dr. S. K. Datta, the Protestant Christian representative, welcomed the proposal for adjournment to Thursday morning next. It was carried unanimously after a few words from the Prime Minister. He said that the adjournment was on the clear understanding that the time was not going to be wasted, and that these conferences, informal but, he hoped, valuable and fruitful, would take place in the interval.

No time has been lost in making preliminary arrangements. The first informal meeting will be held at St. James's Palace at 2.30 this afternoon. It is expected that the membership of the gathering (which is not technically a committee of the Round Table) will be from 20 to 25. The first meeting falls on Mr. Gandhi's birthday, for to-day he completes his sixty-second year. Last night there was a birthday eve reception at Guild House, Belgrave-road, S.W. An address of welcome and a purse were presented to Mr. Gandhi.

The Federal Structure Finance Sub-Committee met again yesterday under the chairmanship of Lord Peel, and discussed the future control of Provincial borrowing and other questions connected with the financial powers of the units of Federation.

MOSLEM CLAIMS IN INDIA

ONE-THIRD OF FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

Members of both Houses of Parliament were present in large numbers at a meeting organized by the National League and held at the House of Commons yesterday afternoon to hear addresses from Moslem delegates to the Round-Table Conference. Lord Brentford presided and the delegates included the Aga Khan, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Captain Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Sayid Raza Ali, Nawab of Chhitari, Maulvi Muhammad Shafi Daoodi, and Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

LORD BRENTFORD said that the effect of the Round-Table Conference would be of the greatest importance to the Indian Empire, and would have repercussions all over the world. It was desirable, therefore, that the members of both Houses of Parliament should know to the full the views and wishes of those who represented the various creeds in India, so that they might be prepared when the time came to make up their minds as to what was best to be done as the result of the Conference. The Moslem community in India represented nearly 80,000,000 people, who for years past had been loyal to this country and the King Emperor.

Great Britain had the greatest Moslem Empire in the world. There were more Moslems who directly or indirectly looked to us than looked to any other nation. Apart from the 80,000,000 in India there was our peculiar relation to Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine to consider, and in our Central African colonies also there were vast numbers of men and women professing loyalty to the King-Emperor who were Moslems. What would come of the Round-Table Conference it was impossible to say, but he did not think Great Britain would allow anything to be done that would be unfair to the Moslem community.

MOSLEM LOYALTY

After the AGA KHAN had thanked the members of Parliament present for the opportunity given to the delegates to meet them. SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI spoke. He said that, with the wonderful progress made by science in the last quarter of a century, life had become international, and no nation, however powerful or rich, could now lead an isolated existence. The Moslems of India firmly believed that the future of India lay within the British Commonwealth of Nations and was attainable only through mutual cooperation between Great Britain and India. Their present policy would be continued unless Britain herself brought it home to them that the British Government would not recognize their legitimate rights and interests, unless they followed methods adopted in other quarters. He went on to refer to the part taken by Indian Moslems in the Great War and then submitted that as India was a vast continent and not a country, and was inhabited by races of differing cultures, self-government must be based on a federal system. In a federal Legislature he claimed that the Moslem community should have a 33 1-3 per cent. representation.

The Central Government in an All-India Federation would be in charge of measures of common interest to all, and two most important things would be defence and foreign affairs. Excluding British troops and the Gurkhas of Nepal, the Moslems contributed the majority to the Indian army, and in the foreign affairs of India the Moslems had most material interests. It was obvious, therefore, that in a central federation their position could not be measured only by their numbers. With regard to the Provinces their claim was that in Bengal and the Punjab, where Moslems were in a majority, they must have their rights as such.

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI, who followed, urged the Moslem desire for an honourable peace, and said he did not want anything he was not prepared to give others.

The BEGUM SHAH HAWAZ asked that sex should not disqualify women from serving their country, and that in the New India women should have their rightful place.

LORD LLOYD at the close of the meeting said he believed to-day there was a wonderful opportunity which could not recur to remove part misunderstandings with Islam, not only in India but throughout the Empire. He did not subscribe to all the Moslem claims, but he would be very sorry if the opportunity was lost to grasp the hand which had been put forward with great power and sincerity.

Among the members of both Houses of Parliament and others present were:—

Lord Iddesleigh, Lord Howe, Lord Buxton, Lord Templetown, Lord Burnham, Lord FitzAlan, Lord Hood, Lord Armstrong, Lord Aberconway, Lord Ampthill, Lord Monk Bretton, Lord Byron, Lord Cawley, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, Lord Darling, Lord Danesfort, Lord Deramore, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Headley, Lord Ernest Hamilton, Lord Islington, Lord Faringdon, Lord Jessel, Lord Lamington, Lord Mildmay of Flete, Lord Phillimore, Lord Sandys, Lord Sydenham, Lord Waring, Lord Strathspey, Prince Milo of Montenegro, Lord Treowen.

The Duchess of Atholl, Sir John Simon, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ainsworth, Sir John Sandeman Allen, Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke, Mr. and Mrs. Waris Ameer Ali, Lieutenant-Colonel C. K. Howard Bury, Rear-Admiral Beamish, Lieutenant-Colonel Heneage, Captain Sir Ernest Bennett, Sir George Courthope, Major Colville, Sir Herbert Cayzer, Colonel Sir Philip Dawson, Mr. Charles Duncan, Lieutenant-Colonel Fremantle, Miss Margaret Milne Farquharson, Mr. E. B. Fielden, Mr. Isaac Foot, Colonel John Gretton, Prebendary Gough, Mr. Patrick Hannon, Mr. R. Hopkin Morris, Lady Headley, Dr. Homer, Sir Alfred Knox, Admiral Mark Kerr, Mr. J. A. Lovat Fraser, Mr. Evan Morgan, Colonel and Mrs. McGrath, Mr. F. J. Nettlefold, Sir Thomas Polson, Mr. and Mrs. George Pinckard, Mr. John Remer, Mr. W. H. Stoker, Commander Southby, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Sir Nairne Sandeman, Vice-Admiral Taylor, Major Beaumont Thomas, Mr. A. J. K. Todd, Mr. Alexander W. Russell, Sir William Wayland, and Mr. G. H. A. Wilson.

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INDIAN MINORITIES

WORK OF CONCILIATION COMMITTEE

The decision of the Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference on Thursday that opportunity should be afforded for the various Indian groups to seek a general understanding on the question of minority safeguards was acted on yesterday. About 20 members of the Committee met at St. James's Palace under the chairmanship of Mr. Gandhi, who had been chosen by common consent to act as convener.

This conciliation committee is not in any technical sense a committee of the Round-Table Conference. At the close of a long afternoon sitting the following *communiqué* was issued :—

Certain delegates of the British Indian Delegation met Mr. Gandhi and discussed certain matters. The conversations are proceeding. It was decided that no statement on the discussions should be issued until the deliberations are concluded.

The Federal Finance Sub-Committee of the Round-Table Conference met again yesterday, with Lord Peel in the chair. A statement of the views of British-Indian delegates on all the heads under discussion was placed before the Sub-Committee, which adjourned until next week.

MR. GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY

Two celebrations in connexion with the sixty-third anniversary of Mr. Gandhi's birthday were held yesterday. The first was a luncheon given by members of the I.L.P., the Gandhi Society, and the Indian Congress League in the Westminster Palace Rooms. The luncheon was fruitarian, but Mr. Gandhi took only goat's milk. About 300 persons were present, half of them Indians. Mr. Gandhi was presented with a spinning wheel by the Gandhi Society. He said, in reply, that he had experienced nothing but friendliness and genuine affection since coming to London. He praised the three organizations responsible for the luncheon for standing by the Congress when it appeared that it might be abandoned by everybody.

An afternoon reception, organized by the London Committee of the Women's Indian Association and the Saroji Dutt Memorial Association, was to have been held at Victory House, Leicester-square, but it was not large enough for the purpose, and the function took place in King George's Hall at the Central Y.M.C.A., Tottenham Court-road. Mr. Gandhi, who arrived three-quarters of an hour later, explained that he had been attending the informal minorities conciliation committee. "I have undertaken work of very considerable responsibility," he said, "and I could not tear myself away from a meeting that I was attending in connexion with the very mission that has brought me from India."

Mrs. BRIJLAL NEHRU, who presided, spoke of the Mahatma as the incarnation of the spirit of India and said that the women of India had shown that they stood solidly behind him. They were anxious to see his labours at the Round-Table Conference brought to a happy conclusion, and they prayed for his success.

After Mr. Gandhi had been garlanded, Mrs. HANNAH SEN presented to him a purse made from Indian handspun cloth and containing £165, together with an illuminated scroll giving the names of the subscribers.

"DOLES" NOT WANTED

In reply Mr. GANDHI said there were 700,000 villages in India where the people lived under ill-nourished conditions. One of the best constructive activities of the Congress was that of bringing work to the workless women of the villages, irrespective of race, caste, or creed. Probably at the present moment some 50,000 women were being given the work of spinning in their own homes. No constructive work in India was more important than that of banishing pauperism by giving the men and women, not doles or charity, but work. The great mass of villagers were without work for six months in the year. When they thought of this chronic unemployment, the unemployment in England dwindled into insignificance. He did not wish to underrate the difficulties arising in this country from unemployment, such as he had seen in Lancashire; but he did say that the unemployment in India deserved the sympathy and assistance of the whole world. He did not mean material sympathy: if they in India could give work to their people there would be no need of money—for labour was another form of money. Mr. Gandhi paid a tribute to the "noble part the women of India took during the last struggle for the freedom of India"—a reference to the non-cooperation movement. The energy, devotion, and sacrifice that thousands of women showed in India were nothing short of miraculous.

THE ROUND TABLE

DIFFICULTIES OVER THE MINORITIES

A NEW FINANCIAL SCHEME

The week-end has been marked by some notable developments in the Round-Table Conference, and the present week will be an important one in its history.

The informal conciliation committee, consisting of half the 50 members of the Minorities Committee, met again on Saturday morning under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. The decision reached at the first meeting on the previous day, that the proceedings should be held confidential, has been disregarded, for—as was to be expected from past experience—secrecy has been used as a cover for the propaganda now so rife on various sides. Detailed Press telegrams have been sent to India, and statements have appeared in the English Press. It is well, therefore, to give the facts.

At an early stage in the proceedings Mr. Gandhi made it clear, in reply to questions, that he deemed himself bound by the Congress resolution for limiting the grant of special constituencies to the Moslems and (in the Punjab) the Sikhs, leaving the requirements of other minorities to be met by means of the proposed declaration of fundamental rights and adult suffrage. Dr. Ambedkar moved a resolution that the principle of special representation for the Depressed Classes and the lesser minorities should be accepted for purposes of discussion. After prolonged debate, which was carried over to Saturday morning, this proposal was carried with only three dissentients—Mr. Gandhi, Pandit M. M. Malaviya, and Dr. Moonje.

Mr. Gandhi also adhered to his position that he would agree to the Moslem demands if the Moslem delegation would ask the Government to nominate to the Conference his colleague Dr. Ansari and if he concurred in the demands. In respect to statements made in various quarters that the National Moslems have behind them a large following and challenging the representative character of the Moslem delegates nominated by the Viceroy, some information was given to *The Times* by Sir Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhitari, and a member of the United Provinces Government, who arrived a few days ago. He said :—

For the time being I do not wish to discuss the merits or demerits of separate or joint electorates. But I am sure of one thing: that if the method of choice of delegates had been that of election instead of selection by the Viceroy the Moslems would have put high at the top of the poll outstanding men who are here, such as his Highness the Aga Khan, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Maulana Shaukat Ali, and Mr. Jinnah. The strongest proof that the weight of opinion of our people does not lie with the National Moslems is that a consistent demand of the Moslems on the other side has been that in the future Constitution it should be left to a referendum of Moslems whether they wish to continue separate representation or to have joint electorates. Those who may be justly described as the leaders of the Moslems have no wish to keep the matter in their own hands, having steadily maintained that no decisive change should be made without full consultation of the people themselves by means of a referendum.

SEARCH FOR SETTLEMENT

While the outlook for a settlement by agreement within the next few days is overcast, a decision reached in the Conciliation Committee on Saturday affords gratifying evidence of the general desire

to utilize to the full the three days remaining for discussion before the Minorities Committee reassembles on Thursday. It was resolved, without dissent, that on the reassembling of the Federal Structure Committee this morning, a request should be made for an adjournment until after Thursday, in order that there may be no interruption to the work of exploring possible avenues of settlement. Adjournment is the more desirable as Mr. Gandhi has intimated that he will not ask for an extension of the week's time given for this purpose on Thursday last.

Other considerations are that the Federal Finance Sub-Committee under Lord Peel's chairmanship has not completed its heavy task, and that Lord Sankey has not found it possible to finish his draft report on the discussions in the Federal Structure Committee on the strength and composition of the bicameral Federal Legislature ; the proportions in each Chamber assigned to the States and British India respectively ; the methods of election ; and the relations between the two Chambers. Lord Sankey hopes to have the report in the hands of members of the Committee before the end of the week.

On reassembling after the adjournment to be proposed this morning, the Federal Structure Committee will take up further main heads of discussion, framed by the Lord Chancellor. They will be the Ministry and its relations with the Legislature ; the distribution of legislative powers between the Federal and Provincial Legislatures ; the effect in the States of legislation relating to federal subjects ; the administrative relations between the Federal Government and the States and the Provinces ; and the proposed Federal Court.

STATES' UNITY OF VIEW

While the minorities question offers a formidable obstacle to progress, an encouraging feature has been the efforts made to consolidate interests in the expectation of further constructive work by the Conference as a whole. For instance, the States delegation, like the Moslem delegation, meets regularly. Statements made some days ago that the delegation was divided into four well-defined groups mistook differences of opinion on matters of detail for want of agreement on principles. The one marked, though friendly, divergencies is that the Maharajah of Dholpur has put forward a plan of creating an electoral college which would elect the representatives of the States in the Federal Legislature and might function in some degree as a confederate body. This plan has been under discussion by the States delegation during the past week, with the result of a substantial lessening of the gap between the view propounded at the last sittings of the Conference and this suggested variation. It is understood that a statement will be issued shortly, signed by the great majority of members of the delegation, indicating their unity of view and purpose. Meanwhile a delegation from the Indian States Subjects Conference has arrived in this country. It is assumed that, following decisions reached last year, it will not be regarded as having any *locus standi* in connexion with the Round-Table Conference.

The British-Indian delegates have taken united action almost for the first time in the proceedings of the Conference on questions of policy. On their behalf Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar has put before the Federal Finance Sub-Committee a general scheme of financial apportionment for the Federation. It is based upon

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5th Oct 1931

specific principles, with modifications taking into account the peculiar difficulties of the States. The principles may be briefly indicated as:—

The removal of internal Customs barriers between the constituent units of Federation.

Federal taxation to apply equally to all parts of the Federation.

The right to impose and administer a tax to be vested in the authority which receives the proceeds.

Federal communications (railways, posts, and telegraphs) to be self-supporting, but not to be worked for profit as a means of taxation —*i.e.*, the profits, if any, should not be diverted to general revenues.

While federal finance must, in the peculiar circumstances of the Indian States, be derived mainly from indirect taxes, the Federal Government should have access to some direct source of taxation. A well-balanced system of taxation must be partly direct and partly indirect.

The second of these principles, the memorandum pointed out, would bar "tributes" or other contributions of the kind from Indian States unless similar contributions were demanded from British provinces and Indian States which at present pay no "tributes." It is held that "tribute" should be abolished on the introduction of a federal system of Government. In view of this opinion Sir Mirza Ismail's strong stand against "tributes" (of which Mysore is by far the largest contributor) may be taken to have succeeded. On the question of compensation to States which have in the past ceded territories in lieu of cash payments it is held that such claims should be investigated by an impartial tribunal; and if it should be found that any of them are on the same footing as "tributes" there should be similarity of treatment.

Yet another instance of group action is to be recorded. The British Indian delegates include a number of zemindars (landowners), who have decided to propose measures at the Conference for the due protection of landed rights. It will be recalled that the Report of the Minorities Committee last January recommended the inclusion in the Constitution of a declaration of fundamental rights safeguarding the cultural and religious life of the various communities, and securing to every individual, without discrimination as to race, caste, creed, or sex, the free exercise of economic, social, and civic rights. The landowning delegates are of opinion that the declaration of fundamental rights should include a specific reference to the rights of property.

Mr. Gandhi, who has been feeling the strain of the many calls upon his energies in the last two or three weeks, went to Canterbury yesterday morning on a private visit to the Dean, and returns this morning. His share in any discussions to-day of the Conciliation Committee will be hampered by Monday being his day of silence.

WORK OF ROUND TABLE

LORD SANKEY'S CALL FOR DECISIONS

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference adjourned yesterday morning for a few days in view of the informal discussions on a communal agreement which are in progress between certain members of the Minorities Committee. The Minorities Committee is due to reassemble on Thursday and the Federal Structure Committee on Friday.

The proposal for an adjournment was made by Pandit M. M. Malaviya. Lord Sankey, the chairman, said that, while he and his staff were willing and ready to go on at once, he recognized that if delay for the purpose stated was desired it ought not to be withheld. He much regretted the necessity, because they were very anxious to push on with their work.

In reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru Lord Sankey said that after Friday he hoped for an uninterrupted continuance of the work of the Committee, except on Sundays "and possibly Saturdays"—a remark which points to the hope and desire of Whitehall that the work of the Round Table may be pursued to the fullest possible measure during the expected General Election.

Lord Sankey showed that he is well aware of the risks inevitable from the holding up of business by the minorities problem. He remarked:—

> Delay is dangerous; every opportunity ought to be taken to settle this difficult question. Personally I am getting a little tired of debates. I want decisions.

Lord Sankey also remarked that some of the delegates wished to return to India "some time this year." In this connexion it may be stated that the Maharajah of Bikaner has booked his passage back to India by the last mail steamer in October. Although his health has not been good, it is known that the primary reason for his return to India is the need to look into the business of his State, from which he has been so long absent on Imperial affairs last year and this. Sir Manubhai Mehta, his Prime Minister, is in London as a delegate representing the Special Organization of the Princes, and it is hoped his services will be available to the end of the Conference.

It is understood that the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, may also be compelled by the calls of State to leave for India before the cold-weather season now approaching there is far advanced.

STATE "TRIBUTES"

Yesterday's adjournment of the Federal Structure Committee will give the Finance Sub-Committee, which meets again to-day, an opportunity to examine further the problems referred to it. The representatives of the Indian States are, it is understood, preparing their comments on the scheme put forward by Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar on behalf of the British-Indian delegates, the principles of which were outlined in *The Times* yesterday: and it seems likely that modifications in detail will result. Sir Akbar Hydari's exposition of the peculiar problems of the Indian States has had a marked effect on the Sub-Committee, and there is now a much more favourable prospect of a satisfactory understanding being arrived at between the two sides of India than appeared possible at the time when the Indian States delegates first put forward their case.

There are still difficulties to be surmounted. Even the question of "tributes," which, on the face of it, looks so simple, has many complications. While some States, notably Mysore, continue to pay contributions in cash to the Paramount Power, other States have compounded in the past for their cash-payments by cessions of territory. The question has been asked in the Sub-Committee how it is possible, in fairness, to take immediate steps to examine and remove the grievance of the cash-contributions without at the same time taking immediate steps to examine and remove the grievance of the ceded territories. For if the obligation of cash-contributions is wiped out, the burden will be lifted from the States concerned, and the resulting deficit in the Federal finances will have to be made good by contributions, whether direct or indirect, from the Provinces and from the other States, including those States who in the past have compounded for cash-contributions in perpetuity by cessions of territory.

For these reasons, it is expected that the representatives of Hyderabad, Baroda, and Gwalior, among the larger States, will stand together in insisting that the question of cash-payments and the question of ceded territories form two aspects of the same problem, which ought not to be considered independently.

MINORITIES PROBLEM

The Conciliation Committee met yesterday afternoon at 3 o'clock under "confidential" conditions which are nominal rather than real. Mr. Gandhi—on the ground of public interest—suspended the vow of 24 hours' silence which normally extends to 7 o'clock on Monday evenings. The minorities were asked to define their positions, and it was made abundantly clear that for them separate electorates and quotas of representation hold the field. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Annepu Patro, and Mr. Jinnah made a statement that, while they believed that joint electorates were the best form of constituency, having regard to political conditions in India, it was desirable to accept the claim of various minorities to separate electorates, and this view had the concurrence of a large majority of the informal committee.

Mr. Gandhi confessed his great perplexity and said he felt it would be very difficult indeed to evolve any plan to place before the Minorities Committee on Thursday. He referred to his mandate from the Congress, and said he had received telegrams from the Working Committee of that organization urging him not to depart therefrom. The Mahatma intimated a desire to vacate the chair if some other member of the Committee would take his place, but it was urged by several delegates that, having undertaken the gigantic task of seeking a common measure of agreement, he should discharge it for the allotted period and that he had special opportunities to serve his country as peacemaker. He consented to remain convener of the Committee, and said that as the main task was the settlement of the Hindu-Moslem problem, he would have a further conference with the Moslems this morning and the Committee would reassemble in the afternoon. One remark of importance was that, if communal electorates were maintained to the extent desired by the minorities, the Congress policy might be that of boycotting elections to the Legislatures.

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COMMUNAL ISSUE IN INDIA

ARBITRATION OPPOSED

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA, OCT. 6

With the end of the Session of the Legislative Assembly, the interest of political circles here is focused once more on the Round-Table Conference. The newspapers have returned to it to-day as the main subject of discussion, and it is significant that they are concentrating on the communal question.

The general tone is not particularly hopeful, nor has it been improved by a statement purporting to be from Mr. Gandhi published this morning, alleging that "the Conference is packed with ultra-communalists, who exaggerate their petty differences." As for the suggestion of arbitration or the reference of the issue to the decision of his Majesty's Government, which is attributed to Mr. Jayakar, it cannot be too clearly stated that the opinion of qualified observers here is all against it. They pay due tribute to the sincerity of those who propose the plan, but point out that a communal settlement is essentially a matter for agreement between the peoples themselves, who cannot be expected to accept the hasty decision of a third party imposed on them simply because their delegates in London are unable to find a common formula.

The situation in Kashmir, which has been one of the main causes of the increasing communal tension in Northern India during the last few weeks, has been definitely relieved by the general amnesty which the Maharajah announced to celebrate his birthday anniversary yesterday. The decision has come at an opportune moment; for the somewhat fulsome tribute handed to the Maharajah yesterday by the private court of inquiry, which he himself constituted, has neither placated Moslem irritation nor convinced impartial observers. In the Council of State this morning a member from Lahore described how processions were parading the city shouting, "Down, down, down with the Dogra *Raj* in Kashmir."

Indignation, however, is by no means confined to street crowds. All the newspapers this morning give prominence to the fact that among those who took part in a Moslem deputation to the Government of India with a view to securing better conditions for Moslems in Kashmir were Sir Mahomed Yakub (late President of the Assembly), Sir Abdul Qaiyum and Mian Shah Nawaz (both of whom are delegates to the Round Table), Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy, Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan, and other responsible leaders of the community.

The deputation laid stress on the alleged grievances of their brethren living under Hindu rule, and made much of the fact that the slaughter of cattle was absolutely prohibited. The Moslems, who were 90 per cent. of the population of Kashmir, were compelled to pay a tax of 5 rupees on a goat or a cow, while the Hindu paid only 8 annas. The members of the deputation went out of their way to make clear that they were not actuated by feelings of personal hostility to the Maharajah, who, they considered, had been led astray by his advisers.

THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

NEGOTIATIONS AMONG MINORITIES

TO-DAY'S MEETING

The Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference is to meet at St. James's Palace this morning under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. If no approach to agreement on the question of safeguards for minorities is reported it will not be for lack of continuous effort in the week which has elapsed since the Committee adjourned to enable British Indian delegates to explore the possibilities of settlement. Mr. Gandhi, who has been the central figure in the informal discussions since he undertook the task of convener of representatives of each section, was discussing the problem with the Aga Khan, the Moslem leader, until the early hours of yesterday morning. The conciliation committee sat in the afternoon until nearly 6 o'clock. In accordance with a decision then reached, it reassembled at 11 o'clock last night in a final effort to reach some understanding before the reassembling of the Minorities Committee.

Mr. Gandhi spent three hours of yesterday morning in discussing with the two Sikh delegates the position in the Punjab. They intimated their inability to agree to the Moslem claim that the numerical majority they possess should be secured by statutory provision, but said that in other respects they would go far to meet Moslem desires. As an alternative they suggested a regrouping of the Province, whereby 10 western revenue districts, where the Moslems form some 87 per cent. of the population, would either be constituted into a separate province or attached to the North-West Frontier Province, which would then have a population of about 8,000,000. In what would then be left of the present Punjab Province there would be a population of some 15,000,000, of whom 44 per cent. would be Moslems, 41 per cent. Hindus, and 15 per cent. Sikhs.

MOSLEM OBJECTIONS

When the scheme was propounded in the conciliation committee the Moslems stated that they could not commit themselves to an opinion until they had conferred with their colleagues and studied the scheme. A new phase was introduced into the discussions by a suggestion that the representatives of the three parties in the Punjab should agree to arbitration by three or five members of the Round-Table Conference, selected by agreement. Again the Moslems said that their delegation as a whole must be consulted; and when the committee adjourned shortly before 6 it was understood that the Moslem delegation would meet to consider the matter before the conciliation committee reassembles.

The Federal Finance Sub-Committee spent the day, under Lord Peel's chairmanship, in considering a draft report. It will meet again this afternoon, and if the draft is settled it will be available for the resumption of the work of Lord Sankey's Federal Structure Committee to-morrow.

A NEW FEDERAL SCHEME

The Maharajah Holkar of Indore, who received full governing powers last year after completing his education at Christ Church, Oxford, has sent to Lord Sankey, as chairman of the Federal Structure Committee, an important memorandum for circulation to the delegates giving his views on a federal Constitution for India, with particular reference to details now under consideration.

The federating units, the Maharajah Holkar suggests, should be :—(1) Federated British Indian Provinces ; and (2) the States collectively. The States should, with the assent of the Crown, constitute themselves into an electoral college, making one group or unit for the purpose of electing their quota of representatives to the federal Legislature. Federation should be for specified matters of common interest only. The federal Legislature would lay down policy and enact laws relating to a number of what have hitherto been known as central subjects.

The States would then automatically pass the federal laws as State laws, and they would come into force within the territories of the States. In the event of failure on the part of any State to carry out the policy and laws passed, the confederation of States would use its influence with the defaulting State through its representative. If these efforts failed, which his Highness does not consider likely, the federal Government would take necessary action through the Crown. This provision would be necessary to avoid the federal Government being brought into direct contact with the State subjects. His Highness's preference would be for a single Legislative Chamber, to which representatives could be sent by States through the proposed electoral college. The States need not have their representatives in the federal executive, which would be responsible to the Legislature.

The States constituting themselves into a federation would be sovereign States only. The States which have no sovereign powers and are of the nature of estates should have the option to be affiliated either to British India or to the States with which they have community of interests. Major States should be allotted a fixed number of seats to ensure their individual representation, and some regional distribution might also be made. In elections the principle of plural voting would be accepted, the number of votes allotted to a State depending on its political position, though population or revenue might also be given due weight. Federal finance would be found from indirect taxation only, so far as the States were concerned.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS

There should be a Supreme Court to deal with constitutional questions only, the qualifications of the *personnel* and its constitution to be specifically laid down in the Constitution. Disputes between the Crown and the Indian States should be settled by an impartial court of arbitration, separate from the Federal Court, the constitution of which should also be defined beforehand. The arbitration court should also decide disputes between a State or States and Provinces *inter se*, or between a State or States and the Central Government of British India. Neither of the proposed courts should have judicial powers or act as the highest court of appeal against judgments of provincial or State courts.

The Maharajah criticizes the scheme of federation outlined at the last sittings of the Conference on various grounds. He sees in the scheme the implication of a double allegiance for State subjects. Without proper safeguards, such as requiring a large majority of votes for any revision of the list of federal subjects, there would be, he thinks, danger of the list being expanded to the prejudice of the federated units and resulting in the diminution of sovereignty of the Indian States by slow stages. Under the scheme outlined last January the States representatives might have a voice in Central or Provincial subjects. This might lead to British India desiring similarly to interfere in the affairs of the States. The tendency would be for pressure to be brought on the States to adopt certain forms of government, whether they were suited to local conditions or not.

The Maharajah also considers there are risks of objectionable interference by the federal executive within the States, in the guise of general inspection to assure themselves of faithful adhesion to federal laws.

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ROUND TABLE

THE MINORITIES PROBLEM

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH

The Prime Minister presided at a meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference at St. James's Palace yesterday morning, when Mr. Gandhi announced "with deep sorrow and deeper humiliation" his utter failure to secure an agreed solution of the communal question through the informal conversations among and with the representatives of different groups which he undertook at the meeting of the Committee a week earlier. His views as to the causes of the breakdown and his proposal that the Committee should adjourn *sine die* were controverted by Sir Muhammad Shafi on behalf of the Moslem delegation and by representatives of other minorities.

The Prime Minister made a heartening speech, in which he said that the British Government wanted to go on with the task in hand, and would take action if the Committee did not go on to find a solution, because they were determined to make such improvements in the Government of India as would make it consistent with their ideas and capable of greater and greater expansion towards liberty. The Prime Minister's suggestion that it should be left to him to call the Committee together with as little delay as circumstances might permit was adopted.

As soon as the meeting assembled the PRIME MINISTER called upon Mr. Gandhi to make his statement. Mr. GANDHI, having apologized for the waste of a week, said that he was not aware of having spared any effort to reach a solution of the communal question. The causes of failure, he argued, were inherent in the composition of the Indian Delegation. "We are almost all not elected representatives of the parties or groups whom we are presumed to represent; we are here by nomination of the Government. Nor are those whose presence was absolutely necessary for an agreed solution to be found here."

SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI, who followed Mr. Gandhi, said he entirely dissented from such a proposition. All the four great political parties in India, he said, were represented at the Conference—the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation, and the Moslem community, and the leaders of the various political parties of India were delegates to the Conference, nominated by the Government of India after consultation with the working committees and executives of these various organizations.

MR. GANDHI'S SUGGESTION

In the course of his speech Mr. GANDHI sought to fasten upon Government a measure of the responsibility for failure of the negotiations. He said that the Committee proceedings lacked sense of reality. If they knew definitely that they were going to get the thing they wanted they would hesitate 50 times before they threw it away in sinful rancour, as it would be, if they were told that the getting of it would depend upon the ability of the delegation to produce an agreed solution of the communal tangle. "The solution can be the crown of the Swaraj constitution, not its foundation, if only because our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen, by reason of foreign domination. I have not a shadow of a doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom."

Mr. Gandhi therefore suggested that the Committee should be adjourned *sine die*, and that the fundamentals of the constitution should be hammered into shape as quickly as possible. The solution of the communal problem should not be allowed to block the progress of constitution building.

Here again SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI led the way in joining issue with the Mahatma. He said that the Moslem delegation held that it was impossible to carry on the work of constitution building in the Federal Structure Committee without concluding the work of the Minorities Committee. The links which remained to be forged in that Committee were all dependent upon the solution of the communal problem. He mentioned by way of illustration the question of responsibility in the centre. Unless and until the minorities—all minorities—were satisfied that their vital interests had been adequately safeguarded as a result of the deliberations of the Committee, how could they be expected to agree to the transfer of responsibility?

DR. AMBEDKAR, also opposing the proposal to adjourn *sine die*, held that there were only two courses open to them—either that the Minorities Committee should find a solution; or if such a solution was not reached, the British Government should undertake the finding of a solution.

One of Mr. GANDHI'S suggestions was that if efforts at agreement failed, a clause should be put into the new constitution appointing a judicial tribunal which would examine all claims and give its final decision on all the points that might be left unsettled. Dr. MOONJE, is is understood, had intended to propose formally the appointment of such a tribunal, but did not have an opportunity to do so. SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI observed that the Mahatma was ignoring a vital factor in the case. Did he realize that it would be impossible to frame a constitution for India without first settling the various communal problems involved?

THE NEGOTIATIONS FAILURE

Incidentally some light was thrown on the course of the fruitless negotiations of the preceding week. Mr. GANDHI mentioned that Sir Geoffrey Corbett, one of the secretaries of the Delegation, had produced a scheme of redistribution of the Punjab, and he had asked Sir Geoffrey to elaborate and circulate it among the members. Their Sikh colleagues had also produced a scheme. On the previous night Sir Hubert Carr had made the ingenious and novel proposal to set up in the Punjab two Legislatures, the lower to satisfy the Moslem claims and the upper seeking to satisfy the Sikh claims. He said that though not a believer in a bicameral Legislature he was much attracted by this proposal. Subsequently Sirdar Ujjal Singh gave further details of his proposal.

Mr. Gandhi's renewed exposition of the "mandate" to him of the Indian National Congress was prefaced by a renewal of the claim that this organization represents "the whole nation, and most decidedly the dumb millions, among whom are included the numberless Untouchables, who are more suppressed than depressed, and also in a way the more unfortunate and neglected classes known as backward races." Later DR. AMBEDKAR challenged the claim, and said that although there might be people in the Congress who might show sympathy towards the Depressed Classes, the latter were not in the Congress. Mr. GANDHI read the Congress resolution on the subject of communal claims and a scheme of adjustment prepared by the working committee of the Congress. He said that if the Congress scheme proved unacceptable he was not precluded from endorsing any other reasonable scheme which might be acceptable to the parties concerned. Where the Congress could not help it would not obstruct. Needless to say it would wholeheartedly support any scheme of "private arbitration."

The alternative of Government arbitrament was urged by successive speakers. SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI said that the Moslems, being convinced that the future of India lay within the British Commonwealth of Nations, were not willing to accept the arbitration of any outsider. His Majesty's Government as the head of that commonwealth were in the best position to decide the question, and the Moslems were perfectly willing that they should be the judges of it. Indeed, constitutionally it was H.M. Government and the British Parliament which would have to undertake the responsibility of deciding this question along with the other questions relating to constitution evolution in India.

This view was supported by SIR ANNEPU PATRO, who has had much experience of fruitless negotiations in attempts to reach agreement as chairman of the All-Parties Conference in India.

SIR ANNEPU made a suggestion of which more will be heard. Its essence was that as a beginning there should be responsibility at the centre on the lines of the Government of India Dispatch, and provincial autonomy as soon as each province, through committees appointed for the purpose, settled its communal and other difficulties. In each case the report of the provincial committee would come up for consideration by his Majesty's Government, and such plan as was finally devised would be submitted to Parliament for approval—and take effect by means of an Order in Council. Sir Annepu held that progress could thus be made while the necessarily slow stages of Federation were being shaped.

DR. AMBEDKAR once more stated the case of the Depressed Classes. They were not anxious for transfer of political power from the British Government, but if there was such transfer it should be accompanied by conditions and provisions preventing that power from falling into the hands of a clique or of an oligarchy, or into the hands of a group of people, whether Moslems or Hindus; but ensuring the sharing of that power by all communities in their respective proportions. Mr. A. T. PANNIR SELVAN took exception to so much discussion having been concentrated on the Punjab, with the result that little had been said or thought regarding minorities in other provinces. SIR PADAMJI GINWALLA added briefly to the discussion as one belonging to a community (the Parsee) asking for no special privileges. He argued that the Committee should recognize its responsibility of judging between the various claims which had been brought forward by the several communities. If the Committee was not to decide the issue it must prepare materials for some one else to decide.

PRIME MINISTER'S ADVICE

The Prime Minister suggested at the outset of his speech that the material was abundant enough. There were plenty of brass tacks about, but the heads were lying in the wood and the sharp edges were above. The problem of the Committee was to reverse the position of the brass tacks, not to put down another half-dozen.

The regret so sincerely expressed by the representatives who had spoken was, he said, shared in the most wholehearted way by the representatives of the British Government They profoundly regretted that no suggestion had been made as the result of those conferences. From the very beginning they had pressed upon the Committee to come to some agreement, "not because it would help us, but because we have a great sense of your own self-respect." Anybody who was going to try to put into definite legal shape the principles of constitutional liberty which the Government representatives had in their minds would find it absolutely impossible to lay down or draft that Constitution unless the communal question had been agreed to, "not enforced or made enforcible by a Government . . . but flowing from your own hearts and the result of your own agreements. That is the thing that we have felt very keenly."

Mr. MacDonald appealed to the delegates not to attribute their common failure to any method by which they had been elected, but to their own personal shortcomings. "Be honest and face the facts. The communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not? I do not answer it; I leave you honestly to answer it for yourselves and to yourselves."

If the community problem did exist, how could it, he asked, be discussed with a view to a settlement, if possible, either in India or here? His Indian friends had been taught to follow the principles of representative institutions. He asked them if the Government of India or the Government here had surveyed India with a blank mind as to what political organizations and political leaders were in India and had said: "We put you all on one side; we do not recognize any of you or any of the organizations which you represent; but we, considering what we imagine to be a sort of mass movement, unorganized very largely, select A and B and C from that mass movement," what would they have said? Or Mr. Gandhi or Dr. Moonje have said? "You would have said that it was one more illustration of how the British Government acts in an arbitrary way."

The Government did not do that; they believed in representative democracy, and as a practical politician he asked the Conference to face their difficulties, because they would never solve their problem until they had faced them and until they got their organized masses in agreement with whatever the solution was.

"Do not let us go away, therefore, and say it is the composition of this Conference or the way in which you were selected that is to blame for it all. The blame is that the facts are presenting difficulties which you have not yet managed to overcome."

BRUCE AND THE SPIDER

Mr. MacDonald reminded them of the story of Robert Bruce and the spider, and added: "I do not know how many times you have been baffled in trying to get to an agreement, but do remember that no great achievement has been accomplished at the first, the second, or the third attempt, and you had better go on trying to take your own responsibilities upon your own shoulders and see if an agreement can be come to."

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"There is another point I want to put to you. Will any of you tell me, quite honestly, that the continued existence of this problem unsolved can be overlooked either by yourselves if you were drafting your own Constitution or by his Majesty's Government if it were trying to draft a Constitution for you? . . . You know perfectly well that while this problem is unsolved it puts an enormous obstacle in the way of Constitution-making for India, not simply because that Constitution must be drafted by his Majesty's Government in present circumstances, but supposing I said to you on behalf of the Government, and supposing Parliament agreed, 'Take the business over to yourselves,' why, you know perfectly well that you could not go six inches without coming to a deadlock. . . . You could not go six inches without coming up against difficulties, and all those general phrases about your going to settle it in this way or that way—what is the difference between those phrases and what we are doing now? There is no difference at all. His Majesty's Government at the present moment is doing its very best on the lines of those phrases and those aspirations to get you to an agreement; and you have reported to me this morning, and to my colleagues this morning, that you have failed.

"Well, what I would suggest is this. Leave me to call the next meeting of this Committee. That is not adjourning *sine die*, I can assure you. . . . In the meantime what I would like would be if those of you who are sitting opposite me, the representatives of the small minorities, would also try your hands."

SIR H. A. GIDNEY and DR. S. K. DATTA assured Mr. MacDonald that they had tried and reached some measure of agreement.

Mr. MACDONALD suggested that if there were any common agreements they should be circulated.

Mr. MacDonald, proceeding, said that they could not there settle the business of the Federal Structure Committee. "The Federal Structure Committee must meet itself and decide what it is going to do in certain circumstances, and that will be reported to me, as chairman of the Conference, in due time, and then we will work at it."

The British Government was determined to have a success of this Round-Table Conference; it was not the British Government that was going to stand in the way of any agreement. He did not think they wanted it to break off the consultation and produce a document and proposals. They knew well that there was one very serious difficulty in that way. If a Government produced its proposals, that was as near a last word as the circumstances of creation would allow anybody to say a last word on anything. "We do not want a Constitution which is a machine which will never work at all, whatever power you put in behind it, a machine the very mechanism of which means a deadlock. You do not want that. We certainly do not want it."

The Government wanted to go on, and it wanted the Conference to go on. The Government would take its action if the Conference could not go on to an end, because it was determined to make such improvements in the government of India as would make the government of India consistent with British ideas, and make something that was capable of greater and greater expansion towards liberty. He appealed to the delegates not to stand in the way, because that was what was happening.

I suggest, therefore (said Mr. MacDonald) that what we should do is just to adjourn this Committee now, and for you to raise your points—your very good points and your very serious points—at the Federal Structure Committee, and see what decision that Committee sees its way to come to.

The Committee adjourned at 12.40 p.m.

COMMUNAL ISSUE IN INDIA

FEELING IN SIMLA

NECESSITY FOR A DECISION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA, OCT. 9

The news of the failure of the conversations on the communal problem was received here this morning with grave concern but little surprise. The negotiations, with their optimistic beginning, fruitless bargaining, and ultimate breakdown, had followed the lines which have long been familiar in this country.

The thoughts of all here are now turned to the effect of failure on the future of the Round-Table Conference, and here there is unanimous opinion on one point. Everyone wants to see the discussions on federation, safeguards, and other problems before the Conference go full speed ahead, but unless they are accompanied by a renewed and unceasing effort to succeed, where the informal committee has failed, they will be unreal in the extreme.

Mr. MacDonald's speech at the Minorities Sub-Committee made a deep and favourable impression. A common comment is that it was high time someone told the delegates a few home truths. The criticism of Mr. Gandhi by the other leaders is no surprise to those who had studied the limitation of his sphere of influence in his own country. Mr. Gandhi's own speech has provoked adverse comment on two points. The first is his claim that the conversations failed because of the unrepresentative character of the Conference. Even his own supporters have never taken this line in this country. Careful study of the Indian Press since the lists of delegates were first announced will show that, with the exception of the agitation in favour of Dr. Ansari's nomination, there has not been a single important instance of the complaint that the Conference was incomplete as the result of the omission of this or that name.

MR. GANDHI AND CONGRESS

The other feeling most frequently expressed is a frank distrust of Mr. Gandhi's statement that "Congress will whole-heartedly support any scheme for private arbitration." The sincerity of Mr. Gandhi's own assurance is not doubted, but at the moment there is more criticism of his leadership than at any other time in what might conveniently be called the Round-Table period which began with Lord Irwin's declaration on October 29, 1929. Since Mr. Gandhi's departure his own lieutenants in his own Press do not hesitate to express disagreement, when they feel inclined, while the younger and noisier elements of the Congress have come out in open revolt. To-day, for instance, news has come that 21 members of the so-called Frontier Council of Peshawar have broken away on the question of allowing freedom of action to Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Altogether, when Mr. Gandhi says that the Congress will whole-heartedly support any scheme of arbitration, it is more than doubtful whether he has the full right to commit his followers. Even Mr. Gandhi's most loyal newspapers express the fear this morning that he is "bartering away" the Congress policy to placate the minorities.

The other side of the picture is seen in a telegram sent to the Aga Khan to-day by Sir Mohamed Yakub and Yamin Khan, who have been appointed by Moslem members of the Legislative Assembly to watch their interests at this end. The telegram warns the Moslem delegates in London that further negotiations with Mr. Gandhi would be futile, dangerous, and humiliating to Moslems and other minorities. Approval of Sir Muhammad Shafi's speech, especially his references to the representative nature of the delegation and the impossibility of framing a constitution without first settling the communal issue, is by no means confined to his own community.

FRONTIER TROUBLES

The resignation of the members of the Congress Council mentioned is the latest development in the frontier situation, which is distinctly improving as the result of the tightening up of disciplinary action against the Red Shirts and the pacification of the Afridis.

The present threat to the peace of India seems to lie in Kashmir, where the incursion of Jathas of militant Moslems from the Punjab is causing serious concern. It is estimated in official quarters to-day that more than 700 had crossed the border, about 350 of whom had been arrested. Responsible observers who have studied the latest manifesto of the Moslem Committee freely admit the unreasonableness of many of its demands. It is, however, equally apparent that the Moslem community in the State has a genuine feeling of grievance. The view is held here that it is incumbent on the Maharajah to satisfy not only the Moslems among his subjects but Moslems elsewhere in the country, and that their grievances should receive the utmost consideration if the present agitation is not to become a source of danger to the peace of the whole of Northern India.

CONGRESS AND THE ELECTION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, OCT. 9

One Congress newspaper this morning, giving a full report of Mr. MacDonald's speech in the Minorities Sub-Committee, inserts cross-heads representing him as telling nursery stories, shedding crocodile tears, and gloating over India's humiliation. Another newspaper announces that the Indian delegates' speeches have provided material for a diehard campaign against India and that Tory headquarters are making selections from them suitable for propaganda in order that the constituencies may be flooded with literature attacking Indian aspirations. Earlier in the week the statement was made that Ministers, guided by diehards, had shelved the fundamental question of granting more political power to India by allowing the minority question to assume undue prominence.

Congress writers appear particularly indignant about the General Election. One says:—"As originally understood the elections ought not to have come in the way of the Conference, but now the Conference will recede into the background for some time." Another suggestion is that Sir John Simon's recent broadcast speech was inspired by the Cabinet in order to create further trouble among minorities. There is insistence also on some mysterious pact between the Tories and the Moslems, and the Aga Khan's hospitality is regarded as a sinister feature of this conspiracy.

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ROUND TABLE

MR. GANDHI AND MOSLEMS

The report of the Federal Finance Sub-Committee, presided over by Lord Peel, which was finally adopted on Friday, will be in the hands of members of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference this morning, and its main conclusions are summarized below. The completion of this constructive contribution to the work of the Conference has led to expectations among delegates, probably much too optimistic, that the work of the Conference may be brought to a conclusion by the middle of November. This calculation overlooks the fact that there is to be a subsidiary, but concurrent, Round-Table Conference on the future of Burma.

A formidable obstacle to speedy work and other than tentative and conditional conclusions is the persistence of the communal tangle; and on this at the week-end there was among British Indian delegates little sign of optimism as to the possibilities of the further negotiation among them for which the Prime Minister so earnestly appealed on Thursday. The feeling seems to be that with Mr. Gandhi leading the negotiations, the trump card was played, and that prospects of settlement are more remote now than they were last December and January. Such is the feeling of despondency that many delegates think that the time has come for the Government to step in and adjudicate.

The interval afforded by the General Election gives new opportunity for discussion, and delegates should be encouraged thereto by a consideration of the big strides towards settlement taken during the week of private negotiation preceding the Prime Minister's appeal for renewed effort. Mr. Gandhi did not succeed in his difficult task, but he went a long way in modifying his preconceived ideas in the effort to seek peace and ensue it. It is known that in his private midnight talks with the Moslem delegation (including the Nationalist Moslem representative, Sir Ali Imam) he accepted on behalf of the Congress their proposals as amended in discussion. The main points of provisional agreement were:—

In the Punjab and Bengal a bare majority of 1 per cent. to be given the Moslems in the Legislatures, the question whether by means of joint electorates, with the necessary reservation of seats, or separate electorates (the present system) to be decided by a poll of the Moslem electors before the introduction of the new Constitution.

In the provinces where the Moslems are a minority the present "weightage" of seats to be maintained, but the question of joint or separate electorates to be settled in the same way as in Bengal and the Punjab.

In the Federal Legislature the Moslem representation in both Houses to be 26 per cent. of the total number of British Indian representatives, and of the quota assigned to the States 7 per cent. at least by convention to be Moslems, with a view to their constituting one-third of both Houses.

Residuary powers to vest in the federating provinces of British India.

On other and less controversial points also Mr. Gandhi was prepared, in the interests of peace, to accept the Moslem view and to seek the acquiescence of other Hindu members. On his Congress "mandate" the Moslems stated that they stood for responsibility with safeguards. They refused emphatically to desert the minorities—Depressed Classes, Anglo-Indians, and Europeans—who, under the Congress plan, would be given no reservation of seats.

QUESTION OF ARBITRATION

Mr. Gandhi's earnest efforts to secure agreement were frustrated by the unbending attitude of the Mahasabha and Sikh representatives. The alternative proposal made in the conciliation committee by Mrs. Naidu and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for the Punjab problem to be arbitrated upon by three or five selected members of the committee was considered in private by the Moslems, who later intimated their assent; but again the Mahasabha and Sikh delegates were in opposition. The plan of outside arbitration which the Mahasabha group would favour is objected to by the majority of Hindu as well as Moslem delegates on the ground that, however fair-minded and earnest members of such a tribunal might be, most of them would probably be approaching for the first time the inner problems of India and might well fall short of rightly estimating their significance. There is growing dissatisfaction in the delegation that the racial condition of one province and the negative attitude of two small groups of members are holding up a solution; and it is generally recognized that Mr. Gandhi rendered a great service under difficulties created by some from whom he might have looked for support. He spent a well-earned week-end rest as the guest of the Bishop of Chichester.

Sir Annepu Patro, in a statement to *The Times* on the interesting proposal he put forward in the Minorities Committee, said:—

The completion of the federation of British India and the States will necessarily take three or four years. During the interim period India cannot wait for responsibility in the Provinces and at the Centre. Delay will be dangerous and will not be consistent with the Viceregal declaration of two years ago regarding Dominion status. Therefore, the British Government should prepare a scheme ready for application on the basis of the recommendations of the Government of India Dispatch. The communal and minority problem will be more readily solved by provincial conferences than on an all-India basis. The agreed schemes should be examined by the local Governments with a view to their receiving the sanction of Parliament by Order in Council under the existing law. In each case where no agreement is reached the present system of representation in the Legislatures would continue. Uniformity of administration is not practicable in all Provinces, and there should be an adaptation to the needs of each. During the interim the work of shaping the Federal scheme for India must go forward to completion. This plan will provide Nationalist forces with practical constructive work and draw them away from a mere ploughing of the sands.

FEDERAL FINANCE

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE

Lord Peel's Report on the conclusions of the Federal Finance Sub-Committee is a workmanlike document, marked by very few of those reservations and dissents which are to be found in past committee reports. It is the result of nine days of meetings and many hours of hard work behind the scenes.

The Sub-Committee was directed "to examine and report upon the general principles upon which the financial resources and obligations of India should be apportioned between the Federation, the British Indian units jointly and severally, and the States units." The Sub-Committee suffered from the disadvantage of being unable, with the time at its disposal, to make even tentative estimates of the probable revenue and expenditure of the Federation and its constituent units. Hence the Sub-Committee asks that any theoretical scheme for the division of resources and obligations should, before being embodied in the Constitution, be put to the test of a careful examination of its probable results by some body which is fully equipped for the task. It accordingly recommends that when the present Session is concluded an expert committee should be constituted to work out in detail a financial scheme for the Federation, taking as its starting point the general proposals contained in the present report. The standpoint from which specific recommendations are made is:—

(*a*) that it is undesirable to disturb the existing distribution of resources between the various Governments in India unless there are imperative reasons for making a change;

(*b*) that to begin with at least the Federation and its constituent units are likely to require all their present resources (and indeed to need fresh sources of revenue); so that, on the whole, it is improbable that any considerable head of revenue could be surrendered initially by any of the Governments without the acquisition of alternative resources.

PRE-FEDERATION DEBT

Discussing the problem of the pre-Federation debt, the Sub-Committee points out that, in addition to taking over the productive debt, the Federal authority will presumably succeed to the whole of the buildings and public works of all kinds which are now the property of the Central Government. The replacement value of these is, of course, an enormous sum. It is doubtful whether any other country could make so favourable a comparison as India between the total volume of its debt and the value of its productive assets. If it were found after investigation by the expert committee that all the obligations were covered by assets, the whole of the pre-Federation debt should be taken over by the Federation.

It is pointed out that if there is to be an equitable apportionment of burdens and smooth working of the constitutional machine the Federal resources should as far as possible be confined to revenues derived alike from the inhabitants of the Provinces and the States, and which can be raised either without any action on the part of individual States or by an agreement with them of a simple character. Reasons are given for the view that if a "direct" tax could be found which complied with these conditions its inclusion among Federal resources would be highly desirable, since there are obvious objections to entire reliance upon "indirect" taxes. Regarding taxes on income, it was agreed that they should still be collected from the whole of British India by one centralized administrative service, the net proceeds being redistributed to the Provinces. The Federal Finance Minister, before introducing any proposal to vary the income-tax rate, should be required to consult Provincial Finance Ministers. The expert committee should recommend by what criteria the proceeds of income-tax should be allocated among the Provinces.

The recommendation that Federal taxes and Provincial taxes should be fully scheduled is followed by an initial classification. Under this scheme the problem of "residuary powers" of taxation in its ordinary sense would seem to disappear; the only question would be who should have the right to levy taxes hitherto uncontemplated in India. The Federation should be vested with the right to levy such taxes, and empowered to assign the right to units in particular cases. Some members of the Sub-Committee held, however, that the right should rest with the units, subject to the condition that the levy of a tax did not conflict with the Federal scheme of taxation.

INTERNAL CUSTOMS DUTIES

It is recommended that an aim of Federation should be the gradual disappearance of any tax now in force in a State (such as an internal Customs tariff) which is similar in character to a Federal tax, and so may impinge on Federal receipts. Transit dues, whether in the Provinces or the Federating States, should be specifically forbidden. The Provinces should be debarred from levying internal Customs. There should be no taxation by a unit on the property of the Federal Government.

Assuming that there may be a substantial Federal deficit, due to the allocation of income-tax to the Provinces, the Sub-Committee proposes that it should be met by contributions from the Provinces, to be divided between them either on the basis of their respective revenues or of population, or according to some other defined method.

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Much was heard in the Federal Structure Committee regarding the existing "tributes" (now termed "cash payments") from certain States. It is recognized that, generally speaking, there is no place for contributions of a feudal nature under the new Federal Constitution. Only the probability of a lack of Federal resources at the outset prevents a recommendation for immediate abolition. Pending expert inquiry, it is recommended that "in certain cases in which real hardship is inflicted by the relative magnitude of the burden" Government should remit at once that part of any contribution which is in excess of 5 per cent. of the total revenues of a State. The expert committee should examine the claim of certain States that, through having ceded territory, they will be liquidating a liability in respect of Federal burdens. As to State forces, the question of financial adjustment, if any, should be taken up between the military and financial authorities of the Federal Government on the one hand and the individual States on the other. The expert committee should examine the question of external Customs dues in maritime States and Kashmir. The emergency powers with which the Federal Government should be vested; the borrowing powers of the units, and the security of post-Federation debt; Provincial balances; and the financial aspects of the work of commercial departments are also discussed in the report.

INDIAN COMMUNAL DEADLOCK

MOSLEMS AND ARBITRATION

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA, Oct. 11

Sir Mahomed Yakub, formerly President of the Legislative Assembly and now secretary of the All-India Moslem League, issued a statement to-day backing up Sir Muhammad Shafi's attitude at the Round-Table Conference. Speaking on behalf of the Moslem community, Sir Mahomed Yakub protests against the suggestion of outside arbitration on the communal settlement, and suggests that the British Government is the only competent authority.

He points out the uselessness of attempting to frame a Constitution without the preliminary solution of the communal issue, saying "the communal adjustment must form the corner-stone, not the dome, of our future Constitution. The fundamental principles of the framework of India's Constitution are inseparable from the communal problem. The former, therefore, cannot be framed and moulded until the latter has been solved." Sir Mahomed Yakub strongly refutes Mr. Gandhi's charge that the *personnel* of the Indian delegation is unrepresentative. He claims that 75 per cent. would have stood the test of the ballot-box, while the Moslems had the utmost confidence in their representatives.

OCTOBER 13, 1931

COMMUNAL INDIA

DEPRESSED CLASSES AND MR. GANDHI

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference meets to-day to begin consideration of the report of the Federal Finance Sub-Committee, the main features of which were indicated in *The Times* yesterday. Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Srinivasan, the representatives of the Depressed Classes at the Conference, have sent a statement to *The Times* on the situation as affected by the failure of the negotiations last week for a communal settlement.

They recall the fact that what they have been asking for their people is:—(1) A declaration of fundamental rights guaranteeing security of life, liberty and property, accompanied by complete emancipation from the curse of untouchability and other disabilities arising out of it; and (2) special representation in the Legislatures to see that their rights and interests are not put in jeopardy by the Legislature or the Executive.

The two representatives complain that, while Mr. Gandhi is willing to concede special representation to Hindus and Sikhs, he asks the Depressed Classes to be content with a declaration of fundamental rights. His offer of adult suffrage is not a special benefit confined to the Depressed Classes: it is to be of universal application. The Depressed Classes would, therefore, remain a minority. Regarding the concessions made by Mr. Gandhi to the Moslem claims, as indicated in *The Times* yesterday, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Srinivasan write:—

"We do not in the least regret the concession to the Muslims of their claims because we think that in the main they are just. What surprises us is that while Mr. Gandhi should be willing to alter, modify, and even to tear off the Congress mandate and the congress formula to bring about a settlement with the Muslims, he should be flinging them in the faces of the Depressed Classes and the smaller minorities."

The writers go on to complain of Mr. Gandhi's methods for defeating their endeavours to secure special representation for the Depressed Classes:—

"When [they say] Mr. Gandhi moved that the Minorities Sub-Committee should be adjourned to allow an informal committee to settle the communal problem, we, on behalf of the Depressed Classes, took objection to the adjournment on the ground that Mr. Gandhi as representing the Congress had made it clear that he would not recognize their claim, and therefore there was no use our joining in the informal committee's deliberations. By way of assurance Mr. Gandhi stated that, though by reason of the Congress Mandate he could not recognize the claims of the Depressed Classes, the Congress had left him free to endorse the recognition of the claim of the Depressed Classes if other minorities agreed to recognize it. It was because of this open-door formula and the feeling of certainty that other minorities would give their recognition that we consented to participate in the deliberations of the informal committee. In the informal committee Mr. Gandhi of course, in conformity with the Congress Mandate, continued to oppose our claim at every turn. . . ."

The particular grievance the signatories have in mind is that Mr. Gandhi is stated to have wished the Moslems, as one of the conditions of accepting their demands, to oppose the claims of the Depressed Classes and smaller minorities to special representation. Thanks are expressed to the Moslem delegation for refusing to do so. Finally, it is observed:—

"We are not disheartened by Mr. Gandhi's attitude, for we have faith in the justice of our claim and in the sense of fairness of delegates like Sir T. B. Sapru, Sir A. P. Patro, and his Highness the Aga Khan. And we are sure that the British Parliament will not hand us over to a community which brands and treats us, who count somewhere near 60,000,000, as untouchable, whose approach is an affront and whose presence is pollution, without the protection of special representation. We are rather glad that this attitude of Mr. Gandhi towards the Depressed Classes will go a long way to explode the legend built up by the efforts of his blind followers like Mr. Andrews and others that Mr. Gandhi is the champion of the Depressed Classes."

This is not the occasion for detailed comment on the statement of Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Srinivasan, but it is no more than just to Mr. Gandhi to recall his outspoken and continuous efforts to break down the barriers of caste.

OCTOBER 14, 1931

FEDERAL INDIAN FINANCE

STATES' CRITICISM OF PROPOSALS

THE FEDERAL COURT

The Federal Structure Committee of the Indian Round-Table Conference resumed its sittings yesterday morning, after an adjournment since Friday, with Lord Sankey in the chair. It had under consideration the report of the Finance Sub-Committee, which was presented by Lord Peel. The central point of discussion was the intimation by Sir Akbar Hydari that the States delegation hold it to be essential that the report of the proposed expert committee, to work out in detail a financial scheme for the Federation, should be before them before they can join the Federation.

The States could not, Sir Akbar said, first join the Federation, and then leave it to the Federation to determine very important questions, such as what should be the taxation it would be within the province of the Federal Government to impose. The expert committee, in his opinion, should be appointed by H.M. Government and should meet in India. When Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru remarked that the report of the expert committee would have to be considered by the Federation, Sir Akbar Hydari replied that the report would be a preliminary to Federation. Before the States saw the report they could not decide whether they would federate or not.

Several questions, some of them from the Chair, did not lead to modification of Sir Akbar Hydari's claim. In a few sentences the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, confirmed it, and at the afternoon sitting Sir Akbar Hydari further defined it. When the States representatives on the sub-committee agreed to the expert committee, he said, it was on the understanding that its proposals would be available for the drafting of the Constitution. In the report of the Federal Structure Committee last session it had been intimated that everyone would have liberty to revise his opinion as the picture was shaped. Many other inquiries were in contemplation. To wait for the report of this particular committee would not therefore delay matters. The States were merely claiming that they should see the result as part of the data upon which each unit must make up its mind. In reply to Lord Sankey Sir Akbar agreed that a time should be fixed by which the States should make up their minds about entry into the Federation.

INDIAN PUBLIC DEBT

In presenting the report LORD PEEL made a gratifying statement on the public debt of India. When the matter was fully investigated, he said, it would probably be found that India held assets for the Federal Government almost, if not entirely equivalent to the whole of the debt. He believed that this was almost unparalleled in any other country in the world. He congratulated the Princes and the States on coming into such a splendid inheritance. It might be, he added, that certain parts of the Debt ought to fall on Central, as distinct from Federal, revenues; but that was a domestic matter to be adjusted between the Federation and the provinces.

In this connexion Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, the Bombay industrialist and financier, who has recently arrived, put in a proviso, which recalled to mind a recent Congress report. He said it should be noted that acceptance of the Sub-Committee's recommendations in relation to the pre-Federation debt did not prejudice the broader question of the liability of India to the whole of the existing public debt. This was a separate issue, and had to be considered on its own merits.

Lord Peel made reference in his introductory speech to the tendency the Sub-Committee had shown to allocate the good joints to the provinces and States, and leave rather a meagre fare for the Federal Government. A good deal of financial "elbow room" was necessary for the Government, and although it might have a restricted number of powers, it might have a restricted number of powers, it should be paramount. It had the great duty of defence. It was also really responsible for the general credit of India. Federal resources should not be too closely restricted. They wanted to increase flexibility through the possibility of grants from the Federation to the constituent units and conversely. Then [illegible] powers which must exist in the Constitution should any question of difficulty arise.

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Referring to internal matters, Lord Peel said that the Sub-Committee had tried to get the greatest degree possible of free trade within the Federation. But the States were strongly against doing away with their internal Customs, and it was clearly thought by the Sub-Committee that to wipe out at one swoop the States' internal resources of taxation would paralyse their Budgets and make it impossible for them to carry on. State contributions were very unequal in incidence, and could not be said to be a fair contribution to the Central Government. Hence the various suggestions of the Sub-Committee regarding a percentage reduction and ultimate abolition.

POWERS OF FEDERAL COURT

Lord Sankey has circulated to the Committee a Note on a subject left untouched at the first sittings of the Conference—that of a Federal Court.

He holds a Federal Court to be "an essential element" in a Federal Constitution such as is contemplated for India, since it would be needed to interpret Federal laws and compel obedience to them, and more particularly to interpret the Federal Constitution itself. Neither the United States nor Canada, he believes, would provide a suitable model. The Federal Court he contemplates would exercise in general only an appellate jurisdiction in Federal matters, both from the British Indian Courts and from the corresponding States Courts. The British Indian and States Courts should not be deprived of their original jurisdiction except in disputes in Federal matters, and it would seem a necessary consequence of federation that in disputes between Province and State in Federal matters the Princes should have to submit in some sense or other to the jurisdiction of the Federal judiciary, just as they would have to concede a right of appeal in Federal matters from the Courts of their States.

The Federal Court would have jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Federal Constitution or under Federal laws, and such other cases as might be regarded as proper to be determined by such a tribunal. Its functions in interpretation of the Constitution would imply competence to declare *ultra vires* any law passed by the Federal legislature, or the law-making body of any Federal unit. Appointments to the Court should rest with the Crown.

MR. GANDHI AT LABOUR RECEPTION

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

Mr. HENDERSON, in welcoming Mr. Gandhi at a National Labour Club reception at Caxton Hall on Monday night, said that it would be a bitter disappointment to them if anything interfered to prevent a satisfactory solution of the great problem of the future of India. "I personally regret," he said, "that there has been a temporary cessation to some extent of the negotiations as the result of this unwanted election. However disappointing that may be to those who have come from India in a search for a satisfactory solution, I trust they will continue to exercise patience a little longer, and that immediately after this election campaign is over the representatives of the Conference will get down very diligently and bring the Conference to a satisfactory termination."

Mr. GANDHI said:—"If I go away with empty hands after all my efforts, I shall go away with every satisfaction that I have been able to set my case before those who are in earnest about India."

In reply to a question, he said:—"I would consider it nothing if we had to pay a million lives for our liberty, but one thing I hope the Congress has set its heart upon, and that is that it will conduct its campaign throughout non-violently and truthfully. So whether it is with one life or a million that we have to pay I am hoping and praying that it will be possible for the future historian to say that India fought and won her liberty without the shedding of human blood."

A NEW PUNJAB

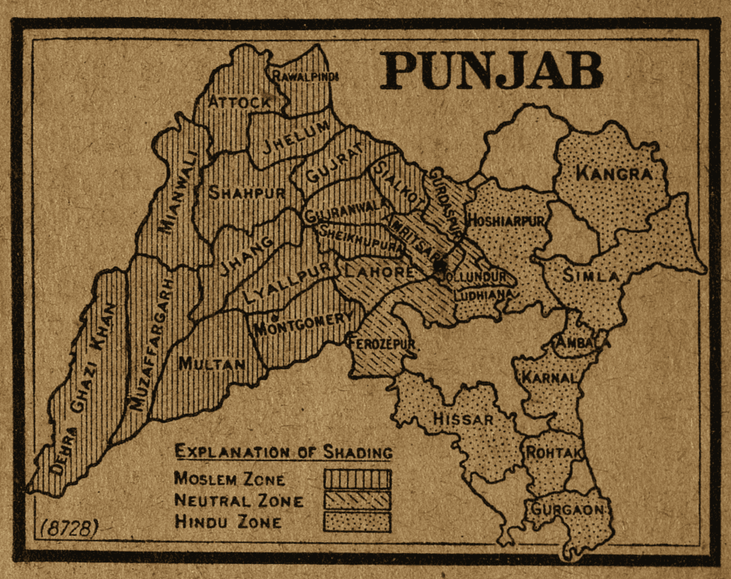
MEETING COMMUNAL CLAIMS

A memorandum on the communal problem in the Punjab, written by Sir Geoffrey Corbett, one of the secretaries of the British Indian Delegation, has been circulated among the delegates to the Round-Table Conference. In the course of his memorandum Sir Geoffrey Corbett says:—

The communal problem in the Punjab may be stated as follows:—

A.—The Moslems, being a majority of the population, claim to have a majority in the Legislature. For this they consider separate electorates to be necessary, because their numerical majority is not sufficient to outweigh the greater wealth and influence of other communities, to which the Moslem ryots are stated to be heavily indebted.

B.—The Sikhs would prefer joint electorates. But if the Moslems have separate electorates, the Sikhs claim (*a*) that Moslem representation by separate electorates must be less than



50 per cent. of the whole Legislature; (*b*) that the Sikhs must also have separate electorates with substantial weightage, as claimed by Moslems in provinces where they are a minority.

C.—The Hindus desire joint electorates, but they are willing to accept any compromise which satisfies the following principles:—(*a*) there must be no reservation of seats for a majority community which would give it a "statutory majority" in the Legislature; (*b*) the reservation of seats for a minority community must not be less than its population basis: that is, weightage must not be conceded to other communities at the expense of a minority community.

It cannot be said that any one of these claims is unreasonable, or should properly be abandoned. The fact is that in the Punjab as now constituted the communities are so distributed that their legitimate claims are irreconcilable. There is no margin for allowances, and a solution becomes mathematically impossible. Further, a solution that is dependent on population percentages can have no finality, but must be subject to revision at each ensuing census. The problem has indeed been substantially affected even since the last session of the Conference by the publication of the recent census figures.

READJUSTMENT OF BOUNDARIES

If, then, a solution is practically impossible in the Punjab as now constituted, the logical remedy would be to readjust the boundaries of the Punjab. . . .

Historically the Ambala Division is part of Hindustan: its inclusion in the province of the Punjab was an incident of British rule. Its language is Hindustani, not Punjabi; and its people are akin to the people of the adjoining Meerut and Agra Divisions of the United Provinces rather than to the people of the Punjab.

It is fair to assume that in any rational scheme for the redistribution of provinces the Ambala Division, less the Simla district and the north-west corner of the Ambala district, would be separated from the Punjab. The unwieldy United Provinces might also be divided into a western province of Agra, which would include the Ambala Division, and an eastern province of Oudh; but this is a matter which is beyond the scope of this memorandum. It remains to consider how such a reconstitution of the Punjab would affect the communal problem.

The population of the new Punjab would compare with the population of the existing Punjab as follows:—

(Figures in thousands)

	As now constituted	Per cent.	Without Ambala Division (less Simla)	Per cent.
Moslems ..	11,444	55·3	10,445	61·8
Hindus ..	6,579	31·8	3,997	23·6
Sikhs	2,294	11·1	2,137	12·6
Others ..	367	1·8	324	2·0
	20,685		16,903	

The figures of the 1921 census have been taken, because the district communal figures of the 1931 census are not yet available. The figures of the 1931 census for the province as now constituted are as follows:—

(Figures in thousands)

		Per cent.
Moslems	13,332	56·5
Hindus	6,728	28·6
Sikhs	3,064	13·0
Others	467	1·9
	23,581	

It follows that the total population of the new Punjab would be about 19,000,000, and the percentages of Moslems and Sikhs would be somewhat higher than the 1921 percentages.

SATISFACTION OF CLAIMS

To what extent, then, would it be possible in the reconstituted province to satisfy the claims of each community, as stated at the beginning of this memorandum?

(*a*) The Moslems, being 62 per cent. of the total population, would be sure of a majority in the Legislature through territorial constituencies with joint electorates, without reservation of seats, provided that the qualifications for the franchise were so determined as to reflect their numerical strength in the electoral roll. . . .

The basis of territorial constituencies with joint electorates would naturally be the existing administrative districts. The map appended to this memorandum shows that the western districts of the Punjab are predominantly Moslem and the eastern districts are predominantly Sikh and Hindu. Excluding Simla, which has a population of only 45,000 and may be grouped for electoral purposes with the adjoining hill district of Kangra, there are now 28 districts in the Punjab; and in 15, or 53 per cent., of them the Moslems are more than 60 per cent. of the population. Without the Ambala Division there would be 23 districts; and in 15, or 65 per cent., of them the Moslems would be more than 60 per cent. of the population.

(*b*) The Sikhs would have the joint electorates which they prefer, and through which they feel that they can best exercise their influence. They would no longer require separate electorates or weightage. Further, their numerical strength would be relatively increased from 11.1 per cent. of the population in the province as now constituted to 12.6 per cent., according to the figures of 1921, and about 15 per cent. according to the figures of 1931.

(*c*) The solution satisfies the two principles within which the Hindus are willing to compromise—there would be no "statutory majority" by reservation of seats and no weightage at the expense of a minority community. The Hindu proportion of the population would be substantially diminished, but they would have the joint electorates which they desire, and through which, in their view, a minority community is best able to exercise its influence.

A SIKH PROPOSAL

A memorandum on a scheme of redistribution of the Punjab has been issued by Sirdar Ujjal Singh, one of the Sikh delegates.

It is suggested that the two western divisions of Rawalpindi and Multan, minus the Lyallpur and Montgomery districts, be detached from the Punjab and amalgamated with the North-West Frontier Province. "Such a redistribution of the Punjab," the memorandum says, "will serve a double purpose. It will in the first instance give the Sikhs such a proportion of population as will provide for them a protection without claiming any weightage or reservation. The population of the Province, after excluding these two western divisions, will be more evenly distributed among the three communities. The Musulmans will be 43.3 per cent., Hindus 42.3 per cent., and Sikhs 14.4 per cent. In such proportions parties on [illegible] than communal lines will find ample scope for development. The Sikhs in that case will claim no weightage nor any reservation of seats and at the same time will not grudge any weightage to be given to Moslem minorities in other provinces. Of course, an equivalent weightage will be allowed to the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the N.W.F.P. and Sind if separated. . . . All sections of the Sikh community are unanimously of the opinion that they will in no case agree to the domination of a single community in the Punjab if it is not reconstituted on the above lines."

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ROUND TABLE

FINANCE REPORT DISCUSSION

GANDHI SUGGESTION CRITICIZED

The discussion in the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference on the report of the Finance Sub-Committee was continued yesterday and will be completed this morning.

Mr. Gandhi's suggestion of reference back to the Sub-Committee so that the foundations of federal finance could be further explored was supported by Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, who commended it to the States. In order to avoid delay, he argued, the Federation should start upon the minimum basis, which could be further explored by the Sub-Committee. Agreement had already been reached on three broad lines, which were:—

The displacement of the present Government by the future Federal Government is not to involve any change in the existing distribution of resources, pending expert inquiry; provision is to be made for interest charges; there is allocation of federal and provincial taxes to the respective elements in the Federation, and provision for smooth working in practice.

Later the Mahatma's attitude was further expounded by Pandit M. M. Malaviya, who said it arose from the desire that the Sub-Committee should indicate the principles to be agreed to, leaving the Federal Government to decide details.

The States, however, were not without their supporters in the British Indian delegation. Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, who opposed the reference back to the Sub-Committee, considered the attitude of the States in holding that the expert Committee's report on general matters should be available before the formation of the Federation was perfectly reasonable. A similar view was taken by Mr. Mudilayar.

Sir Maneckjee said they could not be asked to take a leap in the dark. The Committee's report was drafted after a full measure of deliberation: it was not tentative but conclusive within the limits of the data available. He held that the Committee should be expert and not "representative"—a view endorsed by Sirdar Ujjal Singh.

LORD PEEL'S ANALYSIS

The chairman of the Sub-Committee, Lord Peel (who cannot be present at to-day's meeting), in a critical analysis of the position, pointed out that there was general assent to the principles which had been laid down. The points raised by so many speakers arose out of the very difficult and complicated nature of the material with which they were dealing rather than to any shortcoming in the Committee itself. The report should be accepted as marking a compromise between those views in which no side obtained support for all the views with which it had started out.

The anxiety as to the delay which might occur through the work of the Sub-Committee, militating against the drafting of a Bill and its passage through Parliament, Lord Peel thought was somewhat exaggerated. There had also been exaggeration as to the size of the task with which the Committee might be entrusted. Mr. Gandhi's suggestion to refer back the report did not arouse great enthusiasm in his breast. To finish and perfect the work of the Sub-Committee they needed an expert committee which would work out the exact conclusions in figures which arose from the principles adopted.

As to leaving a number of points to the decision of the Federal Government itself, he pointed out that the Federal Government would have an immense amount of work before it when established, and he thought it would be grateful if as many of those questions as possible were decided beforehand. It would assist the formation of the Federation immensely if they were able to get their substantial propositions as regards the division of finances, the allocation of the heads of revenue between the Government of India and the provinces, and so on, before they set up Federation. It was important that they should get as much of the [illegible] He estimated that the expert committee might do its principal work in three or four months after appointment.

Finally, he urged Mr. Gandhi not to press his proposal to impose upon them the duty of carrying out any further investigation, which would mean the reopening of questions on which compromises had been reached after very careful discussion.

NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Earlier in the day Lord Lothian drew attention to the altered circumstances of government following the proposed transfer of power from the centre to the provinces, and the financial and political implications of the change.

Discussion, he said, had proceeded on the assumption that the new Government of India was going to function in many ways like the old—that it was a question of substituting an Indian for a British Raj, but he felt that in reality they were creating an entirely different system of government.

At present there was a central Government with its ultimate power outside and not inside India, and there was a single polity and central control over every functionary, including the provincial Government, except in transferred subjects. But as they got responsible Governments in the provinces the situation must fundamentally change in that the authority of the provincial Government would be derived from the electorate. Power passed from Government to party, and every provincial Government from that moment was and would be of necessity imprisoned within the limit of what a Parliamentary majority agreed to, and it seemed quite impracticable that any provincial Government would accept orders from the centre.

Applying that consideration to the proposition that the central Government should enact and collect taxation and transfer it to the provinces, Lord Lothian said that his feeling was that the Federal Government would be unable to exercise the powers of determining the income-tax and then handing on the proceeds to the Governments.

It would neither face the odium involved nor would it be able to secure any reasonable assent from the provinces. As between the provinces and the centre there should be a definite and immovable statutory line. Nothing was more fatal than an annual controversy between the centre and the provinces on the division of the sources of taxation. It made anything like cooperation by the provinces impossible; so also in the case of emergency powers.

They were driven in every case to insisting that each aspect of the Government—provincial and federal—had its own sources of revenue statutorily attached to it and had to live within the limits of its own power.

Mention should be made of the elaborate disquisition on Federal finance which Dr. Ambedkar began on Wednesday afternoon and finished yesterday morning. He criticized in detail the fiscal proposals of the Sub-Committee. He doubted the satisfactory working of the proposals in so far as they were designed to meet the peculiar position of the States.

The Rajah of Sarila, a State in the Bundelkhand Agency of Central India, is another member of the States Delegation who has intimated his adhesion to the alternative scheme of the Maharajah Holkar of Indore.

Much interest was taken yesterday in the scheme for meeting the communal difficulty in the Punjab drafted by Sir Geoffrey Corbett. It is understood that the Moslem delegation have decided to keep an open mind upon the scheme, and will be prepared to consider any proposals in regard thereto which may be placed before them by other parties.

FEDERAL INDIA

FINANCE AND MINORITIES

At yesterday's meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference it was agreed, on the suggestion of Lord Sankey, the Chairman, to adjourn until Tuesday to give representatives of the various interests an opportunity of reaching agreement on the report of the Finance Sub-Committee. There will be informal conversations over the week-end in order that, if possible, agreed principles of Federal finance can be arrived at by negotiation between the States and British India, thus carrying somewhat further the work of the Sub-Committee.

At the outset Lord Sankey spoke hopefully of the prospects of agreement. He thought the two sides might be able to reach an adjustment of their points of view by Monday afternoon. The first contribution to the discussion, that of Sir Mirza Ismail, was noteworthy from the fact that, although a States delegate, he thought there was much force in Mr. Gandhi's suggestion that the report should go back to the Sub-Committee with the direction that the Sub-Committee should try to lay down such general principles and make such definite proposals as would be acceptable to the States. The settlement of details could come later. No State was yet irrevocably committed to Federation, although they were proceeding on that assumption. The time for final decision was not yet. The more attractive the scheme, said Sir Mirza, the better chance of the States coming in.

The Chief of Sangli commended the work of the Sub-Committee and held that equitable adjustments of the States problems would present no difficulty. Once more, however, it was Sir Akbar Hydari who expounded the views of the States delegation as a whole.

FEDERAL BUDGET

SIR AKBAR HYDARI assured Mr. Gandhi that the Sub-Committee did its best to produce a minimum Federal scheme. If they were going to confine themselves to the present revenue and expenditure of India, to the burdens on the provinces and the States which existed to-day, without any compensation one way or the other, and without the imposition of any fresh burdens, he would not object to a financial settlement of that kind. But when they had all the papers before them and went into Federal finance, it was contended, especially on the British-Indian side, that it would be absolutely necessary, on grounds of financial stability, for the new Federation to have access to fresh sources of taxation. The difficulties had been brought out very clearly in a memorandum of the Government of India, and the Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that a reply to the questions raised could not be made except with the assistance of experts.

If the starting point could be the existing system. he would have no objection; but that was not practicable, said the Finance Member of the Hyderabad Government, because the Federal Budget could not then be balanced. He held that the principles set out by Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar on the previous day could be reached without reference back to the Sub-Committee; but when those principles were examined they were found to contemplate things which would have to happen hereafter, to which the States would find themselves bound to agree after they had entered the Federation. Those matters, he said, were of the kind which must be settled before Federation was possible. Were vague generalizations or specific provisions required for the Constitution?

In reply to the LORD CHANCELLOR, Sir Akbar said that he thought that the financial provisions might be set forth in a schedule, rather than in the Constitution, but on the understanding that a schedule would be as definitive as the Act. Meeting an objection frequently urged against the setting up of an expert committee, Sir Akbar said that that would not mean delay, because there would be several other committees—one on franchise, for example—which would be found necessary for exploratory work pending legislation.

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CHOICE BEFORE DELEGATES

The point of view which has throughout coloured the arguments of some of the British-Indian spokesmen was brought out by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

The Conference, SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU said, had been convened on certain definite terms. One of them was "that, instead of Parliament imposing a Constitution which it thought best suited to the interests of India, the members of the Conference, including his Majesty's Government, should make their best efforts to arrive at the maximum amount of agreement." He regarded it as essential therefore that they should apply their minds to the settlement of questions which divided them, and not rely on the services of outside experts. He thought that the Sub-Committee had agreed on so many principles that they could be made the basis of the Constitution. Other details could be settled by separate machinery. To appoint an expert committee and leave the result to his Majesty's Government was to deprive both the Indian States and British India of the responsibility and the choice to which they were entitled.

DIWAN BAHADUR MUDALIYAR also expressed his anxiety that a draft Bill should not be held up for the report of an expert committee. An investigation by such a committee which delayed matters and necessitated a further Round-Table Conference was out of the question. The basis of the draft Bill should be the maximum amount of agreement reached at the Conference.

While not pressing his arguments for reference back, Mr. GANDHI said that, after paying respectful attention to Lord Peel and Sir Akbar Hydari, he remained unconvinced and unrepentant. He did not think that there were many questions of principle involved, except perhaps the question whether British India and the States were to shoulder additional burdens or whether they would not. The real difficulty appeared to him to be one of disinclination. If Federation was wanted at any cost, he could see no obstacle in bringing it about. Adjustments between revenue and expenditure should be quite simple. If the States were afraid of a British-Indian majority in the future Federal Government, it would be easy to satisfy their fears. It was necessary to get rid of the incubus of expert opinion: for experts differed among themselves. In any case, the Princes had their experts available here and now. They should either send the report back to the Sub-Committee or some of them should sit together and produce an agreed scheme of finance.

It is the latter course which has been taken. There are now two issues—those of minority claims and of finance—which are being discussed informally for the moment outside the ambit of the regular and recorded proceedings of the Conference. On the first of these Mr. Gandhi yesterday afternoon had another conference with the Moslem Delegation. There is to be a further meeting between them on Monday, and it is understood that Mr. Gandhi has been in telegraphic communication with the Working Committee of the National Congress as to the interpretation of his instructions. Mr. Gandhi is visiting Nottingham and Selly Oak, Birmingham, this week-end.

When the Federal Structure Committee reassembles on Tuesday Sir Muhammad Shafi will open a discussion on the proposed Federal Court. Lord Sankey said at yesterday's meeting that the necessity for a Federal Court as a safeguard to the Constitution was beyond controversy; but the value of the Court would obviously depend to a large extent upon the quality and character of its *personnel*, and it was accordingly suggested that the Judges of the Court should be appointed by the Crown. The Lord Chancellor added that a great many of the fears that people had entertained with regard to the Federal Constitution would vanish into thin air if they knew there was a proper Federal Court before which they could get their rights.

Lord Sankey's closing speech included an important statement on the general work of the Conference.

There were, LORD SANKEY said, a number of loose ends which would have to be tied up, as, for example, the franchise, the allocation of seats, and Federal finance. The Government would have to consider such matters with a view to any future Bill in Parliament. In drafting the Bill it would greatly help the Government to know how far, on the questions dealt with by the various committees, there was an agreed Indian opinion. The fact of such agreement would naturally carry great weight with the Government and would make the Government's desire to assist in facilitating a new order of things much more easy of accomplishment.

The Rajah of Sarila has forwarded to Lord Sankey, for the consideration of the Federal Structure Committee, a memorandum on the position of the smaller States. It does not signify his adhesion to or dissent from any of the alternative schemes which have been put forward.

INDIAN CURRENCY

A further meeting was held at the India Office last night, at which Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, presided, when a number of delegates to the Round-Table Conference discussed the world currency problem and the Indian currency situation as it had developed after the suspension of gold payments in the United Kingdom. Sir Henry Strakosch explained the causes of the breakdown of the gold standard the world over, and dealt with a number of questions raised by the members of the Round-Table Conference present.

OCTOBER 19, 1931

BRITISH INDIA AND STATES

TO-DAY'S MEETING

The States delegation to the Round-Table Conference will meet this morning, and this afternoon will confer with British Indian delegates on the financial aspects of Federation. The Moslem delegates will hold a meeting to give further consideration to the views expressed by Mr. Gandhi in his talk with them on Friday.

The difference which has arisen between the States and some British Indian members of the Federal Structure Committee is over the procedure outlined in the Federal Finance Sub-Committee's report, whereby the conclusions of the proposed expert committee would be embodied in the draft Constitution. Sir Akbar Hydari, the most experienced in finance among the States delegates, has pointed out that the balancing of the Federal Budget is involved in this question, and the meeting of the States delegation this morning will seek some formula which will sufficiently meet the fears of some British Indians that to wait for the expert committee's report would entail unnecessary delay.

The States delegation is the less likely to modify its claim to full knowledge of the implications of financial commitments before entering the Federation because of the unfavourable revenue-earning prospects of the railways, one of the main Federal assets. A prompt and full adjustment of view is the more desirable as the Conference will lose in a few days' time the services of the Maharajah of Bikaner, one of the most enthusiastic and informed advocates of All-India Federation. His Highness has done more than any other man to weld the States together through the Chamber of Princes, and thus to pave the way for Federation. Much to his regret he cannot remain for the end of the Conference, and leaves London on Friday to return to his State, from which he has been so much absent on Imperial work in the past 18 months.

THE SMALLER MINORITIES

There are still a few delegates to the Round-Table Conference to come. Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, who is a member of the Minorities Committee, has been detained on public business in Bengal, and arrived on Saturday. He has been able to report to his Moslem colleagues the later developments of opinion in the community in India. They are not in favour of any substantial departure from the attitude the delegation has maintained from the first. The concessions Mr. Gandhi expressed his personal willingness to make [as set out in *The Times* a week ago] were accompanied in his discussions with the delegation on Friday by the suggested alternatives of acceptance of Sir Geoffrey Corbett's scheme for reconstitution of the Punjab, or of arbitration on the communal question by a small board composed of members of the Conference.

Mr. Gandhi accompanied these proposals, however, with two disconcerting provisions. One was that the Moslems should no longer stand by the other minorities (the Sikhs are excepted since Mr. Gandhi recognizes their claim to special treatment) in their demand for special constituencies or "weightage." The other was that he is not a plenipotentiary from the Congress but a mere agent, and, therefore, that any agreement he may provisionally accept must be submitted to the Working Committee of the Congress.

These intimations were received in a non-controversial spirit; but there is a quiet determination on the part of the Moslems not to desert the smaller minorities. If the great and influential major minority requires Constitutional safeguards, it is felt that much more should the smaller minorities be protected. Nor are the Moslems much encouraged to make advances which Mr. Gandhi has not the power to accept, and which depend for implementing upon extreme members of the Congress organization such as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel.

We are asked to state that the remarks of Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar reported in the Federal Finance Sub-Committee, given in *The Times* on Saturday, were made at Thursday's sitting of the Federal Structure Committee.

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OCTOBER 20, 1931

THE ROUND TABLE

DEADLOCK ON FEDERAL FINANCE

Issues of Federal finance and the protection of minorities were discussed in private by groups of delegates to the Round-Table Conference yesterday. Meetings began in the morning and went on until late at night. At 9.30 Mr. Gandhi took part in negotiations between British Indian and States delegates on the financial aspects of Federation.

The discussions, separately and together, of States delegates and some British Indian delegates were concerned with the finding of formulas whereby there might be some adjustment of view. The prospects of agreement sufficiently comprehensive to ensure the adoption of the report of the Federal Finance Sub-Committee with little further debate in the Federal Structure Committee were made the less likely by conclusions which the Moslem delegates reached after prolonged conference. They accept the report in the main and will not be parties to the abandonment of the proposal for the setting up of an expert committee.

The Moslems will resist any attempt to discriminate in the matter of financial rights and obligations in favour of the States. They urge that both parts of the Federation should be equal in this respect. They hold that any deficiencies in the Federal Budget should be made up by contributions not only from the Provinces but also from the States. In regard to the cash contributions now paid by certain States, the Moslem delegates would have no objection to urgent inquiry, as a result of which all burdens of a feudal character would be abolished, each case being dealt with on its merits. It is held that the proposed emergency powers of the Federal Government should be exercised only with the consent of a suitable proportion of the federating units. In regard to borrowing powers of the Federation it is held that debts should be secured not only on the revenues of the Federation but also on those of the Provinces and the States. Another clear expression of Moslem opinion was that any change in income-tax law should receive the concurrence of a substantial preponderance of the federating units.

The States delegates sat from 5 o'clock until 8.30, and considered the written proposals of Mr. Gandhi. He would implement Federation with the least possible delay on the basis of the States agreeing to partnership in the existing financial position. The British Indian income-tax would continue, as would the cash contributions now paid by certain States. Additional Federal taxation would be imposed only with the assent of two-thirds of the States units. At 9.30 Mr. Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, and others met the States delegates who served on the Sub-Committee to discuss the situation; and it was made clear that there would not be agreement on any basis which omitted the setting up of, and report from, an expert committee as an essential prelude to the new Constitution.

MINORITIES QUESTION

The Moslem delegates met to consider Mr. Gandhi's latest proposals on the minorities problem, but did not come to a decision. Discussion of the minorities problem has not been helped by the unfavourable opinions expressed in a statement by the Sikh delegates on what is known as Sir Geoffrey Corbett's scheme—although the scheme was drawn up in response to a request by Mr. Gandhi and in his capacity as a secretary to the British-Indian delegation.

Sirdar Ujjal Singh and Sirdar Sampuran Singh hold that the scheme is based on a misunderstanding of the position of the Sikhs and a lack of appreciation of the Punjab conditions. "Its avowed object [they say] is to secure for the Moslems another Province with an overwhelming majority, which will still further reduce the Sikh and the Hindu minorities in the Province and thus make their position worse than it is to-day. It is incorrect, as is stated in the memorandum, that the Sikhs show preference for joint electorates. The Sikhs clearly stand to lose by joint electorates; notwithstanding this, however, they express their willingness to accept them in national interests if other communities also agreed to joint electorates. But this is no argument to support the view that they would like joint electorates when the majority of the Moslems will be deliberately increased by a redistribution of the Province under the operation of Sir Geoffrey Corbett's scheme."

Diwan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, who represents Southern Indian States, and Sayed Muhammad Padshah have arrived in London for the Conference.

FEUDATORY ORISSA STATES

Mr. Bertrand Glancy, I.C.S., lately President of the Council of State, Jaipur, who was till recently in London, has been selected by the Government of India to inquire into the position of the Feudatory States of Orissa, with a view to adjustment of relations under a Federal Constitution.

The States within the limits of the Province of Bihar and Orissa are all in direct relationship with the Governor in Council as Agent to the Governor-General in Council. They are 26 in number, cover an area of about 30,000 square miles, and have an aggregate population of about 4,000,000. The Adviser for these States at the Round-Table Conference is Mr. K. C. Neogy, M.L.A. They were formerly divided into four groups, according to the period of time when they came into relations with the British Government, or other circumstances. The most numerous among these groups were originally known as the Tributary Mahals of Orissa, numbering 17, of which 15 had treaty engagements with the East India Company. The Orissa States have been represented in the Chamber of Princes by three members elected by their Rulers. In March last, however, Lord Irwin admitted the Maharajah of Mayurbhanj—the Ruler of the largest of the States—as a permanent member of the Chamber in his own right, after cancellation of the restrictions on his jurisdictional authority.

Mr. Glancy will report to the Government on the question of the extent to which the restrictions imposed on the Orissa States should be removed, and whether their relations would continue to be with the Provincial Government under the new Constitution.

It may be recalled that a sub-committee of the Indian Statutory Commission which considered the question of forming the Oriyas into a separate administration recommended that the States should be in political relations with the proposed Province. The Rulers of the States strongly opposed the suggestion, and it is understood that this question is not included in the terms of reference to the Boundary Commission that has been set up to consider the creation of a separate Orissa Province. The Chiefs take the view that many of the restrictions and disabilities of which they complain are largely due to their not being in direct relations with the Government of India. They have further argued that, as the proposed new Province will be as much a Federal unit in the new Constitution as any Orissa State, its Government could not appropriately be made the Agent for the Central Government for dealing with other federating units in political matters. One of the points which it is expected Mr. Glancy will report on is whether the Governor of the Province, as distinct from the Government as a whole, should be appointed Agent to the Governor-General for the Orissa States, or whether an Agent to the Governor-General should be appointed from the Political Service.

OCTOBER 21, 1931

INDIAN CONGRESS AND BRITAIN

PRESS CAMPAIGN OF ILL-WILL

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, Oct. 20

While Mr. Gandhi has been kindly treated by all the people in England with whom he has come into contact, his newspaper supporters here are doing their utmost to create bad feeling against England. It is necessary that this fact should be appreciated, because it represents a Congress point of view which is not likely to be heard at the Round-Table Conference and which is less familiar in England than here.

This spirit springs from the claim that the Congress is always perfect and that the British Government and the Government of India are invariably satanic and wrong. One newspaper, for instance, asserts that failure to come to agreements at the Round Table is due to the British Cabinet, which is accused of encouraging "every sectional interest to rise up and cast its shadow across the path of progress," and of fostering the false hope among the minorities delegates that they stand to gain more by wrecking the Conference than by helping it to success.

The newspaper declares that all this shows how little Great Britain has grasped the fundamental nature of Indian unrest, and that it will only be by contact with ruder realities that she will learn.

The discussions on currency policy afford further opportunity for singing hymns of hate. Mr. Gandhi is represented as being the only "cool and sublime" delegate at the recent India Office Conference, and Great Britain is depicted as "still exhibiting a spirit of parasitic greediness" against India. When Sir Samuel Hoare speaks he is derided for making "buccaneering claims," and Sir Henry Strakosch is reported as "looking down in the mouth" after searching questions from the Mahatma.

Another newspaper deplores Congress inactivity, and says that foreign cloth is being openly sold and that dealers "have even broken the seals under which they have kept their stocks of foreign cloth." It urges that the boycott must be a reality, and that the "truce must not be allowed to undo all that the sacrifices of thousands had achieved."

INDIAN FEDERAL FINANCE

NEARING AGREEMENT

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference yesterday discussed the composition and functions of the proposed Federal Court, after Lord Sankey, as Chairman, had poured oil on the troubled waters of Federal finance. On the suggestion of Lord Peel, the Chairman of the Finance Sub-Committee, discussion on finance was deferred until this morning, so that the informal conversations might continue with a view to finding a form of words which will meet differences of view. These differences have narrowed very much since yesterday morning, although the situation did not look too hopeful during the informal discussions at Claridge's Hotel, which began at 9.30 on Monday night and continued until 1.15 yesterday morning.

When the Federal Structure Committee reassembled Lord Sankey said he gathered that the general view of the delegates was that the underlying principles of the report of the Finance Sub-Committee might be accepted as a general basis on which that part of the proposed Constitution might be drafted. At the same time he recognized that there were exceptions and certain special matters which would have to be considered separately.

Speaking as chairman of the Sub-Committee, LORD PEEL said it was never intended that the proposed committee should set aside the principles at which they had arrived. What was wanted was that figures should be supplied to show what the effects of the recommendations were in practice. Differences, he said, had been reduced to such minute proportions that he suggested they might postpone discussion for a day in order to bring forward a form of words—he did not like to use the much-abused term "formula"—for reference to the committee, or some limitations of the functions of the committee which would meet with general approval.

The proposal was supported by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Akbar Hydari and met with general acceptance. Mr. Gandhi, who had intimated among other things that instead of making salt a revenue head (it now yields £5,000,000) he would exclude the right to tax salt from the Constitution, asked Lord Peel to undertake to frame a concrete formula. Lord Peel answered that, whether through him or some other member of the Government, a proposal would be made for consideration by the Committee.

Sir Samuel Hoare not only suggested that a member of Government should have a talk with a few representative members that day with a view to framing a form of words, but found time in the middle of his election campaign to take over this responsibility himself. Later in the day the Secretary of State for India had private discussions with Mr. Gandhi and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, with Sir Akbar Hydari, and then with three Moslem delegates—Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, and Sir Zafrullah Khan. There will be an informal meeting

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of these and a few other delegates at St. James's Palace at 11 o'clock this morning. The Federal Structure Committee will resume at noon, and there is good reason to hope that a "form of words" will be agreed on and the Government will be in a position to intimate that a "fact-finding" committee will be appointed to investigate matters in India with the least avoidable delay.

FEDERAL COURT

The discussion on a Federal Court was opened by Sir Muhammad Shafi.

So rapid had been the change in the political conditions and constitutional ideals in India during the post-War period, SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI said, that there was now practical unanimity among all classes of political thought there in favour of the establishment of a Supreme Court, and what occurred at the Round-Table Conference had clinched the matter. The time would come, he thought, when, as the result of the actual working of the new Constitution, the Princes would begin to have more confidence in the Court. They would realize that, their prerogative of mercy being in no way affected by the existence of the Supreme Court, it was in the best interests not only of British India but of Indian India and the country as a whole that the Supreme Court should have jurisdiction, original and appellate, in regard not only to the constitutional matters which would be properly within its jurisdiction, but also in regard to other matters civil and criminal.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU gave expression to feelings widely entertained in India when he said that if there was one institution established by British rule of which men like himself could legitimately be proud, it was the High Court, and he desired to pay a tribute to the work done by the High Courts in the various provinces of India during the last 60 or 70 years. He could not omit, however, to refer to the strong feeling which had been growing up in professional circles and among the public generally, that the time had come when Parliament, or the newly constituted authority, should revise the statute so far as the position of the High Court was concerned. By prescribing that one-third of the members must be barristers and one-third representatives of the Indian Civil Service, they sometimes deprived themselves of the services of talented men outside those two charmed circles. When they came to revise the Constitution they should do away with that arbitrary condition and lay down a law that recruitment in the High Courts in the future should be made either from the legal profession or from members of the judicial services. The appointment of the Chief Justice should be thrown open to the English Bar and the Indian Bar alike.

MOSLEM REPLY TO MR. GANDHI

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, of Calcutta, who arrived in London for the Conference a few days ago, replied yesterday to statements in an address by Mr. Gandhi to the Society of Friends at Birmingham. Mr. Ghuznavi said:—

Let it be understood once and for all that Congress is nothing more than the Left Wing Party in Indian politics. It is entirely a Hindu body, for the number of so-called Nationalist Moslems is negligible. There are practically no representatives of any of the other minority communities in the Congress. Further, from the very beginning of Congress, Moslems, as a body, have deliberately stood aloof from it and all its doings, and, as all the world knows, are now, and for long have been, in a position of determined hostility to its programme. The same can be said even of large and important sections of the Hindus themselves, such as the Sanatanists—*i.e.*, the old orthodox section who are the backbone of the community. The non-Brahmins of Madras are as a class opposed to the Congress and had defeated it all along the line. . . .

How can Mr. Gandhi declare that a delegation such as the Moslem delegation to the Round-Table Conference is not representative when it contains delegates drawn from every possible section of Moslem opinion? There are men of the Right Wing, the Centre, and the Left, drawn from every part of India. Moreover, before these representatives were appointed, the Viceroy carefully sounded every organized body of Moslems, and assured himself that his nominees were those whom these bodies themselves wished to have appointed. The same procedure was followed in respect of other communities and interest. All these facts, as also the names of the delegates, were known to Mr. Gandhi, and from start to finish of his negotiations with the authorities in India he did not challenge the representative character of the Conference.

The Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar will sail for India from Marseilles on Friday. He has been warned by a London specialist that he must not risk a repetition of his previous illness by remaining in England during the late autumn.

Mr. S. G. Bapna, the Prime Minister of Indore, has been appointed to act as a States representative at the Conference when the Maharajah of Indore is absent.

OCTOBER 22, 1931

COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Dr. Moonje, the Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, writing on behalf of the Sabha in *The Times* of October 16, states that the Hindu Mahasabha will agree to any settlement of the so-called communal question which has the effect of evolving one united Indian nation. He says in effect, however, that his organization desires to prevent the Moslems from having the benefit of their majority of population in the Punjab and Bengal, that it desires to deprive them of all weightage in other provinces where the Moslems are in a minority, and further to deprive them of the safeguard of separate electorates.

Dr. Moonje wants the new Constitution to be forged on lines which will deprive the Moslems of the little they have even in the present Constitution. It is a truism to say that no Constitution in India can foster national evolution unless it keeps in view the rights and interests of all people inhabiting the soil. The Hindu Mahasabha took its birth in 1921, the year the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms came into force, and the implications of those reforms were appreciated. It has since its birth pursued a policy, active if not aggressive, for the political and religious revival of Hinduism in a manner not always conducive to a *rapprochement* between the two major communities of India. Its reaction on communal spirit has not been negligible. Communal feuds, which are now rampant all over India, culminating in the recent tragedy of Cawnpore, my home town, reveal religion as the excuse and political ambition the real motive of these series of outbreaks. Followers of the two major religions of India will not fuse into a united nation until the followers of one religion relinquish their ambition for political domination and cease to employ anti-social methods in its furtherance.

The abolition of separate electorates for Moslems, attacked on platitudes divorced from the realities of actual Indian life, will plunge the country into internecine conflict. Moslems following the Congress creed have been freely returned to the Central and Provincial Legislatures under this system.

Dr. Moonje claims that the Hindus do not make class distinctions in the administration of the country. If so, how does he explain the preponderance of the caste Hindu element in the public services? The fact that in many provinces Moslem public opinion has been strongly expressed, with doubtful success, for a share of public offices, including the headquarters of the Government of India, is a significant commentary on his claim.

Lastly, Dr. Moonje proposes independent arbitration by those who have not expressed "strong opinions" from among the members of the Round-Table Conference. The Round-Table Conference is not after all a constituent assembly; the ultimate arbitration will be the Sovereign body of the Empire, the King in Parliament.

Yours faithfully,
HAFIZ HIDAYET HOSAIN.
155, Dukes House, St. James'-court, Oct. 18.

OCTOBER 23, 1931

INDIAN STATES AND FEDERATION

MAHARAJAH OF BIKANER'S CONFIDENCE

The Maharajah of Bikaner bade farewell to his colleagues of the Round-Table Conference yesterday, and leaves London this morning to return to his territories. In a statement to *The Times* last night the Maharajah, after expressing his regret at not being able to remain until the completion of the work of the Conference, said:—

My regret is, however, tempered by the knowledge that there will remain at the helm of affairs concerning the States my old friend his Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, in whom I, in common with others, have implicit confidence. It is a source of strength to feel that he has the support of the Delegation in such large measure.

My faith in the future of India, through Federation, as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth—and, in their turn, the States and British India also as equal partners—remains unabated. I am as confident to-day as I was when, on behalf of the Princes and States, I expressed our readiness to consider entering a Federation at the opening Session of the Conference, that Federation is the surest, nay, the only sure way of ensuring the full stature of our Motherland, the unity of purpose we all have in view, the stability of the administration which is one of our greatest needs.

Varying views as to how best Federation can be attained naturally exist, but behind them is the fixed policy of a common purpose. My faith in the future waxes rather than wanes. I do not abate one jot or tittle of my belief that, if the final conclusions are just and equitable, the majority of the States will enter the Federation once they see the picture completed and find their position assured.

But, as was sagaciously said by some of the British Indian delegates early in this year's proceedings, we have to make it easy for the States to enter the Federation. I gratefully acknowledge the liberal sympathy with the special position of the States manifested by British statesmen and so many of our friends from British India. The sovereignty and autonomy of the States and their treaty rights are fully recognized. There lies on the Conference the equal obligation to see that the legitimate rights of the smaller States are fully safeguarded. This can accrue only from their fair and full representation, and for this reason I am convinced that a States membership of at least 125 in the Upper House is essential to Federation and to a lasting Constitution.

I cannot leave without expressing my sincere thanks for the time and care given by British statesmen of all parties to our affairs at this critical juncture in the nation's business. Amid the pressing cares of the financial position, and the confusions which must attend a General Election, they have been unsparing of their time and assistance. Our thanks are in a special measure due to the Prime Minister, whose sympathetic help and encouragement have been unfailing; to Lord Sankey, whose chairmanship of the Federal Structure Committee has again been of the utmost value; and to the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare.

May I suggest that there is no better guide for us, in these difficult and anxious days, than to recall the words of his Gracious Majesty at another milestone in Indian history when he gave us the splendid Message of Hope? The darkest hour is just before the dawn; let us hope and pray that the clouds which now hang heavily presage a splendid dawn of recovery and restored prosperity.

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DEPRESSED CLASSES IN INDIA

RELATIONS WITH HINDUS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—I have read with great interest Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter published last Tuesday in *The Times* about the Depressed Classes. It is an appeal to the British public and its representatives in Parliament not to countenance political advance in India, on the ground that such advance will only perpetuate the slavery to which the Depressed Classes have been subjected by "30 centuries of the Brahmin-devised caste system."

One may legitimately ask the question what British rule in India has done during the past 150 years of its existence towards the abolition of this so-called slavery, for no legislative or executive action has been taken by it, probably on the ground of religious neutrality, whereas the people of India, representing the higher classes, have done a great deal in that direction.

The Depressed Classes in India are no exception to the general rule of class dominance and prejudice, partly begotten by peculiar racial characteristics and habits, which cause varying degrees of "untouchability" in many countries. Such "untouchability" as exists in India is being gradually and steadily mitigated by reforms introduced by social workers in British India on the one hand, and enlightened Hindu rulers of Indian States on the other. It is well to remember that the religious and social movement which was inaugurated a century ago under the leadership of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj, was the first attempt from within to break down the barriers of caste, without any suggestion or support from the British Government. It was this movement that for the first time in the history of social reform in India gave the Depressed Classes a sense of self-respect and the right to citizenship. Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's followers, belonging to the high caste of Brahmins like himself, were the first to break away from caste, give up their privileges, and take the lead in the uplift of the Depressed Classes, encouraging education, social equality, and moral uplift among them.

As a matter of State policy a bright example of helping the Depressed Classes and giving them a constitutional status comes from the Government of his Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, who was one of the foremost among the Princes to introduce compulsory mass education and to open special schools for the Depressed Classes as the first step, which led gradually to the free admission of such classes, in spite of Brahmin opposition, to all the public educational institutions of the State. Their education was imparted with due regard to the necessity of giving them vocational instruction and training as many of them as possible as teachers to take up educational and social work among their own people. Subsequent to, and in furtherance of, these reforms the Depressed Classes were given seats in the Representative Assembly of the State. I mention these facts to remove any misapprehension that may be caused by reading Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter.

I would further submit that constituting the Depressed Classes as a separate community in the new form of Government that is to be would be a serious political blunder and would not be conducive to their moral and material advancement. They are admittedly a part and parcel of the whole Hindu social structure and not a minority, as the Moslems, Sikhs, and the Anglo-Indians are. They want to be in the Hindu fold, for they are attempting to enforce the right of entry into the Hindu temples and are now claiming other privileges enjoyed by the caste Hindus, which means that they want to be admitted as one of the recognized castes in the Hindu social system under the supremacy of the Brahmin. The solution lies in the extension of the Mysore policy to all parts of India.

I may only add that the minority problem in India, so far as it affects the Depressed Classes, has a touch of unreality about it in the sense that they are not a different race of people who have settled in the country and follow a religion or customs and speak a language different from the majority of the people among whom they live. The future well-being and prosperity of the Depressed Classes will depend on their working in cooperation with their Hindu fellow-countrymen whose fold they now wish to enter, and not as a separate community which is to be differentiated through religion, social customs, and habits as the Moslems, Christians, Sikhs, and Anglo-Indians are.

Yours, &c.,

ALBION BANERJI.

Windsor House, Victoria-street, S.W.1.

FUTURE OF ROUND TABLE

OPINION IN INDIA

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, OCT. 23

The categorical denials of the allegation that the British Government contemplated bringing the Round-Table Conference to a premature end are given prominence in the Indian Press this morning. They will at least have the effect of giving the lie to a flock of rumours in the newspapers during the last few days.

It would, however, be a mistake to ignore the fact that, in spite of these reassurances, comment to-day in the Press, official circles, and private conversation is far from optimistic. For instance, the *Hindustan Times*, which is qualified to express the Congress point of view, says: "A rupture, though it has been postponed till after the election, seems inevitable." The same newspaper bases its expectation of failure on the allegation that Mr. MacDonald and other British Ministers "have been fiddling instead of taking the situation seriously." The correspondents of Indian newspapers in London are unanimous in describing the feeling among delegates as one of pessimism. Wide prominence is given to Mr. Gandhi's exhortation to the British people: "Who are you, a nation of blunderers, to deny the right of India to commit mistakes?" Perhaps, however, the most edifying message is one which describes Mr. Gandhi's address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House as a very successful meeting of the governing classes, presided over by Lord Lothian. The message continues:—

> According to a competent listener, Mr. Gandhi's peroration to the governing classes reminded every one of the scene where Christ, using a whip, hounded the money-changers from the precincts of the Temple.

RENEWED CONGRESS THREATS

More important than the Press comment are hints from widely different quarters of a return to the chaos in which the civil disobedience movement plunged the country. Responsible observers link up three statements made within the last week. The first is the reference to "the coming war in Bengal" by Mr. Sen Gupta, the Congress leader in Calcutta, who is now on his way to England to see Mr. Gandhi. The second is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's threat, made at Allahabad, to begin a no-rent campaign in the United Provinces in order to redress the alleged grievances of the ryots. The third is an appeal published at Lahore by the Punjab Congress Committee for funds for a new campaign. Pandit Nehru's threat is said in the local Press to-day to have been inspired by a message from Mr. Gandhi. "No hope

At the other end of the line the Maharajah of Alwar's decision not to take part further in the Round-Table Conference, which he somewhat dramatically announced after taking a vote of his people in open durbar, has scarcely increased confidence in the ability of the Princes' Delegation to help in preventing the Round Table from being overturned. The Nawab of Rampur issued a statement from Moradabad this morning criticizing Mr. Gandhi's speech at Birmingham and pointing out the danger of handing India over to the Congress, "in spite of butchery, innumerable riots, agrarian disaffection, revolutionary crimes, and political murders."

CONGRESS ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

INDIAN MERCHANTS' CRITICISM

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

MADRAS, OCT. 23

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce—an association of Indian merchants, among whom are several members of the Congress—has sent to the delegates to the Round-Table Conference a memorandum strongly criticizing the programme of "fundamental rights" and economic policy drawn up at the Karachi meeting of the Congress.

The chamber expresses the opinion that the manner and the extent of reducing the expenditure of the military and civil departments of the Government cannot be determined at present, and deems it unwise to drop the salt duty, for "by its abolition a *Swaraj* Government would be deprived of a certain source of revenue." The chamber holds that adult franchise can be attained only in the fullness of time; insists on the rights of employers to form associations; denounces an inheritance tax as injurious to the joint family system; and argues that there is no guarantee that the prosperity of the country will be bound up with the State control of industries and State ownership of mineral resources.

The memorandum is a notable criticism of the Congress industrial and economic policy, and as expressing the opinion of radical Indian business men its publication at the present stage of the Round-Table discussions is opportune.

INDIAN FEDERAL COURT

CONGRESS VIEW

Mr. Gandhi made a characteristic contribution to the discussion of a Federal Court at the meeting of the Federal Structure Committee held at St. James's Palace yesterday morning under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey. Disregarding facts which run counter to his cherished ideas, he pursued his favourite argument that difficulties and problems which have existed through the centuries will be resolved when India is autonomous.

The MAHATMA said that discussion of the subject had been based upon distrust of themselves, and that the National Government of India would not be able to conduct its affairs in an impartial manner. The communal tangle also was colouring the discussion. The Congress, on the other hand, based the whole of its policy on trust and confidence that when they had come to power they would also come to a sense of responsibility, and all communal bias would drop out. He sympathized with Dr. Ambedkar's difficulty about the enforcement of Federal Court decisions, but said that the duty of implementing decisions should fall upon the responsible Government. He went on the assumption that, if there were responsibility in India in the real sense, then defence would be under national control in every sense of the term. Other speakers in the debate had brought the Crown in at the end of almost every sentence. According to the Congress conception, there was no question of the Crown. The supreme authority in India would be responsible for the appointment of Judges and other matters which to-day were with the Crown.

Only the framework of the Federal Court, Mr. Gandhi continued, should be laid down in the Constitution, and the Federal Government should fill in all the details. He suggested, however, that the Constitution should appoint the Judges in the first instance, so that the burden would not for a fixed period [illegible] Federal Government. He wanted a Privy Council for India and appeals thereto to be open to the poorest in the land.

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That would be impossible if the Privy Council in London was to decide the fate of Indians in matters of importance. In spite of all the respect he had for the Judicial Committee, he could not bring himself to believe that they in India could not also have a Privy Council of their own which would command universal esteem. He also wished the Federal Court to have the amplest jurisdiction over all India. He hoped that the Princes would allow the Supreme Court to be the guardian of the rights of their subjects, so that whatever fundamental rights were granted in the Constitution they might be safeguarded by the Court. He pleaded for very small salaries in harmony with Indian poverty; patriotism would produce proper men for the Bench.

Mr. ZAFRULLAH KHAN said that the prerogative of the Crown, as exercised by the Privy Council, should be left alone. He pressed the importance of the High Courts (outside Bengal) remaining "Provincial" subjects, instead of being centralized.

SIR AKBAR HYDARI made the notable suggestion of an appeal from a State Court to the Privy Council by a formula which would not detract from the sovereignty of the States in any greater degree than that involved in the creation of a Federal Court.

The discussion is to be continued on Monday afternoon.

ADVISORY FEDERAL COUNCIL

A memorandum on a Federal Council, drawn up by Mr. Latifi, one of the secretaries of the British Indian Delegation, was circulated to members of the Conference last evening at the request of Mr. Gandhi, who, it is understood, is favourably inclined to the proposal. The memorandum states:—

As an immediate step towards Federation, it is suggested that a Federal Council, with advisory functions, may be set up, in order to perform functions like those mentioned in the attached schedule or any others that may be agreed upon. It is hoped that such a Council would keep the Central Executive responsive to the Provincial Governments, just as the Central Executive is expected to be responsible to the Central Legislature. It would help the Provinces to "feel that they are represented at the Centre" and thus implement the recommendation in paragraph 32 of the Second Report of the Federal Structure Committee . . .

The Federal Council should, it is suggested, be formed more or less on the lines of the Bundesrat of the German Constitution of 1871, but the analogy of the Imperial Conference, as well as of the Assembly of the League of Nations, would be in point. The Council may, with the Governor-General as President, include the members of his Executive Council and members of the Governments of the various Federating units, each such Government being represented in person or by proxy by its members (other than the Governor or Ruler) up to the number of votes it can cast. The votes of each unit—to be cast *en bloc*—may correspond to that unit's strength in the Senate.

The schedule suggests that the advisory functions of the Federal Council should include those of a Council of Greater India in regard to those States which do not join the Federation; of an Inter-Provincial Financial Council, particularly in such matters as fixing the rates of the income-tax; of a Provincial Loan Council; of a Council for advising on the co-ordination of inter-Provincial activities; and of a Council for the ratification of international agreements, the approval of emergency taxation, and advice on matters like those for which an Indian Privy Council is proposed in the Statutory Commission's Report.

CLAIMS OF SMALLER STATES

The Rajah of Sarila, a State in the Bundelkhand Agency of Central India, has sent to Lord Sankey a memorandum on the views of the smaller States in his capacity as a representative of them at the Conference.

All the States, large and small, in categories now referred to as Class I. or Class II., enjoy the same degree of guaranteed security from external interference, the Rajah says. Moreover, the States in the second category are sovereign in their own territories and have power of legislation and taxation. The 126 States of Class II. have been given only 12 representatives in the Chamber of Princes, a body composed of 121 members. The 32 States of Central India in this category are entitled to one representative only.

The Rajah suggests that the States of both classes should act together to consider a panel of names prepared by the whole body and vote thereon as separate entities. It will be in the interests of each unit to see that the best talent available, whether from the larger or smaller States, should secure election to the Federal Legislature. Speaking both for the smaller States and for those States not included in Classes I. and II., the Rajah asks for adequate safeguards and the fullest degree of representation in any constitutional programme to be adopted for all collectively.

FEDERAL INDIAN LEGISLATURE

SIR M. ISMAIL'S PROPOSAL

By direction of the Lord Chancellor a Note by Sir Mirza Ismail on the composition and functions of the Upper House of the Federal Legislature in India has been circulated to members of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference, and will be considered when Lord Sankey's draft report on the subject is discussed. The scheme proposed is based on the view that the experience of many Federal States has shown that Senates with concurrent powers have failed to justify their existence. The second Chambers have been made directly or indirectly representative of the parties in the federating units, who are already enabled to send their representatives to the Lower House. The fault has been that nowhere have the States forming the federation been entrusted with cooperation in the work of the Central Government.

Sir Mirza Ismail proposes that while the Federal Assembly should consist of representatives chosen by direct or indirect election, the representation being more or less on a population basis, the Upper House, or Federal Council, should be a smaller body, composed of delegates appointed by the Governments of the States and Provinces, who would act and vote according to the instructions received from their Governments. The Central Government should also be represented in the Upper Chamber.

The Upper Chamber would have the power of suspending by veto laws passed by the Assembly. To overcome the veto the Federal Assembly would have to show a qualified majority of two-thirds or three-fourths. The method of joint sittings to resolve differences of opinion would not be pursued. Bills prepared by the Federal Executive would be laid, first, before the Council, and, after having passed that body, before the Assembly. Both bodies, and their members individually, would have the right of introducing Bills. The Council would have certain advisory powers with regard to the Federal Executive. It might also have a right of cooperation in certain administrative matters such as external relations (as in the United States).

Sir Mirza Ismail sets out a number of advantages to be derived from a plan which will fit in quite readily with other parts of the scheme of Indian federation planned at the Conference. The members of the Upper House, being selected with reference to their expert knowledge, would be comparatively free from party influences and tend to be "federally minded." The points of view of the Government of the units would find timely and authoritative expression, thus limiting the occasions of conflict between them and the centre. The objections of British India to giving powers of financial control to the Upper House would be obviated. As the Council would have no more than a suspensory veto, British India should have less hesitation in giving even 50 per cent. representation to the States therein. On the other hand, as an offset to its slightly inferior status in legislation, the Council would have large powers of initiative, the right of association with the Executive in certain administrative matters, and advisory influence. In these important functions the States and British India would share equally.

NO-RENT MOVEMENT IN UNITED PROVINCES

PEASANTS' THREAT

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

ALLAHABAD, OCT. 24

A conference of peasants in the Allahabad district, organized by the local Congress Committee, has passed a resolution declaring that the rent remissions announced for the district are entirely inadequate and will not remove the misery of the tenants, which, it is asserted, has increased during the past 18 months owing to the fall in prices. They declare that if the Government does not adopt suitable measures a no-rent campaign will be started.

The conference approved an application by the district Congress Committee to the provincial (United Provinces) Congress Committee for permission to start *satyagraha*. According to Congress estimates, 3,600 tenants attended the meeting, arriving in processions from their respective villages.

The chairman of the district Congress Committee, who presided, said they had received the blessings of Mr. Gandhi on the struggle they contemplated. Mr. Gandhi had telegraphed a reply to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he might do what he considered best to meet the situation. The Pandit addressed the meeting, and said there remained no doubt regarding the result of the Round-Table Conference. It was clear that after the manner in which the Prime Minister "insulted our leader" the only reply was a resumption of the fight until victory was attained.

Mr. Mudie, the District Magistrate, has issued a number of *communiqués* showing how the rent remissions are calculated and remarking that he is convinced that they are not only just but generous.

COMMUNAL INDIA

PANDIT MALAVIYA'S PROPOSAL

ARBITRATION BY NON-INDIANS

Pandit M. M. Malaviya last night made a statement to *The Times* in favour of a settlement by arbitration of the difficulties the minorities question has caused in the Round-Table Conference. The Pandit has experience of public life in India extending over half a century, and his statement may be regarded as having behind it a considerable body of opinion. He said:—

It goes without saying that the most satisfactory solution of the communal problem can only be one which is arrived at by the representatives of the communities by agreement among themselves But in my opinion, when they fail to arrive at such an agreement the next best course which they can adopt is to refer the matter to a tribunal appointed by themselves. It was in this view that at the informal conference I proposed that the communal problem may be refered for settlement to three impartial persons who are not members of the Conference, as objection had been taken to the appointment of such members on the ground that they had already expressed themselves one way or the other on the questions in issue. Mr. Jinnah and Sir Muhammad Shafi could not express any opinion on the proposal as they had not consulted their colleagues about it. I regret to find that even the attempts which have been made subsequently at a settlement have not borne fruit.

Three courses have now been mentioned. That the matter be referred (1) to the League of Nations; (2) to a judicial tribunal such as Mahatma Gandhi has proposed; and (3) to three arbitrators, who may be all non-Indians, jointly appointed by the parties.

I should be satisfied with any one of these courses. But I understand that a reference to the League of Nations is not acceptable to all parties. I am all for a judicial tribunal being entrusted with the task. But if that also is not accepted I strongly urge that the matter be referred to any three public men jointly chosen by the parties, who may be all non-Indians. We should certainly have no difficulty in finding three such men in England in whose hands we can leave the matter.

But I venture to say further that, even if, unfortunately, no settlement of the communal problem is arrived at now, the main work of the Conference should not on that ground be postponed. Though such a settlement is important, it can be brought about later on before the new Constitution takes its final shape. A postponement will mean the failure of the Conference, and it will be disastrous in its effect. I earnestly hope, therefore, that every one interested in the welfare of India or England will do what lies in his power to avert such a catastrophe.

FEDERAL COURT

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference will resume and complete this afternoon the discussion on the provision of a Federal Court. The work of the Conference has gone on without interruption in spite of the General Election, and one of the first acts of the Government, if its mandate is renewed at the polls, will be the circulation [illegible] as Chairman of

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the Federal Structure Committee, of three draft reports—on Federal finance, on the bicameral Legislature, and on a Federal Court.

Mr. Gandhi, who spent the week-end on visits to the Headmaster of Eton and the Master of Balliol, has had several discussions with members he called together on questions of defence and finance, which will come before the Conference when the issue of responsibility at the centre, with safeguards, is taken up. The members he invited to the conversations were Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit M. M. Malaviya, Sir Mirza Ismail, Colonel Haksar, Mr. Sastri, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Mr. Jayakar, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Birla, Mr. Iyengar, Sirdar Ujjal Singh, Mr. Ramchandra Rao, and Mr. Mudaliyar. On questions of defence (Indianization, reduction of British troops, and so on) Mr. Gandhi was authorized to ascertain the views of groups not represented in the conversations. On financial issues the conversations will be resumed this evening.

Referring to a pessimistic telegram he sent to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Gandhi has explained that it had reference to the agrarian situation in the United Provinces, and that, so far as the Conference is concerned, he is giving it every chance it is possible for him to give. He added that, if the Conference failed, it would be because of inherent weakness and because of lack of response to Congress claims.

** A summary of a Note on the Federal Legislature by Sir Mirza Ismail appears on page 11.

OCTOBER 27 1931

FEDERAL INDIAN COURT

PROGRESS AT ROUND TABLE

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference is still discussing the provision of a Federal (or Supreme) Court for India. It is confidently expected that Sir Muhammad Shafi will be able to wind up the debate this afternoon. Lord Sankey has shown a wise patience in allowing full expressions of opinion, for questions of crucial importance are linked up with the composition, functions, and authority of the court, the need of which has not been challenged throughout the debate.

Mr. GAVIN JONES spoke yesterday for the European group. He would confine the Federal Court to federal matters, even in the discharge of appellate functions. He holds it to be essential that in non-federal matters the right of appeal to the Privy Council should be maintained, because of the world-wide prestige and authority of that tribunal, and because India should not break away from a "sure anchor of justice." The High Court judges should be absolutely independent of political influence; hence their appointments should be made by the Governor-General in consultation with the Chief Justice of the particular High Court. Salaries should be adequate and non-votable. Following the lead given by Sir Akbar Hydari, he strongly demurred to the suggestion that the Supreme Court should be a court of appeal from British Indian High Courts in civil and criminal cases. This would be more costly to the litigant than appeal to the Privy Council. In federal matters the subject of an Indian State should have a right of appeal to the Federal Court.

Mr. IYENGAR pointed out that the implications of debate had been that the States would be ready to vest the necessary powers in the Supreme Court for federal matters, but not in the Privy Council. He urged that it would be anomalous if appeals to the Privy Council lay from British India but not from the States. Moreover, it would be simpler to vest powers ceded by the Princes in a body like the Federal Court than in a purely British body like the Privy Council, for past cessions of sovereignty (*e.g.*, in railways) had led to many difficulties.

INDIAN STATES' SUBJECTS

DR. SHAFA'AT AHMAD KHAN favoured the retention by the High Courts of their present administrative functions, subject only to the supervision of the provincial, and not the central, authority. He enumerated the dangers that might arise if the Courts lost touch by being subject to central control, with the local Governments. Further, whatever safeguards for classes and individuals were laid down in the Constitution, the Federal Court must play an important part in making them effective. There would have to be some fundamental rights for Indian States' subjects. Without in any way desiring to force the hands of the Princes, he was anxious that the safeguards which would apply to British India should not necessarily be on the same level as those which the Governments of the Indian States might be disposed to grant. At a certain stage it might be necessary for the Supreme Court to intervene if these rights were endangered, but it would be necessary to prevent frivolous appeals.

Mr. JAYAKAR, who is a member of the Bombay Bar, argued in favour of original jurisdiction of the Court in all cases arising under the Constitution; in matters arising from treaties between the States and the Provinces; in Admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; and in cases in which a prohibitive order against a federal officer was sought. The Court should, he thought, also have jurisdiction over cases between citizens and the Provinces and citizens and the States; and over foreign nationals. The Court should also have appellate and civil and criminal jurisdiction, and power to give advice on reference regarding a constitutional question from the Governor-General, Governors of Provinces, or Judges of High Courts or State Courts.

This long catalogue was modified when Mr. Jayakar admitted that it would be difficult to secure from the States the right of appeal to the Supreme Court in non-federal matters. Unless the States adopted this plan, he said, it would be better to drop the project of giving the Supreme Court wide appellate criminal and civil jurisdiction: for it would entail, as Sir Akbar Hydari had shown, a division between the Federal and the Supreme side of the Court. Since this was not desirable, he pleaded that the project should be limited to a Federal Court, and that the Supreme Court, or the Privy Council for India, should not at first be tacked on to it. Let them not make two experiments at once.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Another difficulty which Mr. Jayakar foresaw was that, whatever they did, they could not do away with the jurisdiction of the Privy Council in so far as it represented the prerogative of the Crown. They could not do away with the prerogative of the Crown to hear cases as the final Court of Appeal, either by giving special leave or under Orders in Council. "I think," he added, "that this endeavour to do away with the jurisdiction of the Privy Council is somewhat futile. It can only be successful when public opinion has so far been educated that we do not want to go outside our own Constitution for the sake of our rights."

Dr. S. K. Datta and Mr. A. T. Pannir Selvam are respectively the representatives on the Conference of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Christians. The latter has submitted to the Conference a memorandum urging the need for statutory guarantees for the Indian Christian community in the new Constitution. He states that there is genuine apprehension on their part, consequent upon some statements of Mr. Gandhi on missionary effort and on the studied silence of the National Congress in its resolution on religious propaganda. He asks for the following statutory provisions in the new Constitution:—

1. Every person of whatever race, caste, creed, or sex shall have the right freely and openly to profess, practise, and preach his religion, subject to public order and morality. He shall also have the right to convert, by peaceful, legitimate, and constitutional methods, others to his faith.

2. No person shall, merely by reason of his change of faith, lose any of his civil rights or privileges, or be subject to any penalty.

3. Persons belonging to any religion shall have a right to establish, manage, and control, at their own expense, charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments with the right to exercise their religion therein; and where specific sums of money from public funds, as set out in the State Budget or in the budget of local or other public authorities, are to be devoted to education, religion, or philanthropy, a due share in the use and enjoyment of such sums shall be secured to these institutions as well.

The memorandum takes exception to Mr. Gandhi's refusal to recognize the claims to distinct representation of minorities other than the Moslems and the Sikhs. It points out that the Christians are the third largest religious community in India, and far out-number the Sikhs. Their social and economic condition and the fact that they are scattered about the country make it essential that they should have an electorate of their own. It is claimed that they should be given this right of separate representation, and that they should be given such other privileges and rights as may be conceded to the other [illegible]

OCTOBER 28, 1931

INDIAN DEPRESSED CLASSES

CLAIMS TO SEPARATE RECOGNITION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—May I comment as briefly as possible on the main points raised in Sir Albion Banerji's letter in your issue of October 24?

(1) He states that my letter in your issue of the 20th inst. is an appeal to the British public and Parliament "not to countenance political advance in India," as it would perpetuate the slavery of the Depressed Classes. I made no such appeal against any political advance, but, even if I had, I could have supported it by quoting the two most prominent Indian social reformers, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who has said that the edifice of Indian nationality could not be built on the shifting quicksands of a cruel social system based on caste, and Mr. Gandhi himself, who has repeatedly declared in India that the abolition of untouchability—the claim of the outcastes—was an essential preliminary to *Swaraj*.

(2) He suggests that the British Government has in 150 years done nothing for the Depressed Classes, for fear of arousing religious hostility of the caste Hindus, and states that the alleviation of their lot is due to the work of high-caste social reformers, such as the Brahmo Samaj, and enlightened States like Mysore. The British Government has abolished slavery in India (the latest instance was Sir Harcourt Butler's freeing the slaves in the Burma triangle a few years ago), and by its legislative and executive action recognizes the complete equality of the Depressed Classes as citizens. But the few thousand British officials cannot prevent the 170,000,000 caste Hindus from treating the 60,000,000 as outcastes and untouchables. Nor can an Indian State or a small body like the Brahmo Samaj, however laudable their efforts, effect anything considerable till the social conscience of the caste Hindus is awakened. How difficult this task is may be illustrated by two facts.

A few years ago, when Mr. Gandhi publicly advocated the removal of untouchability in the enlightened city of Bombay, an angry meeting of caste Hindus threatened to lynch him for sapping the foundations of Hinduism! More recently nine Brahmins in the Meerut district within 60 miles of Delhi were sentenced by the High Court to transportation for life for brutally clubbing to death a brother Brahmin who had ventured to alleviate the unhappy lot of the "untouchables" in his village.

(3) Sir Albion does not mention the chief factors in the uplift of the Depressed Classes. These are the Christian missions of all denominations, and the Moslem creed, both of which are alike in treating the outcaste from Hinduism as a man and the equal of other men in the sight of God. Hence millions of those outcastes have embraced Christianity and Islam as one means of regeneration. This movement is arousing anxiety among the caste Hindus, and their interest has been stimulated by the political influence and claims of those who were hitherto outside the pale.

Sir Albion deprecates the recognition of the Depressed Classes as a separate community in the new Constitution and claims that they "are part and parcel of the whole Hindu social structure." They might have been, had not 30 centuries of social injustice at the hands of the Hindu castes driven them—the descendants of the Dravidian and other aboriginal tribes—in despair into the opposite camp. At their All-India Conference on September 27 and 28 they said:—

It was only during the British régime that the doors of knowledge were opened to us. That has opened our eyes and disclosed to us the fact that we were reduced to our present conditions not by the Creator but by a well-planned man-made scheme.

After all, they are the best judges as to who are their friends. Hitherto they have been the toads beneath the harrow, and

> The toad beneath the harrow knows
> Where each tooth of the harrow goes.
> The butterfly upon the road
> Preaches contentment to the toad.

It is significant that at the Round-Table Conference, while the Congress Party has fought against them, the Moslem and all other minorities have stoutly supported their claims to separate recognition.

I am, &c.,

October 25. M. F. O'DWYER.

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FEDERAL INDIAN COURT

LORD SANKEY'S LEAD

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference continued its task yesterday under the chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor at St. James's Palace. It concluded consideration of the composition and functions of the Federal Court, and began discussion of the question of the Federal Ministry and its relations with the Legislature.

Some light was thrown in the afternoon on the future work of the Conference. Lord Sankey said he hoped that three reports—on the Legislature, on finance, and on the Federal Court—would be before them on Monday, and that they would be disposed of in three days' discussion. Meanwhile there were certain points on which he wished to obtain their opinion, and which must be known for the drafting of a Bill to be placed eventually before Parliament.

An observation which followed is to be read in the light of the fact that, on behalf of the Moslem delegates, Sir Muhammad Shafi had privately informed Lord Sankey of their unwillingness to enter upon heads of discussion relating to responsibility at the centre or other matters affecting the communal issue, pending its settlement. The details of postponement of heads and sub-heads were discussed by Lord Sankey and Sir Muhammad, and a general understanding was reached. In this connexion it may be added that the Moslem delegation have given consideration to Pandit M. M. Malaviya's suggestion in *The Times* for outside arbitration. They do not contemplate any collective statement on the subject, but it is understood that they are not attracted by the proposal.

Lord Sankey told the Committee yesterday that he was anxious that none of the questions to be discussed during the rest of the week should touch upon the communal issue. So far he had had nothing to do with that issue and had expressed no opinion upon it. He appealed to the Committee to steer clear of it. Experience has shown the truth of Lord Sankey's next observation: that he supposed that it would be possible to introduce the communal issue into any topic.

QUESTIONS BEFORE COMMITTEE

The questions he proceeded to admit to debate may be summarized as:—

Is the Constitution to declare in terms that the legislative powers of the Federal Legislature and of the Provincial Legislatures are confined respectively to the spheres of Federal (and Central) subjects and Provincial subjects ?

Where are the residual powers to lie ?

Are Acts of the Federal Legislature relating to Federal subjects to apply *proprio vigore* to the territory of the States members of the Federation in the same way and to the same extent as they will apply in the Provinces ?

Are the Federal and Provincial Legislatures to retain in any respect concurrent powers of legislation? If so, in what respect and in relation to what subjects ?

If there are such concurrent powers, are Federal laws to prevail over Provincial laws on the same subject ?

Is the question of *ultra vires* legislation to be left to the Courts, or is any other machinery practicable ?

What is to be the number of the Federal Ministers or by what authority is the number in practice to be determined and modified ?

Is provision to be made for the representation in the Council of Ministers of States ?

Is there to be collective responsibility of Ministers, and is it to be recognized and expressed in the Constitution ?

What is to be the relationship of the persons appointed by the Governor-General to assist him in the administration of the "reserved" portfolios (*a*) to the Legislature, and (*b*) to the Council of Ministers ?

Sir Muhammad Shafi asked for postponement of the question of relations of Ministers with the Legislature until after the Minorities Committee had met, and Lord Sankey said he would do his best to meet the Moslem view as to this head and the sub-heads.

The question of the length of the Conference was raised in an inquiry as to when Government proposed to call a plenary session by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who said that the delegates had to make their plans for booking steamer accommodation. Lord Sankey replied that the Prime Minister would be back from Seaham on Thursday morning. He hoped to see him quite early, and would give an answer to the question as soon as possible.

A happy interlude came early in the day when Mr. Jayakar, resuming his speech on the Federal Court, expressed the opinion that the retiring age for Judges in India (now fixed at 60) under the new Constitution should be 65. Lord Sankey (who was born on October 26, 1866) remarked, "Then I should begin my holidays to-day." There was an approving cheer when Mr. Jinnah wished him many happy returns of the day.

MR. JINNAH'S CONTRIBUTION

Mr. Jinnah made a notable contribution to the discussion on the Federal Court. He held it to be obvious that Federal matters arising out of the Constitution should vest in the Court. The list of Federal subjects was a long one. Was all legislation on these topics to be subject to the Federal Court ? Were the States willing that, in regard to Federal law, the Federal Court should be the supreme Court ? Apart from this, would not the Court be hopelessly overburdened ? And would not the Court itself be very costly ? He suggested starting with the Federal Court, giving it jurisdiction only in matters arising out of the Constitution ; but making it accessible to any party or person whose rights under the Constitution were being infringed. An appeal Court in India should ultimately take the place of the Privy Council and have jurisdiction over the Indian High Courts. There should also be a regular Court of criminal appeal for British India.

Speaking as a business man, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas said that one of the reasons why the States were industrially undeveloped was the absence of any Court of Appeal other than the Courts of the States. The judicial systems of the States left much to be desired. Would the States not help their own development by allowing appeal to the Federal Court in non-federal matters ?

Sir Muhammad Shafi concluded, as he had begun, the discussion. It must now be clear to the British Government, he said, that all classes of thought in India were unanimous in pressing for the creation of a High Court of Appeal in India. He did not see why its creation should not be taken in hand as soon as possible. In the discussion almost all speakers had agreed that the Federal Court should have an advisory jurisdiction in relation to the Governor-General. He still held that it should be left to groups or interests affected by any Bill to precipitate a reference to the Court at the earliest stage, instead of perpetuating differences through the passage of a Bill and subsequently. Such a regulation was in the best interest of inter-communal cooperation. He held that the appointment of Judges should rest with the Crown or the Governor-General, thus securing the independence of the Court.

The discussion on the Executive and the Legislature was introduced by Diwan Bahadur Mudaliyar, who dealt with the question of persons appointed by the Governor-General for the administration of Crown portfolios. He recommended that the Defence Member should be appointed by the Governor-General, but from among the members of the Legislature, and that this Minister should take part in all the Cabinet discussions, not merely on his own subjects, but on all others too. The ultimate decision on Army matters would rest with him and with the Governor-General. The future Legislature would be greatly interested in defence, and such policies as Indianization of the Army must be under the supervision of the Legislature. The Legislature would have no power to alter policy, but only to see that agreed policy was carried out ; and *pro tanto*, the Defence Minister would be responsible to the Legislature.

So far as the Member for External Affairs was concerned, Mr. Mudaliyar did not insist upon his being in the Legislature as an elected member, for he saw that in other countries the Legislatures were not completely seized of control over external affairs. The member in charge of the portfolio might be an official nominated to the Legislature by the Governor-General, but he would be a member of the Cabinet.

ROUND TABLE

PLEA FOR BRITISH LEAD

The complete triumph of the National Government at the polls had its reflex yesterday in the discussions at the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference at St. James's Palace, under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru prefaced a contribution to the discussion of the relations between the Federal Executive and the Legislature by a plea for a statement of the views of the British Government on the question of responsibility at the Centre.

He said that Great Britain now had a National Government, and that meant a Government of all parties. He was entitled to expect that this new Government would have a national and broad mind on the question of responsibility at the Centre. The time had come when some lead in this matter should be given by the British Government. He admired Mr. Gandhi for his day of silence on Mondays, but he would not admire a Government for its silence on all days of the week. He therefore expected that at some time or other the Government would assure them that they had got a mind of their own on this matter and that they were prepared to disclose their mind.

So far as Indians were concerned they had kept nothing up their sleeves. Whether they agreed among themselves or whether they did not, whether their position was right or wrong, they had frankly put forward their views in regard to responsibility at the Centre and he thought that they should meet with a satisfactory response from the British Government in the course of this or next week.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S REPLY

At a later stage Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, assured Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that his implied criticism of the Government for silence was not justified.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that Sir Tej Bahadur seemed to think that the members of the Government ought to go to the meetings and state categorically their position upon many details under discussion. That had never been his (Sir Samuel's) view of the position of the British representatives upon the Committee. It was quite clear from the discussion that morning that a complicated question of that kind bristled with points of detail upon which there might be latitude of opinion. Speaking for himself, he accepted the position that some time or other the Government would have to state their view upon very important issues, such as issues relating to Crown subjects. To ask them to do this in the course of the next two or three days, when the new Government had scarcely been formed, and when in that Committee they had not even reached those subjects, was making rather an extreme demand. Upon the earliest opportunity no doubt the Committee would discuss those questions, and Government would have to take a part in the discussions ; but to do so now would be out of order—the opportunity had not arisen.

Sir Samuel added the pertinent observation that on some of the subjects under discussion —what should constitute a vote of censure ? which section of the Assembly should take part in particular kinds of debates ? and so on —he was quite sure that such matters would only be settled in the actual working of the Constitution. They were subjects much more of the practice than of the theory of the Constitution. With reference to the bigger questions which had been raised—namely, the distinction between the holders of Crown subjects portfolios and the other Ministers, he suggested that it was much better to deal with the facts as they were and to recognize that in the transitional period—a phrase he used of set purpose—there was definitely a distinction between the two classes of Ministers. If there was a distinction it was much better not to pretend it did not exist. He could not imagine, however, that there would be any irremovable gulf between these two classes of people. He thought that being practical men and dealing with things as they were they would work an arrangement of that kind in the transitional period, and much more by consultation between the two sides than by attempting to create a theory as to their identity which did not seem to exist.

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POSITION OF THE STATES

The Nawab of Bhopal indicated the views of the States delegation over which he presides as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. They held that the appointment of Ministers should be by the Governor-General in consultation with the Prime Minister. They thought there should be no specific limitation of numbers of Ministers : they should be as few or as many as circumstances demanded.

The majority of the States delegation (he continued) felt that the representation of States in the Federal Executive should be secured by a constitutional convention. The matter should not be left solely to the discretion of the authority appointing the Ministers, or to the Parliamentary strength of the group representing the States. The responsibility of the Ministry should be collective: that was the essence of Cabinet government. If, as they had postulated, there was to be a Prime Minister, and his colleagues were elected by the Governor-General in consultation with him, then he believed the collective responsibility of the Cabinet followed, and in his opinion need not be expressed in the Constitution. The representatives of the States who might be on the Executive, however, would not desire to be placed in the position of having to participate in the decision of purely British Indian Central subjects if there were such subjects.

The question as to when a Ministry could be said to retain or to have lost the confidence of the Legislature, justifying its continuance in office or resignation, should be left to constitutional usage and practice. The States delegation agreed with Mr. Mudaliyar (who had finished his speech that morning) that defeat of an important Bill calling for resignation of the Ministry should be by an absolute majority of both Houses, but they did not wish to press the point and would accept the agreed views of British India in that matter. He and most of his colleagues of the delegation had not so far been in favour of the creation of an Indian States *bloc*. By the same process of reasoning they were opposed to a confederation of British Indian provinces. He was convinced that it would be detrimental to the best interests both of the Federation as a whole and of the Indian States to have two lists of subjects of common concern, one Federal and the other Central. His personal view was that if the list of Central subjects was retained it would only be natural if it acted as an incentive to the Federal Government to extend its sphere of jurisdiction and desired to exercise similar authority in respect of Indian States. It would not be possible for them to agree to levelling down of the States to the status of British Indian provinces. If there was to be federation the whole problem would have to be considered with the sole object of creating completely autonomous and internally independent provinces. This, he was convinced, would make the Federation real, stable, and more easy to work.

Asked by Mr. Joshi at the end of what the Chairman termed "a most interesting and valuable contribution" to debate whether the States would insist upon their representatives being in the Executive, his Highness said they did not think any Government would like to leave the States out of the Executive. Moreover, representatives of the States in the Ministry would have no connexion whatsoever with the States themselves. They would have their policy according to their own views, and have nothing to do with the policy of a State or a group of States.

Contributions were made to the debate by Mr. Joshi and Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy. The Lord Chancellor announced that they had come to the end of the questions circulated on the technique of the Constitution. There would be no need to meet to-day or to-morrow, but they would sit on Monday to discuss the first of the three draft reports he was preparing. Replying to Pandit M. M. Malaviya he said he could not tell when they would be likely to take up questions relating to the Army, external relations, and financial safeguards. It would certainly not be before Wednesday next.

There is thus a brief interlude after the Committee has sat, in this and the first session of the Conference, on 43 days.

THE ROUND TABLE

ELECTION AND BRITISH MEMBERSHIP

An incidental effect of the General Election has been to leave Lord Snell the only Opposition Labour member of the Round-Table Conference who remains a member of either House of Parliament. Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. Lees-Smith, and Mr. Pethick-Lawrence have lost their seats, but there will be at the Round Table three other members of the Conference who were in the Labour Cabinet—the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Thomas. The Conservative and Liberal parties are also duly represented by members of both Houses of Parliament.

These facts have not yet been under official consideration, but it is thought in well-informed quarters that no action will be taken by the Government to change the British *personnel* of the Conference. It is open, of course, to the official Opposition to suggest some change in the *personnel* of its own representatives. There is, however, no inherent necessity for the whole of the British delegation to consist of members of either House of Parliament ; nor is that course so important when there is a National Government in office composed of members of all three parties and with an unprecedented Parliamentary majority behind it. As Secretary of State for India during the whole term of the Labour Government Mr. Wedgwood Benn, to give one example, is keenly interested in Indian Constitutional reform, and it would be regrettable if his services on the Conference were no longer available owing to the loss of his Parliamentary seat. The desirability of continuity of membership now that the Round Table will be entering upon some of its most critical work need not be emphasized.

Two unofficial secretaries at the Conference were Parliamentary candidates. Mr. G. T. Garratt, secretary to the Labour delegation, failed in a second attempt to win Cambridgeshire for his party. Mr. A. H. Molson, secretary of the European delegation from India, won Doncaster for the Unionists.

There is a general feeling among the delegates that now the election is over the work of the Conference will be quickened and that a certain sense of unreality which has marked recent discussions—due to unwillingness in various quarters to discuss big issues pending some definite progress on the communal question, and to the desire to await the result of the election—will pass away. Meetings of various groups are being held, and in some of these Mr. Gandhi is taking a prominent part. It is thought that a meeting of the Minorities Committee may be held early next week.

ROUND TABLE AND MINORITIES

NEW OFFER FROM MR. GANDHI

The outcome of the General Election has stimulated the widespread desire among delegates to the Round-Table Conference to prepare the way for progress when the next meeting of the Minorities Committee is held, and many discussions with this end in view are taking place.

This anxiety was reflected in approaches made by one of the most eminent Hindu Liberal members of the Conference to the Moslem delegation. He asked that they should join the Liberals and secure the cooperation of representatives of certain minorities—the Depressed Classes, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, and the Europeans—in requesting the Prime Minister to assent to the new Government coming to decisions on the outstanding communal issues. He admitted that there was no ground for expecting that Mr. Gandhi, for the Congress, or the Sikh and Mahasabha delegates would join in the request. The Moslem delegation took the view that unless the request came from all parties they could not bind themselves in advance to cooperate in the working of the proposed new Constitution : for this would mean that their liberty of choice was surrendered, while other sections were left free to decide on their action after the settlement had been announced.

Another distinguished member of the Conference, acting as a friend of both sides, and able to view matters with the detachment of membership of the States delegation, also went to the Moslems, not as an emissary with any power to negotiate, but with indications of the extent to which Mr. Gandhi would modify his attitude on certain conditions. It was understood that if the Moslems joined hands with Mr. Gandhi he would not make adult suffrage a *sine qua non*, and he would so far amend the Congress claim to complete responsible government as to ask no longer for entire control over external affairs and defence, though he would stand for a measure of control over finance. He would not at present press for an investigation of the incidence and past history of the public debt with a view to adjustments with Great Britain. These limitations were for the transitional period only.

One important condition governed this indication of willingness to modify the Congress programme. It was that, with the exception of the Moslems, the Sikhs in the Punjab, and the Hindus in the two provinces (Sind and the North-West Frontier)—where they will be a quite small proportion of the population—no minorities should be given either separate electorates or reservation of seats. The suggestion was that the Moslems should not merely cease to support but should join Mr. Gandhi in opposing any recognition of the claims in this regard of the Depressed Classes, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and the Europeans. It was understood that if a formula was drawn up it would be considered by the Moslem delegation, but could not be accepted if it included the last-named stipulation. There is no prospect of the Moslems deserting the other minorities in the manner suggested.

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REFERENCE TO LEAGUE

The proposal of Pandit Madan M. Malaviya in *The Times* of Monday last that the communal question should be referred for final decision either to (1) the League of Nations, (2) a judicial tribunal, or (3) three non-Indian arbitrators jointly appointed by the parties has been considered without meeting with Moslem support. Maulvi Shafee Daoodi, secretary of the All-India Moslem Conference and a member of the Legislative Assembly, in a statement yesterday said :—

Under Articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the League is only competent to deal with disputes between its Member States and not disputes between classes or communities within any Member State. Further, these articles stand on the general principle that only disputes of a legal character, such as treaties, damages claimed under treaties and questions of law, are suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement. This obvious general principle also bars the alternative proposals. This is apart from the consideration that none of the arbitrators would have any authority behind them to execute their decrees.

In recent conversations with the Moslem delegation, Mahatma Gandhi agreed to a bare Moslem majority in the Punjab and in Bengal; and so the communal dispute has been narrowed down to the issue whether the Moslem majority in the Punjab and Bengal is to be reduced to less than their population ratio—57 per cent. and 55 per cent. respectively. Is this a matter for any judicial or arbitral tribunal ?

Finally is it not wrong to consider a transfer of responsibility at the centre unless the position of the great Moslem minority in the Constitution is settled ? Surely the logical thing to do is first to settle upon the parties who will take over such responsibility. Otherwise you will put the cart before the horse.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, another member of the delegation, expressed the warmest satisfaction that the General Election had so strengthened the hands of the National Government. He said :—

We, who belong to one or other of the Indian minorities, are peculiarly dependent on receiving fair play. We ask for no favours, only justice, and rightly or wrongly we did not feel with the last Labour Government that our [Moslem] claims would receive that impartial scrutiny which is necessary if justice is to be done. The people of England must understand that the whole fate of India depends on justice for the minority communities, and I feel that this election is a long step towards that desirable consummation.

MORE DELEGATES ARRIVING

At a time when some members of the Conference are so optimistic of the rate of progress that they have not yet cancelled provisional bookings of passages for less than a fortnight hence, other delegates are arriving. The following members are expected at Victoria Station this afternoon.

Mr. Barooah, Captain Raja Sher Muhammad Khan of Domeli, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Sir Cowasji Jehanghir, Sir Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Dr. Narendra Nath Law, Mr. Jamal Muhammad, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and Nawab Sir Sayed Muhammad Mehr Shah.

With one or two possible exceptions this completes the list of arrivals, for the Maharajah of Alwar has decided not to come to Europe this autumn, and it is understood that Rai Bahadur Kunwar Dayal Seth will also not be attending. Among those who embarked for India in the mail steamer leaving Marseilles yesterday were the Begum of Bhopal and her two younger daughters. Sir Sayed Sultan Ahmad is leaving for India next week.

NEW GOVERNMENT AND INDIA

MR. MACDONALD'S MESSAGE

Mr. MacDonald, the Prime Minister, sent the following telegram to the Viceroy of India on Saturday :—

I am most grateful to you for your congratulations on the results of the election. As a National Government, we shall continue with your help to pursue the policy which was inaugurated at the last Round-Table Conference and which we believe commends itself to the nation as a whole. It will be our endeavour and desire to bring about a settlement that will be of permanent and mutual benefit to India, Great Britain, and the British Commonwealth.

Lord Sankey, Chairman of the Federal Structure Committee, has issued his Draft Report on the Federal Legislature, Federal Finance, and other matters which have been under discussion since the Committee resumed its work early in September. Consideration of the draft, which is summarized on page 17, will be begun to-day.

ROUND TABLE

LORD SANKEY'S REPORT

MINORITIES' CLAIMS REAFFIRMED

When the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference reassembles at St. James's Palace this morning it will have under consideration the Draft Report of Lord Sankey, the Chairman, on matters which it has had under discussion since reassembling for the Second Session of the Conference early in September, other than that of the Federal Court, which will be the subject of a separate report. A summary of the Draft Report is given below.

The document, circulated late on Saturday to members of the Conference, has not diverted attention from the two issues which have been canvassed in the last few days—the possible effect of the sweeping electoral victory of the National Government on the Round Table, and the renewed efforts to find a way out of the communal tangle. On the first point any doubts about the continuity of broad policy will be allayed by the telegram the Prime Minister sent to the Viceroy on Saturday, the text of which is given on page 12.

On the minorities issue the good offices as *amicus curiae* of the member of the Conference to whom reference was made in *The Times* of Saturday are being continued. He has intimated to Mr. Gandhi (who has spent the week-end at Cambridge) that he cannot do more than put forward for consideration of the Moslems any formulas for settlement which he feels they might reasonably accept. The effort is not likely to be assisted by the latest suggestion made by Mr. Gandhi that the communal problem should be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Mr. Gandhi's bid for Moslem support of his opposition to the claims of other minorities (excepting the Sikhs) to separate electorates or seat reservation has given impetus to the tendency observable from the first sittings of the Conference last year for the minorities to afford each other mutual support. In the last few days meetings of representatives of the communities concerned have been held, the Moslems being represented by the Aga Khan, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Mr. Ghuznavi, Mr. Jinnah, and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Agreement was reached on all points of importance, and it is understood that a joint statement of the claims of the communities concerned is ready (apart from a few textual changes) for submission to the Prime Minister as Chairman of the Minorities Committee. The statement will come from the Moslems, the Depressed Classes, the Indian Christian community (represented by Mr. Pannir Selvam), the Anglo-Indians, and the Europeans.

RIGHTS OF COMMUNITIES

The main feature of the submission is the claim that communities and interests at present enjoying representation in any Legislature through nomination or election shall have under the new Constitution adequate representation in such Legislature through separate electorates, which shall be continued until relinquished by the community or interest concerned. Change from separate to joint electorates would be brought about only by the following means :—

(1) A referendum of the voters held on the demand of a majority of the community's representatives in the Legislature concerned, and resulting in an absolute majority of the members of the constituency. For the Depressed Classes, however, no such referendum is to be made until after 20 years' experience of separate electorates and until universal adult suffrage has been established.

(2) In a constituency (as distinct from a clearly marked community) a referendum would be held after a successful petition to Government by the constituency concerned and resulting in an absolute majority of the constituency.

Communities [other than Depressed Classes] and constituencies would have the right to transfer from separate to general electorates with reservation of seats. General electorates would be composed of those separate electorates which had been relinquished, but only after 10 years should there be adjustments of electorates.

Some rights of a general character are stipulated—such as origin, religion, or caste not being a bar to public office or the exercise of any trade or calling ; the right of members of all communities freely and openly to profess, practise, preach, and teach religion, subject to public order and morality ; and the prohibition of any levy upon the public for specifically religious purposes. Moslem and other minority interests should be adequately recognized in the formation of the Provincial and Federal Cabinets. Similarly, provision should be made for recruitment to the public services being made in such a way as to secure a fair and adequate representation to the various communities, consistent with considerations of efficiency and the possession of the necessary qualifications.

Provision is proposed for the special claims in given respects of the Depressed Classes, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, and the Europeans. *Inter alia*, the Anglo-Indians through Sir Henry Gidney ask for the right to administer and control their own educational institutions. The Europeans (who were represented in the discussions by Sir Hubert Carr) claim equal rights and privileges to those of Indian-born subjects in all industrial and commercial activities ; also the maintenance of existing rights in regard to criminal trials.

REPORT ON FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

SIZE AND STRUCTURE

The Federal Structure Sub-Committee, in their Draft Third Report, say that their further deliberations have confirmed them in the conviction that "it is in a Federation of Provinces and States that the solution of the problem of India's constitutional future is to be found." It is essential that the India of the future should include "Indian India" along with British India.

The Committee [the Report says] rejoice to think that the Princes, while rightly determined to maintain their internal sovereignty, are prepared, and indeed anxious, to share with the British Indian Provinces in directing the common affairs of India.

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In making their proposals the Committee have taken into account:—

(*a*) The widespread desire in India for constitutional advance;

(*b*) The natural desire of the Indian States to conserve their integrity;

(*c*) The indisputable claims of minorities to fair treatment;

(*d*) The obligations and responsibilities of his Majesty's Government; and

(*e*) The necessity, paramount at all times, but above all at a transitional period like the present, when the economic foundations of the modern world seem weakened, of ensuring the financial credit and the stability of Government itself.

The Report then sets out the conclusions which the Committee are prepared to endorse.

THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

In regard to the Structure, Size, and Composition of the Federal Legislature, the Committee recommend, on the assumption that the Legislature is to be bicameral, that the Upper and Lower Chambers should consist, as near as may be, of 200 and 300 members respectively, in which the allotment of seats to the States should be in the proportion of 40 per cent. (or approximately 80 seats) in the Upper Chamber, and 33 1-3 per cent. (or approximately 100 seats) in the Lower. "This latter recommendation is, of course, based on the assumption that the whole body of the States will eventually adhere to the Federation. . . . In the event of the original adherents not forming a substantial proportion, that is to say, at least one-half, of "Indian India," it will probably be desirable to devise some method of weightage by which their voting strength would be temporarily augmented pending the accession of other States."

The Committee recommend that the 200 members of the Upper House should be chosen in the main to represent the component units—the Provinces of British India and the States—and that the representatives of the British Indian Provinces should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by the single transferable vote.

"In the case of those States which secure individual representation, their representatives will be nominated by the Governments of the States. In the case of those States, however (and there will necessarily be many such), to which separate individual representation cannot be accorded the privilege of nomination will have to be shared in some manner which it will be easier to determine when the various groups have been constituted—a process which will, of course, entail a detailed survey of local and regional circumstances.

"For the Lower Chamber the Committee consider that the selection of the British Indian representatives should be by election otherwise than through the agency either of the Provincial Legislature or of any existing local self-government bodies. Most members consider that election should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who will cast their votes directly for the candidate of their choice."

The Committee recommend that the Franchise Committee should also make proposals for the constituencies to return the British Indian members of the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature, and that it should explore fully the alternatives of direct and indirect election. The area and population of British India, excluding Burma, being in round figures 800,000 square miles and 255,000,000 respectively, and the seats in the Lower Chamber available for representatives of that area on the Committee's proposals being approximately 200, it follows that the average area of a constituency would be approximately 4,000 square miles, and the average population per seat some 1,250,000.

APPORTIONMENT OF SEATS

In regard to the apportionment of the British Indian seats in both Chambers to the Provinces *inter se* the Committee recognize that the population ratio, which they were disposed to recommend in their previous Report as the guiding principle, would not produce a satisfactory result unless it were tempered by other considerations. For the Upper Chamber, which will represent in the main the units as such, the Committee think that the guiding principle should be a reasonable approximation to equality of representation for each unit. The suggestion has been made that a possible solution might, for example, be to assign to each of the Provinces which exceed 20,000,000 in population—namely, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Bihar and Orissa—an equal number of seats, say, 17; to the Central Provinces (if it included Berar) and Assam, say, seven and five seats respectively; to the North-West Frontier Province, two seats; and to Delhi, Ajmer, Coorg, and British Baluchistan, one seat each.

"In the Lower Chamber, representing as it will primarily the population of the federated area, we consider [the Committee say] that the distribution should tally as closely as possible with the population ratio, but that some adjustment will be required in recognition of the commercial importance of the Bombay Presidency and of the general importance in the body politic of the Punjab, which it will be generally conceded is not strictly commensurate with its population as compared with that of other Provinces. . . . The Committee are not in a position to make a definite recommendation, but they take note of a suggestion which has been made for the allotment to the Punjab and Bombay, and also to Bihar and Orissa, of 26 seats each; to Madras, Bengal, and the United Provinces of 32 seats each; to the Central Provinces of 12; to Assam of seven; to the North-West Frontier Province of three; and to the four minor Provinces of one each, by this measure securing a distribution of the 200 seats which might be held to satisfy reasonable claims without doing undue violence to the population basis."

The Report next discusses the apportionment between the States of their quota, expressing the view that "it is essential that the States as a whole should secure representation which will commend itself to public opinion as generally reasonable and that it is hardly less important to satisfy, so far as may prove possible, the claims of the small States than to provide adequate representation for those which cover large areas." The Committee consider that the best course would be to allow a period of time, which should not, they think, extend beyond the end of March, 1932, within which the Princes should be invited to arrive at a settlement, on the understanding that, if within that period a settlement were not in fact secured, an impartial tribunal would be set up by his Majesty's Government to advise as to the determination of the matter. As to the methods of selection of States' representatives in the Lower Chamber, the Committee as a whole are prepared to leave the question to the judgment of the States.

SPECIAL INTERESTS

The Committee do not deal with the representation of the Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Europeans, and Anglo-Indians, as a decision in regard to these is for the Minorities Sub-Committee, but the Committee affirm their previous recommendation that provision should be made for the special representation of the landlord interest, of Commerce (European and Indian), and of Labour. "The number of seats to be assigned to each of these four interests and their apportionment among the various Provinces are questions which should be considered by the Franchise Committee, as also is the question of their method of election. Wherever possible the method should be election rather than nomination."

The Committee are not in favour of nomination of members in either Chamber to represent the Crown or Crown interests. An "official *bloc*" would, in the opinion of the majority of the Committee, be out of place in the conditions of the new Constitution. On the other hand, the Committee are impressed with the desirability of securing to the Federation the services in the Upper Chamber of men of the elder statesmen type with an experience of public affairs, both in the political sphere and outside it. . . . It would be a grave loss to India if such men were excluded from her counsels. The Committee are therefore of opinion that a small proportion of seats should be reserved, in the Upper Chamber only, for persons to be appointed by the Governor-General.

For the Lower Chamber in British India the qualification for membership should be identical with that for a voter—that is to say, any person who is qualified as an elector for a constituency of a particular class should be qualified also to stand for election by any constituency of that class in the province. For candidates for the Senate the Committee consider that the existing rules regulating the qualifications of voters (and consequently of candidates) for the Council of State should be adopted as a model for candidates for the Upper Chamber, except that the minimum age limit should be 35 years.

The existing disqualifications for membership for the Indian Legislature appear to the Committee generally suitable for retention, but they consider that the rules should be so framed as to disqualify from candidature any person who at the time of an election is actually undergoing a sentence of detention and who would, consequently, be unable, if returned, to fulfil his duties to the Legislature and to his constituents. "Although it will clearly be impossible to secure uniformity of qualification in British India and the States, we think it of great importance that there should be absolute uniformity in the matter of disqualifications. These should therefore be embodied in the Constitution and should apply to all candidates alike."

Further, the Committee consider that, following common practice in the Empire, the Indian Constitution should provide for an Oath of Allegiance to be taken by members of the Federal Legislature on assumption of their seats. [illegible] at this stage, but its terms will require careful consideration.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHAMBERS

The Report then deals with the relations between the two Chambers. The Committee express the view that nothing should be done in the new Constitution which "would have the effect of placing either Chamber of the Federal Legislature in a position of legal subordination to the other. . . . We accordingly recommend that, while the Constitution should provide that, subject to the special provisions to be referred to later, no Bill should become law until it is assented to by both Chambers, it should contain no provisions which would disable either Chamber from initiating, amending, or rejecting any Bill, whatever its character. The principle of equality also appears to us to demand that the Government should be entitled to test the opinion of the other Chamber if one Chamber has seen fit to reject a Government Bill, and that in the event of its passage by the second Chamber it should be treated as a Bill initiated in that Chamber and taken again to the first.

"In the event of rejection by one Chamber of a Bill which has been passed by the other, or of its acceptance by either in a form to which the other will not agree, we recommend that, subject to certain conditions which should be set out in the Constitution, the Governor-General should have power, either after the lapse of a specified period or, in cases of urgency, at once, to secure the adjustment of the difference of opinion by summoning a Joint Session.

"We see no reason [the Committee add] why the principle of equality of powers should not extend also to the voting of Supply. We propose therefore that the annual estimates of the revenue and expenditure of the Federal Government . . . should be laid simultaneously before both Chambers, and that Government's demands for grants should be debated and voted upon by each Chamber, the debate in the second Chamber taking place upon the demands as amended by the first. In the event of a difference in view between the two Chambers as to the amount to be granted under any demand, we recommend that the difference should be resolved by an immediate Joint Session of both Chambers, the decisive vote being that of a simple majority."

FEDERAL FINANCE

Finally, the Report discusses the question of Federal Finance. It refers to the work of Lord Peel's Sub-Committee and, in regard to the proposed "fact-finding" committee to be appointed in India, suggests that, among other matters, it should investigate classification of pre-Federation debt as contemplated in Lord Peel's Report, calculate the effect on the Provinces of various possible methods of allocating the proceeds of income-tax to the Provinces, and give an estimate of the probable financial position of the Federation in its early years under the scheme proposed in Lord Peel's Report, indicating, *inter alia*, the probable results of federalizing corporation tax, commercial stamps, tobacco Excise, or other possible national Excises.

The facts and estimates required should not, the Federal Committee think, take long to produce. There will remain to be decided, in the light of them, certain questions, as for example:—

(i.) The exact detailed form of the list of Federal taxes (within the general framework laid down by Lord Peel's Report); in particular, a final decision will have to be taken about corporation tax and specific Federal Excises.

(ii.) The initial amount of the contributions from the Provinces and the precise period within which these and the States' contributions are to be wiped out.

(iii.) The exact method according to which income-tax is to be returned to the Provinces.

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MINORITIES IN INDIA

PRIME MINISTER'S ACTION

The Prime Minister found time yesterday amid a throng of duties to give attention to the problems which are pressing for settlement in connexion with the Round-Table Conference. After seeing Lord Sankey, the chairman of the Federal Structure Committee, and Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, he was visited at 10, Downing-street by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and later by the Aga Khan. As Monday is Mr. Gandhi's day of silence, a conversation with him was arranged to take place this morning at 11 o'clock. It is obvious that the Prime Minister's meetings with the leader of the Centre Party in the Conference, the leader of the Moslem group, and the Congress representative have relation to the perplexing problem of the Minorities. There is a general expectation that, after the Prime Minister's short rest at Lossiemouth, a meeting of the Minorities Committee will be convened, probably towards the end of next week.

The two Sikh delegates, Sirdar Ujjal Singh and Sirdar Sampuran Singh, write, in reference to news given in *The Times* of Saturday, that it is not to be assumed that the Sikhs would not agree to the Government being asked to settle the communal question. They have no fear that the Government would consider the claims only of the Moslems and not those of the Sikhs and other Minorities in a fair and equitable manner. They also challenge the implication in the statement of Maulana Shafi Daoodi that Mr. Gandhi is prepared to concur, in certain conditions, in Moslems having a statutory majority in the Punjab and Bengal. They hold that the Punjab question can never be settled unless the Moslems and Sikhs come to an agreement.

FEDERAL LEGISLATURE REPORT

The Federal Structure Committee, reassembling at St. James's Palace yesterday, went through the draft Report on the Legislature and Federal Finance—summarized in *The Times* yesterday—paragraph by paragraph, and in the afternoon completed the work. The finishing touches were given to the draft Report on a Federal Court, but as the document was not available for distribution there will be no meeting of the Committee to-day, the draft being taken into consideration to-morrow morning.

As a preface to yesterday's work, the Lord Chancellor paid a warm tribute to the permanent officials concerned therein. They had not only enabled the Committee to produce the report, but had assisted in framing the various heads for discussion and in the preparation of memoranda circulated from time to time. In the early part of this year they formed a small committee, and had been working early and late, day by day, on Indian affairs. They had shown an encyclopaedic knowledge. He mentioned, amid cheers, Sir Claud Schuster, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Sir Findlater Stewart, Sir Edward Chamier, Mr. King, Mr. Carter (the Secretary-General), Mr. Victor Dawson, and Mr. P. J. Patrick.

The Lord Chancellor intimated that the Report would be discussed in a plenary session of the Conference, and he hoped that eventually it would form the basis of the draft Bill for Parliament. He said that the greater the measure of agreement in the Conference the more likely it was that the draft Bill would have a smooth passage. Suggestions which came with almost unanimous support from the Committee and the Conference would carry great weight with all political parties both in India and in Great Britain.

LESSON OF AUSTRALIA

Only now and again did the process of textual revision of the paragraphs yield matter of much moment. An outstanding instance was Sir Mirza Ismail's amplification of arguments used in a memorandum which had been circulated on the composition of the Upper House.

The Draft Report recognized, Sir Mirza Ismail said, the principle that the Upper Chamber should in the main represent the units of the Federation as such; but it was obvious that it was only to the members from the Indian States that such a description could be correctly applied, as those from British India were to be elected by the Provincial Legislatures. Sir Mirza said that these members would not be regarded as the representatives of their Provincial Governments, which might have changed, or of their Provincial Legislatures, which might have been dissolved after the election of members to the Upper Chamber had taken place. He had, therefore, proposed a Second Chamber composed exclusively of delegates selected by, and representative of, the Governments of the units of Federation. He was happy to think that the change could be super-imposed upon the plan of Federation so far formulated without impairing the general framework, and also without delaying the building of the Federal structure. The plan would obviate dissimilarity of methods between British India and the States in regard to the selection of members for at least one of the two Houses. In support of his arguments he quoted an article on "Australia as a Unit" in *The Times* of October 23. He said that it showed that the problem in Australia was how to arrest the tendency to extreme provincialism so manifest in that country, while, on the other hand, ensuring the survival of federalism, which was recognized as the only possible form of government in a Commonwealth which had so strongly marked diversities of interest and differences of outlook between its constitutional units. Much more necessary was it that in India, with her far greater diversities, the Provinces should be kept together. He urged them not to put aside the lessons of experience by agreeing to a Constitution having the serious defects which his proposed amendment was intended to remove.

The LORD CHANCELLOR described the proposal as a very valuable suggestion which would have to be explored. He asked Sir Mirza to allow the detailed scheme to be printed in the proceedings as an annexe to the speech he had made.

Support of the proposal in modified form came from Mr. Gandhi, whose note, written on his day of silence, was read from the Chair. He said that he was prepared to support the scheme if the body contemplated by Sir Mirza was an advisory body. He adhered to the view that for the Legislature one Chamber was best. He also renewed other opinions expressed in Committee—such as adult suffrage and indirect election by villagers—and opposition to the continuance of special constituencies.

FUTURE OF THE TRIBUTES

The penultimate paragraph of the Draft Report mentioned among the points remaining to be decided in the light of facts and estimates set forth by the expert committee "the initial amount of the contributions from the Provinces and the precise period within which these and the States contributions are to be wiped out." SIR MIRZA ISMAIL took exception to this grouping on the ground that the exaction of tributes from some of the States was acknowledged to be inconsistent with the idea of Federation, and should not remain an impediment in the way of whole-hearted membership of the union. It was agreed to separate the two sets of contribution in the paragraph, thus emphasizing the principle of early abolition of the tributes.

There was an interesting exchange of view between Mr. Sastri and the Secretary of State for India. Mr. Sastri objected to the suggestion (paragraph 15) that if the original adherents of union from the States do not reach a substantial proportion, their voting strength might be temporarily augmented pending the accession of other States. He suggested a vaguer wording. Sir Samuel Hoare pointed out that to leave things open would be to incur grave risks of discouraging States from joining quickly. Mr. Sastri replied that the necessity of Federation was now patent. The Princes would not, he thought, hesitate. He did not want to offer rewards for coming in at the earlier stage. It would be a mistake to overestimate the idea that the entry of the Princes would lend stability to the Federation. He deprecated the notion that the States would act as a counterpoise: he did not regard the States as properly to be considered a separate entity. Sir Samuel Hoare suggested a verbal emendation to meet the point and bring out the divergence of view, and after discussion this was accepted.

The draft now goes to the plenary Conference with a great number of difficult questions left open.

GREAT BRITAIN AND HYDERABAD

SIR S. HOARE'S TRIBUTE TO THE NIZAM

The Secretary of State for India and Lady Maud Hoare were the guests of the members of the Hyderabad Delegation at a dinner held at the Hyde Park Hotel last night. Sir Akbar Hydari was in the chair.

Proposing the health of Sir Samuel and Lady Maud Hoare, the CHAIRMAN said the time would soon come for taking decisions which would have to be just, both in the interests of India as well as of Great Britain. They had been peculiarly fortunate in having at the India Office a statesman who had such an eye to the realities of the position as their guest that night.

Conservatism, as Sir Samuel Hoare in his dealings with India and Indian problems had shown, meant neither obstruction nor reaction, but progress based on a just appreciation of realities. (Cheers.) It was in this spirit that Hyderabad participated in the last Conference. It is for that reason that Hyderabad, the first among Indian States, elected for Federation, not for any end of its own, but to assist a general settlement. (Cheers.) Hyderabad was participating in this Conference and in the work of welding a new Constitution, with no axe to grind. Hyderabad wished to subserve no selfish or particularist interest by this participation. It desired no price as a condition precedent to joining a Federation. They were quite aware that Federation would mean the pooling of their sovereignty in certain respects with other units of the Federation, but they considered that the price was well worth paying, if it would conduce to the greater profit and happiness of India as a whole. The policy of the Nizam had always been aimed at the maintenance of stability—not the stability of inaction or reaction, but the adaptation of policy to changing political conditions, so as to ensure continuous progress in economic as in other directions. Hyderabad had always made her alliance with Great Britain a cardinal point of her policy, not on grounds of sentiment alone, but on the ground of mutual interest.

SIR S. HOARE'S SPEECH

SIR SAMUEL HOARE, in reply, expressed his gratitude at having the opportunity of bearing testimony to the loyal friendship which existed between the Nizam, the State of Hyderabad, and the representatives of the British Government. The aeroplane flight which Lady Maud and he had made to India some years ago had been incomplete for the reason that they had no chance of looking down upon the great State of Hyderabad and seeing its hundreds of miles of railways and its great irrigation works and inspecting the university and the many institutions of social and national progress which had brought Hyderabad into the forefront of Asiatic States. That pleasure they must postpone until they made another flight. If such was their good fortune one of the first objectives of their next visit to India would be the State which was so well represented that evening. (Cheers.)

He desired to congratulate his Exalted Highness the Nizam on having sent to the Round-Table Conference as representative of the State of Hyderabad one of the outstanding personalities of their deliberations. He had sent to the Conference a representative who was always ready in a friendly but none the less frank way to put the case of the State to those attending the Conference. From the point of view of the Conference generally, Sir Akbar Hydari had been of the greatest value. He not only well represented the interests of his own State, but he took a sympathetic interest in the task of all-Indian Federation, on which they were engaged. (Cheers.) He congratulated his Highness also upon another very auspicious incident in our recent history—namely, the visit of the Sahebzadas—the first they had paid to London and to Europe, and he hoped that both of them would take back to Hyderabad very pleasant memories.

Continuing, he said:—To-night, until a more official announcement is made, I must not be too precise. Therefore, in defining my congratulations, let me say in a word that I greatly hope that not only will they take back very pleasant memories, but that their visit will prove an auspicious incident in the relations between Asia and Europe. (Cheers.) The Nizam of Hyderabad bears the unique title of his Majesty's Faithful Ally. It is a title unique in the Empire, but by no means an empty title. Looking back over the history of the relations of Great Britain and India, at every stage in that long story the Nizam has stood at the right hand of the British Government. (Cheers.) The first treaty between the British Empire and the Nizam was signed as long ago as [illegible] remarkable in English history. It was the turning point in the story of the British Empire.

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There had been years before 1759 in which the other countries of Europe had seemed to think that British prestige was falling and waning in the world. The year 1759 marked a dramatic change in the whole history of the British Empire. It was a year of great victories and a year in which began many developments which have made the British Empire great. It is very significant that that should have been the year when the King of England and the Nizam of Hyderabad entered into treaties together. From that time onwards in every critical stage of our history the Nizam of Hyderabad and the State of Hyderabad were our friends.

THE GREAT WAR

The Great War came in the twentieth century, and there was no Indian Prince who was more generous with his help, whether in men or in money, than his Exalted Highness. (Cheers.) Those are incidents we do not forget. Just as the Nizam and the State of Hyderabad have been loyal in their friendship to Great Britain, so we in Great Britain are determined and staunch in our friendship to Hyderabad. (Cheers.) With this history of many generations of loyal friendship between us I look with confidence to the future, for I am sure of one thing: that whatever changes there may be in the machinery of the Indian Government, whatever alterations there may be in the relations between Eastern States, one factor will remain stable and irremovable—the loyal friendship of Hyderabad to Great Britain and the unswerving loyalty of the Nizam to the King-Emperor. (Cheers.)

Among those present were :—

Lady Hydari, Sahebzada Azam Jah, Sahebzada Moazzamjah, the Aga Khan and Begum Aga Khan, Prince Ali Khan, Lord and Lady Headley, Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, Sir Mahomed and Lady Shafi, the Nawab of Chhitari, Major Oliver and Lady Maureen Stanley, Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Benthall, Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Ionides, Sir Richard and Lady Chenevix Trench, Nawab and Begum Mahdi Yar Jung, Sir Claud Schuster, Sir Reginald and Lady Glancy, Sir Maurice and Lady Gwyer, Sir William and Lady Barton, Sir Annepu Patro, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, Sir Edgar and Lady Wood, Sir Robert and Lady Highet, Sir Stanley and Lady Reed, Sir Hubert and Lady Carr, Major-General and Mrs. Muspratt, Sir Stuart and Lady Fraser, Sir Roderick Jones, Sir Henry and Lady Wheeler, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. and Miss Jinnah, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, Dr. S. Ahmed Khan, Diwan Bahadur Krishnamachari, Sahebzada Abdussamad Khan, and Mr. Deshmukh.

NEXT STEPS AT ROUND TABLE

COMMUNAL ISSUE

OUTLINE OF FEDERAL COURT

Lord Sankey circulated last night the final section of the Draft Report of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference. It relates to the setting up of a Federal Court, and a summary is given below. It is known that Lord Reading, as well as Lord Sankey, has taken a keen personal interest in the preparation of the draft, which will be considered at a meeting of the Committee this morning.

If, as is generally thought, the draft is gone through to-day, there will remain little direct work for the Committee pending the summoning of the Minorities Committee towards the end of next week. The Federal Structure Committee has still to discuss the constitution, composition, and powers of the Federal Executive; but the Moslem Delegation, and indeed the Minorities generally, are averse from these subjects being debated until some settlement, or at least some decision, has been reached on the claims they make for electoral and other safeguards of their rights and interests in a Federal India. Much depends on the personal action of the Prime Minister, whose conversation with Mr. Gandhi at 10, Downing-street yesterday morning, completed his inquiries among Indian leaders before his brief holiday at Lossiemouth. He had not time to fulfil his intention to see also Pandit M. M. Malaviya, but he will renew his first-hand inquiries as soon as possible after his return to London.

Should any definite advances towards a solution of the communal problem be made next week, consideration of the Federal Executive would follow in the Federal Structure Committee, and there would be a reasonable prospect of reaching the final stage of plenary sittings of the Conference early in the second half of the month. By that time the Burma Round-Table Conference will have assembled, and the question of separation or federation will have been faced more fully and frankly than when Lord Russell's Committee sat last winter. Many delegates are cherishing the expectation that the work of the India Conference will be sufficiently near completion to enable them to embark in the mail steamer Ranchi at Marseilles on November 27.

THE STATES UNDER FEDERATION

The papers circulated by the Lord Chancellor yesterday included a note by Mr. Krishnama Chari, Diwan of Baroda, giving the views of the Indian States Delegation on the distribution of powers between the Provincial and the Federal Legislatures and the effect in the States of legislation relating to Federal subjects.

Reasons are given for the view that the existing system of concurrent powers of legislation between the Centre and the Provinces is incompatible with the Federal Constitution under contemplation. The legislative powers of the Federal, and State and Provincial Legislatures should be clearly defined. The residual powers should continue to remain with the States. They accept the principle that the enactments of the Federal Legislature should have full force and effect throughout all units in the Federation. As to Federal subjects, the administration of which is reserved by the States or vested in them, the States should have the power of concurrent legislation. The States will retain their full sovereign rights to legislate exclusively for their subjects and territories in regard to all matters except those in regard to which they have delegated powers to the Federal Government; but it should be provided that Federal law should override State law, and State law should be void to the extent of its repugnancy to Federal statutes. The States are of opinion that the question of *ultra vires* should be left exclusively to the Federal Court.

The problems of financial adjustment under Federation are complex, and a note submitted to the Lord Chancellor by Mr. Ghuznavi for circulation calls attention to the exceptional position of Bengal. Mr. Ghuznavi writes that, while, potentially, Bengal is one of the richest Provinces in India, it is actually, from the point of public revenue, one of the poorest. The outstanding cause is that under the Meston Settlement certain revenues, of which the richest yield is from Bengal, were declared to be Central sources of revenue. Mr. Ghuznavi urges in particular that the export duty on jute should be classified as a Provincial and not a Federal source of revenue under the new Constitution.

REPORT ON FEDERAL COURT

RIGHTS OF THE STATES

The Draft Report of the Federal Structure Committee on the setting up of a Federal Court in India states that all the members of the Committee recognized that a Federal Court was required "both to interpret the Constitution and to safeguard it, to prevent encroachment by one Federal organ upon the sphere of another, and to guarantee the integrity of the compact between the various federating units out of which the Federation itself has sprung."

The Report says it was generally agreed that the Court's jurisdiction must be both original and appellate. "The Court ought . . . to have an exclusive original jurisdiction in the case of disputes arising between the Federation and a State or a Province, or between two States, two Provinces, or a State and a Province. The Committee are of opinion that disputes between units of the Federation could not appropriately be brought before the High Court of any one of them, and that a jurisdiction of this kind ought rather to be entrusted to a tribunal which is an organ of the Federation as a whole." The Committee are disposed to think that decisions by the Court given in the exercise of this original jurisdiction should ordinarily be appealable to a Full Bench of the Court.

In the case of disputes arising between a private person and the Federation, or one of the Federal units, the Committee see no reason why these should not come in the first instance before the appropriate Provincial or State Court, with an ultimate right of appeal to the Federal Court, since it would obviously be oppressive to compel a private citizen who had a grievance, however small, against (say) his Provincial Government to resort exclusively to Delhi, or wherever the seat of the Federal Court may be, for the purpose of obtaining justice.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

The Federal Court ought also, in the opinion of the Committee, to have an exclusive appellate jurisdiction from every High Court, and from the final Court in every State, in all matters in which a question of the interpretation of the Constitution (using that expression in its broadest sense) is involved. The form which the appeal should take might be left to be dealt with by Rules of Court, but, whatever form or forms are adopted, "the Committee are clearly of opinion that there must be an ultimate appeal as of right to the Federal Court on any constitutional issue."

The suggestion that the Federal Court should for Federal purposes be invested with some kind of advisory jurisdiction such as that conferred on the Privy Council by Section 4 of the Judicial Committee Act, 1833, met with general approval, and the Committee adopt the suggestion subject to certain conditions.

The Committee are of opinion that an appeal should not lie from the Federal Court to the Privy Council, except by leave of the Court itself, though the right of any person to petition the Crown for special leave to appeal, and the right of the Crown to grant such leave, would, of course, be preserved. There would therefore be no right of appeal to the Privy Council direct from a High Court in any case where an appeal lay to the Federal Court. The Committee add that they desire to emphasize, in order to prevent any misunderstanding, that "any right of appeal from the State Courts to the Federal Court and thence to the Privy Council in constitutional matters will be founded upon the consent of the Princes themselves, as expressed in the treaties of cession into which they will enter with the Crown as a condition precedent to their entry into the Federation. There can be no question of any assumption by Parliament or by the Crown of a right to subject the States to an appellate jurisdiction otherwise than with their full consent and approval."

ENFORCEMENT OF JUDGMENTS

It will be necessary to provide that Federal, State, and Provincial authorities shall accept judgments of the Court as binding upon themselves when they are parties to a dispute before it, and will also enforce the judgments of the Court within their respective territories. It will also be necessary to provide that every Provincial and State Court shall recognize as binding upon it all judgments of the Federal Court.

The Committee express the view that the Court should consist of a Chief Justice and a fixed maximum number of puisne Judges, who would be appointed by the Crown, would hold office during good behaviour, would retire at the age of 65, and would be removable before that age only on an address passed by both Houses of the Legislature, and moved with the fiat of the Federal Advocate-General. The question of the salaries might, the Committee suggest, be referred to a small committee for investigation and report at a reasonably early date. With regard to the qualifications of the Federal Court Judges, the Committee suggest that any barrister or advocate of 15 years' standing and any person who has been a Judge of a High Court or State Court for not less than three years should be eligible for appointment.

The seat of the Court should be at Delhi, but power should be given to the Chief Justice, with the consent of the Governor-General, to appoint other places for the sittings of the Court as occasion may require.

The Report goes on to say that a strong opinion was expressed in the Committee that the time had come for the creation of a Supreme Court for British India, to which an appeal should lie from all Provincial High Courts in substitution for a direct appeal to the Privy Council. Appeals from the Court would lie to the Privy Council only with the leave of the Court or by special leave. The Committee adopt the suggestion in principle. A difference of opinion, however, manifested itself on the method whereby such a Court should be brought into existence. The Committee recommend therefore that the Constitution Act should prescribe the jurisdiction and functions of the Supreme Court and that the Federal Legislature should be given the power to adopt these provisions of the Constitution Act in the future, if it should think fit to do so.

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INDIAN LEGISLATURE'S POWERS

"MISCONCEIVED" REQUEST FOR INJUNCTION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, Nov. 3

An application for an interlocutory injunction made by a local iron and steel merchant against the President of the Indian Legislative Assembly was to-day dismissed by the Bombay High Court. The application was to restrain the President from putting to vote in the Assembly the Supplementary Finance Bill, which provides for a 25 per cent. surcharge on the iron and steel import duties mentioned in Schedule 2 of the 1927 Act.

The Advocate-General, appearing for the defendant, submitted that under the Government of India Act the Legislative Assembly's authority, except in so far as it did not reverse any Act of the Imperial Parliament, was supreme in making laws, and that, moreover, the President had no right to interfere with the passage of a Bill introduced by a member of the Government in charge thereof.

The Chief Justice, in making the order, said that the application made by the plaintiff was entirely misconceived, and it would be perfectly futile to make the declaration asked for before the Legislature proceeded with the Bill. Mr. Justice Broomfield, delivering a concurrent judgment, doubted whether the High Court had any jurisdiction over matters concerning the Legislative Assembly.

RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS IN BOMBAY

MOSLEM SECT'S PROTEST

A telegram from Bombay received in London announces that the Dawoodi Bhoras are observing a *hartal* and have held large protest meetings against the decision of the Bombay Government through the Education Minister, Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, to withdraw from the community the exemption hitherto granted them from the provisions of the Wakf (Religious Endowments) Act of 1923. The Moslem sect numbers nearly half a million, mostly traders, and Bombay is their chief centre.

Section 13 of the Act empowers local Governments to exempt any wakf created or administered for the benefit of any specified section of the Moslem community. The Bhoras of Bombay were at once exempted on the ground that their religious head, the Mullaji Saheb, occupies a position of special sanctity. The management of Dawoodi Bhora trusts is vested in his Holiness free of outside control, and this position has been upheld by the Bombay High Court. The decision to withdraw the exemption from the operation of the Act which has obtained for more than eight years has been described in a resolution passed at a protest meeting as "calculated deeply to wound the religious susceptibilities of the community, and to interfere with and subvert the traditions, usages, and religious tenets affecting its charitable wakfs." The Government has been earnestly urged to renew the exemption of the community and "to make an independent investigation into its grievances, and into the circumstances created by the Education Minister's deliberate policy of misleading the Government" on the subject.

NASIK "UNTOUCHABLES"

MAGISTRATE'S PROHIBITION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, Nov. 3

The District Magistrate at Nasik, Bombay Presidency, has prohibited the carrying of weapons, the collection or moving about in groups of more than five persons, and sitting or loitering within 100 yards of the walls of Kalaram Temple from now until the end of this year. Offenders will be liable to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs.1,000.

Great excitement still prevails at Nasik, where preparations have been made for a revival of *satyagraha* by the "Untouchables" from Thursday next. The secretary of the Nasik *Satyagraha* Committee has received a message from Dr. Ambedkar in London urging that the "Untouchables" should not take orders from the Government, just as they must not take them from orthodox Hindus. The message continues:—

We have trusted the Government long enough to remove untouchability, but it has not lifted a finger to do anything in the matter and has no right to ask us to [take orders from it]. We must take the burden on our shoulders and do what we can to free ourselves from this curse at any cost.

NOVEMBER 5, 1931

FEDERAL COURT FOR INDIA

REPORT ADOPTED

PLANS FOR BURMA CONFERENCE

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference, meeting at St. James's Palace yesterday morning under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey, adopted, with a few amendments, the draft report on a Federal Court. Pending some announcement or decision on the minorities question the Committee cannot take up, without strong opposition from minorities, the constitution and powers of the Federal Executive; hence its proceedings have been adjourned *sine die*, and the Conference comes to an interval, with some uncertainty whether all its component parts will be kept together. It is probable, however, that there will be no withdrawals, and that when the Prime Minister summons the Minorities Conference, probably for next Wednesday, all sections will continue to be represented. In declaring the Committee adjourned, Lord Sankey said:—

With regard to the next meeting of this Committee, I understand that the Prime Minister is coming back either on Sunday night or early on Monday morning, and then as soon as may be he will assemble you gentlemen to talk about minorities and the communal question. Therefore this Committee is adjourned until the conclusion of these meetings with the Prime Minister.

Meanwhile plans are maturing for the Burma Round-Table Conference, which will meet, probably the week after next, under the chairmanship of Lord Peel. Mr. D. T. Monteith, Secretary in the Public and Judicial Department, India Office, has been appointed Secretary of the Conference. He was for four years, until receiving his present appointment some months ago, private secretary to the Secretary of State for India, serving successively Lord Birkenhead, Lord Peel, and Mr. Wedgwood Benn. Two delegates to the Conference, the Sawbwa of Hsipaw and the Sawbwa of Yaunghive, and two advisers, the Sawbwa of Shenwi and the Kyemmong of Kentung, arrived at Victoria last evening, having been met at Dover by Mr. F. A. M. Vincent, joint social secretary of the Round-Table Conference. Other Burma delegates are expected to arrive on Sunday.

Two members of the India Conference, Sir Sultan Ahmad and Sir Ali Imam, leave London to-day on return to India, entirely on grounds of health. Sir Ali Imam came as an adherent of the National Moslem movement; but while his health permitted he regularly attended the meetings of the Moslem delegation and associated himself with many of the conclusions reached.

COURT'S JURISDICTION

The Federal Structure Committee's discussion yesterday was brief and businesslike.

Dr. Ambedkar's desire that the Federal Court should have jurisdiction over fundamental rights and minority rights was met by Lord Sankey's observation that those matters would naturally fall within the Court's jurisdiction. Sir Akbar Hydari asked for information about the rights of private citizens against the Federation or a Federal unit. Should they not, he asked, be defined more clearly as applying to Federal matters only?

Lord Sankey, in undertaking to make the point clear, said he wished to congratulate Sir Akbar, as the representative of Hyderabad, on the very interesting and pleasing announcement made in *The Times* that morning of the engagement of the Heir-Apparent to the daughter of the former Caliph Abdul Mejid. He described as a "good point" requiring examination Sir Akbar Hydari's further question on disputes in the Federal sphere. There were subjects which were Federal for policy but not for administration. Would a dispute on a point of administration be Federal?

Mr. Jinnah did not agree to jurisdiction being given to any local Court on a Federal matter, even with a right of appeal, especially in a dispute between an individual and a Federal unit. Lord Reading held that it was most important not to add to the multiplicity of lawsuits in India. If proceedings were confined to the Federal Court constitutional points would be raised at every turn. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru pointed out the distinction between suits arising between Federal units and suits between an individual and a Federal unit.

In the paragraph providing that an appeal should not lie from the Federal Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, except by leave of the Court itself, Mr. Gandhi requested the insertion of the following words:—"The opinion was expressed that the Federal Supreme Court should be the final Court of appeal." It will be recalled that in previous discussions Mr. Gandhi deprecated appeal to the Privy Council as unnecessary and a hardship on the poorer people of India.

A change of substance, made at the instance of Sir Sultan Ahmad, was the raising from three to five years of the qualifying period of service as a Judge of the High Court or a State Court for appointment to the Federal Court bench.

AN APPEAL BENCH

The draft report, it will be recalled, recommended that the Constitution Act should prescribe the jurisdiction and functions of a Supreme Court of Appeal for India (as distinct from or part of the Federal Court), and that the Federal Legislature should be given the power to adopt these provisions of the Constitution Act if it should think fit. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, strongly supported by Sir Muhammad Shafi, expressed disappointment at this proposal. He was unwilling to allow "inexperienced politicians" to be judges of the necessity for such a Court. Sir Muhammad Shafi said that the need for a supreme Court had been felt by those who were conversant with the position in India for a long time past. Why should that crying need remain unsatisfied? On the other hand, Sir Provash Mitter and Mr. Zafrullah Khan thought that the procedure proposed in the report would be appropriate. Mr. Gavin Jones said that although legal opinion wanted a Supreme Court he was doubtful whether that was the general opinion in India. He suggested that a Supreme Court should not come into being until after the Constitution had been in operation for five or 10 years. These opinions were recorded.

Certain fears implied in the draft report that the country's resources of judicial talent would be strained by the institution of a new Court or Courts were taken exception to by Sir Muhammad Shafi, who said that they might tend to prejudice the Legislature's freedom of action. Sir Provash Mitter and Sir Akbar Hydari both thought that the caution was needed. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru held that there was ample legal talent available. He gave the friendly warning that British India would not look at any Constitution which did not embody a Supreme Court of Appeal. Mr. Jayakar agreed with the warning. Lord Sankey described it as "rather heavily weighted," and suggested some modification of the language, which was accepted.

INDIAN BUDGET

GENERAL SALARY REDUCTION

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

DELHI, Nov. 4

Sir George Schuster, Finance member, addressed the Legislative Assembly on the Budget proposals this morning when it met for the first time in the present Session. The atmosphere in the lobbies was somewhat apathetic, the main topic of conversation being not the business before members, but the prospects of the Round-Table Conference and the present trouble in Kashmir. The Session is expected to last until November 20.

Sir George Schuster's speech, which, as at Simla, was listened to with the closest attention by the House, was in the main an anticipation of his critics. He explained the details of the Budget point by

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point, laying particular emphasis on those cases in which the Government was unable to accept the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee.

It was necessary, he said, to ask three test questions. First, Had the Government relied too much on new taxation and too little on retrenchment? Secondly, If the general need for taxation was granted, were the Government's proposals sound and fair? Thirdly, Was the Government trying to raise more than was necessary to restore the finances? On the first question he began with an explanation of the system governing cuts in pay. Had the Government followed the Retrenchment Committee's plan and adopted a graduated scale, it would have saved 102 lakhs on the pay of Central Government officials, whereas by the adoption of a flat rate of 10 per cent. he expected to save 128 lakhs. The acceptance of the Committee's plan would have meant asking for more taxes, not less.

SPECIAL CONCESSIONS

Turning to the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee that, with certain exceptions, "the costly concessions known as the Lee concessions should be withdrawn," Sir George Schuster said:—

"To remove the concessions from the officers for whom they were originally intended would be a discriminatory action of the most unfair kind. The concessions were granted after full examination into all the circumstances and were designed to meet existing grievances which were held on inquiry to be legitimate. They were designed to correct inequalities which existed as between various classes of officers. To remove them now would mean restoring those inequalities and the causes of grievance and would be tantamount to making financial stringency an excuse for measures not evenly distributed over the whole Government services and falling particularly severely on a particular class. This would be a palpable injustice, and the Government must resolutely set its face against any action of such a kind." He explained the limited effect of the suggested cut, and pointed out that one-third of the officers who benefited were Indians.

Discussing other recommendations which the Government was unable to accept, Sir George Schuster made the following points:—

(1) The Government had no legal means of recovering Indian income-tax on payments to persons outside its jurisdiction which were legally due outside India; (2) it was impossible to alter the rights of the holders of existing securities as defined at the time of each issue in the prospectus; (3) the rights of existing pensioners could not be altered nor the rights of those who had already entered a pensionable service on defined terms; (4) as for the proposal to tax leave-pay, when the Government was putting a severe tax on all officials by a substantial cut in salaries it could not consider the imposition of further burdens.

In an exhaustive survey of the general retrenchment plans Sir George Schuster paid special attention to the Army. He pointed out that the immediate economy promised was considerably larger than that covered by the Retrenchment Committee's recommendations, and added:—

"One point which I wish to emphasize is that military expenditure has now been reduced to a point which leaves no appreciable margin for further reductions except by an actual reduction of fighting troops. Members will appreciate the gravity of the issues which further steps in this direction would raise." Since the Inchcape Committee met, he said, fighting troops in India had been reduced by 10,000 British and 13,000 Indian, and the present Budget, which allowed 46.65 crores for military expenditure, showed a reduction of 3.35 crores on the minimum estimate of the Inchcape Report.

Answering his own question of the soundness of his taxation proposals, Sir George Schuster said that these should be regarded as a whole. They proceeded on lines of imposing an equal surcharge on all, so that the incidence of taxation remained unaltered. He concluded: "I will now touch finally on my last question: Are we trying to raise too much? On the answer to that I have no doubt. We want all we can get, and if in the end we have a margin to spare, then that will be all to the good. We want the world to know that India is determined to live within her income, to meet all her debts, and to maintain financial stability without doubt or question. That, perhaps more than anything else, is the most vital purpose of our present plan."

There was little demonstration of opinion during or after Sir George Schuster's speech. The general impression left on the observer was that, although more members than those on one side of the House found the medicine unpalatable, they were forced to admit the salutary nature of the prescription.

UNTOUCHED POSTS

On the conclusion of the speech memoranda were distributed to every member of the House setting forth the decisions taken by the Government on the several recommendations of the various retrenchment sub-committees. The total retrenchment recommended amounts to 26.6 crores of the civil expenditure reviewed by the committees, and the total cuts which the Government is prepared to make in that expenditure amounts to 23.9 crores. Military expenditure is reduced by 5.25 crores out of 51.90. The Government declines to make the whole cut recommended in expenditure on the Imperial Forest Research Institute, on the ground that to do so would so cripple the institute as to make it useless. It similarly refuses to abolish the posts of Inspector-General of Forests, Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, or the Public Health Commissioner, or to curtail expenditure on the Indian Survey.

The following note appears in the memorandum on Army retrenchment:—

The Commander-in-Chief has warned the Government of India that the sacrifices he is now making must inevitably involve a lower standard of efficiency in peace and a considerably reduced state of preparedness for war, that the risk involved can only be justified by the magnitude of the financial crisis, and that although consenting to make these sacrifices to meet the present emergency, he wishes it to be clearly understood that reductions on the scale he has been able to effect have only been made with the utmost difficulty and that he regards a portion of them, particularly those relating to the re-equipment programme and works, as a temporary postponement only and not as representing the permanent abandonment of the programme.

The Trouble in Kashmir

British troops have entered the State of Kashmir, where Hindu-Moslem strife has flared up again after a brief and deceptive lull. Their intervention is the immediate consequence of an appeal from MAHARAJAH SIR HARI SINGH, whose Government has proved unable to control the situation created by the incursion into his territories of bands of Moslem sympathizers with their co-religionists in Kashmir and Jammu. Since July 13, when the first serious and fatal communal riot broke out at the MAHARAJAH'S capital of Srinagar, the relations between the Moslems, who form four-fifths of the population of the State, and their Hindu rulers have grown more and more strained. In late September rioting broke out afresh, and its suppression by the State troops involved further loss of life. Meanwhile Moslem opinion in British India, and especially in the Punjab, which marches with Kashmir, became increasingly excited by reports that the agitation had been repressed with excessive violence and by the real or alleged grievances of the Kashmiri Mohamedans. Early in October came the first attempt of a *jatha*, or band of Moslem demonstrators, to enter Kashmir from the Punjab. It was foiled by the British Indian authorities, and the proclamation of an amnesty on the MAHARAJAH'S birthday brought temporary relief. But within a month the agitation had revived; fresh bands of Punjabi Mohamedans had sought to force the frontier posts and had been fired upon by the MAHARAJAH'S Hindu soldiers; unrest revived in Kashmir; and a wave of excitement swept through the Sialkot district, where "Red "Shirt" volunteer organizations appeared with suspicious suddenness and hastened to the border. It was in these circumstances that the MAHARAJAH appealed for British military assistance against the invaders. His appeal was granted. No other course was possible if serious complications were to be avoided. But all the information available suggests that the overburdened Government of India might have been spared this embarrassing responsibility if his Ministers had dealt more promptly with a situation which lent itself to exploitation by faction and intrigue.

A study of the report issued by the Committee which the MAHARAJAH appointed to inquire into the July riots goes to confirm this impression. The Committee consisted of SIR B. DALAL, the Parsee Chief Justice of Kashmir, and two Judges of the High Court, one a Hindu and one a Mohamedan. It found that on July 13 the State Police gave a "scandalous "exhibition of pusillanimity" and that the only redeeming feature of that day was the prompt dispatch of troops by the MAHARAJAH himself, although his civil executive authorities failed then and subsequently to "exhibit either "efficiency or foresight." Two of the three members of the Cabinet "had no confidence in "each other": religious hostility had been inflamed by mischief-makers, but the authorities had done little either to check their propaganda or to remove misunderstandings as to their own policy. The composition of the Committee should give additional weight to its statement that the Moslems of Kashmir and Jammu enjoy full religious liberty. But its report contains no mention of the alleged prohibition of the slaughter of cattle and of the fiscal favours shown to Hindu owners of flocks and herds of which a responsible deputation of Moslems from British India recently complained to the Indian Government, and those who read between the lines of its most diplomatic periods will carry away the impression that there are grounds for the Moslem suspicion of the Brahmin Pandits who control education in the State. Unfortunately for the peace of Kashmir

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the MAHARAJAH'S advisers have not realized the importance of promptly fulfilling the recommendations of the Committee. They have persuaded him to dismiss a British Minister and to appoint a Brahmin Prime Minister (who is by no means *persona grata* to the Moslems), but there until a few days ago their activity ended. A Committee of inquiry has now been appointed by the Government of India, no doubt with the MAHARAJAH'S full consent, to deal with Moslem demands ; but in the meanwhile agitation on the Moslem side and repression by the Hindu troops of the State have widened the rift between the Ruler and the great majority of his subjects.

There is no reason, however, to take too gloomy a view of the situation in Kashmir. It is clear that the machinery of the State requires to be thoroughly overhauled ; but the zeal which the MAHARAJAH has shown for public health and for the improvement of his capital, and his evident desire to obtain the assistance and unprejudiced advice of the Government of India, encourage the hope that peace will soon return to the loveliest of Indian States. Nor should it be forgotten in assessing the responsibility for these troubles that there are politicians and agitators in British India who have every interest in fomenting them. They desire, above all things, the failure of the Round-Table Conference. It is common knowledge that the Minorities Committee has failed so far to reach agreement, and that both the Hindu and Moslem delegates are affected by the moods of the organized political and religious bodies which they have left behind them. Any sudden change in the temper of these organizations might have unfortunate results at the Round Table; and it requires little imagination to suspect that local religious animosity has been deliberately fanned by political incendiaries. Intervention in Kashmir will no doubt add to the burdens of the Government of India, but in the present situation it would have gained nothing and might have lost much by shirking its responsibilities. And timidity at Simla would never have promoted understanding at St. James's.

NOVEMBER 6, 1931

DEPRESSED CLASSES IN INDIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—The two rejoinders which you published in your paper, from Bishop Whitehead and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, to my letter about the Hindus and the Depressed Classes deserve as a matter of courtesy a few comments, which I venture to make in no controversial spirit, but to show that the main purport of my letter has been overlooked by both your correspondents, and that there are also one or two misapprehensions which I am anxious to remove.

Having myself served in the Madras Presidency as a District Officer, I am quite conversant with the executive orders that have been issued by the Government from time to time, and as I served both in the Tamil and Telegu, and also in the Ceded districts, I ought to know the laws as well as executive orders which I had to administer on behalf of the Government in these tracts. I think I am right in stating that Governmental action was restricted to the policy of opening Panchama Schools and providing drinking water wells for the Depressed Classes, and these were all voted for and sanctioned by the District and Taluk Boards, of which I was the president, and the majority of the members of which were high-caste Hindus. Secondly, I am not aware of any law passed 90 years ago affecting the social position of the Depressed Classes ; in fact, no legislation could have been passed by the British Government affecting the status and social privileges of any community, the only such law being that relating to the abolition of suttee, for which Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, whom I have already mentioned, was primarily responsible, and the Civil Marriage Bill of 1872, passed at the request of the Brahma Samaj during the leadership of Keshab Chunder Sen.

Turning now to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's criticisms, I am not unmindful of the great work that the missions, especially the Catholic missions, have done in India for the uplift of the Depressed Classes. During my recent visit to Rome I had a private audience with his Holiness the Pope, and in the course of our conversation I thanked his Holiness for the work done in this direction in the Madras Presidency and in Travancore and Cochin, where the lot of the Depressed Classes is particularly deplorable ; but such social uplift work is in no way connected with Government and therefore does not affect the question that was discussed by me.

It is, to my mind, a matter for great regret that the Depressed Classes agitation at the present moment should be used as a pawn in the game being played at the Round Table, and I for one, having been connected with the work of my father—who was the pioneer in the movement of uplifting the Depressed Classes in India, and who started his work in the early sixties—am no less mindful of the necessity of bringing them forward and giving them adequate protection in any scheme of Federation for the New India than Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr. Winston Churchill, and others who think with him. But such protection, I submit, should not be given them by the policy of separation as a community, in view of the fact that those among the Depressed Classes who are already converted to other religions—and many are so converted to Mohamedanism and Christianity—are no longer depressed; but those that still remain in the Census classification as Depressed Classes have no greater ambition than to be admitted within the fold of recognized Hinduism, and their bitterest enemies are those immediately above them, and not the higher caste Hindus, whose sympathy they deserve and should cultivate. All the protection that is necessary should, however, be guaranteed by a provision in the Act of Parliament which will be similar to one we find in the Czechoslovak Constitution, which runs as follows :—

> All persons residing in the Czechoslovak Republic shall enjoy within its territory in equal measure with the citizens of this Republic complete and absolute security of life and liberty without regard to origin, nationality, language, race, or religion.

In this connexion it is significant that in *The Times* only this morning there is an extract from a message which Dr. Ambedker, the representative of the Depressed Classes at the Round-Table Conference, sent to India, which runs as follows :—

> 'We have trusted the Government long enough to remove untouchability, but it has not lifted a finger to do anything in the matter.

Yours, &c.,

ALBION BANERJI.

Windsor House, Victoria-street, S.W.1,
Nov. 4.

ROUND-TABLE POLICY

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE UNCHANGED

In reference to statements (not in *The Times*) that the Government had in mind a settlement of the Indian question by the immediate grant of provincial autonomy, to be followed later by an extension of self-government at the Centre, thus pursuing lines recommended by the Statutory Commission, it was authoritatively stated yesterday that the declaration made by the Prime Minister on behalf of H.M. Government, when adjourning the Round-Table Conference on January 19 last, stands as firmly now as it did then [illegible] the basis of the Conference. It was added yesterday that, as that declaration represented an all-party agreement, there was no likelihood of any British Government departing from it. It may be recalled that the Prime Minister's declaration accepted the principle of All-India Federation and responsibility at the Centre, with safeguards during the transitional period in respect of external affairs, defence, and finance.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who arrived in London a few days ago to attend the Conference, made a statement yesterday to *The Times*, in which he said :—

> I am afraid that the present deadlock in the solution of the communal problem is being very much exaggerated, and is being exploited in certain quarters for retarding the full constitutional advance which India demands. A critical examination of the points of difference reveals that there is considerably more agreement than disagreement and that the controversial points are narrowed down to small proportions. The disagreement extends to only two matters—(1) whether the Moslem and other minorities' representation is to be secured by means of separate electorates or by reservation of seats for them in joint electorates ; and (2) the allocation of seats in the local Legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal.
>
> If the communities concerned in these two Provinces are unable to reach agreement, surely their inability to arrive at an adjustment cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the country as a whole attaining self-government, when there is practically general agreement as regards all essential safeguards for minorities and there is no difficulty of allocation of representation in the Legislatures of all other Provinces. This particular and narrow disagreement should be left for decision by the Prime Minister and his Majesty's Government. There is no reason why the Moslems, Hindus, Sikhs, Depressed Classes, and Europeans should not, without any hesitation, agree to abide by the decision of the Prime Minister as regards points of disagreement.
>
> There is one aspect of joint and separate electorates which I earnestly wish to be considered. I believe there are among the Moslems an appreciable number who prefer joint electorates. There is no reason why those preferring to be in the joint electorates should be denied their liberty of thought and action because the majority of their community wish to have separate electorates. It should be made permissible for members of any community for whom separate electorates are provided to declare their desire to go into joint electorates and be allowed to do so. On such declaration they should be included in the joint register and should be allowed to vote and stand for election in the joint electorate; but such declaration when made must ever afterwards be final.

Four Bengal delegates—Sir Provash Mitter, Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, Dr. Narendra Nath Law, and Mr. J. N. Basu—have joined Mr. Ghuznavi in his protest against the export duty on jute—a monopoly of the Province—being allotted as a Federal source of taxation. In the course of their protest they state that "it will serve no useful purpose for Bengal to join the Federation if this unreasonable sacrifice be demanded of her."

CONGRESS AND THE CONFERENCE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, Nov. 5

It is expected here that the attitude Mr. Gandhi will take at the Plenary Session of the Round-Table Conference will partly depend on the outcome of the meeting of the Congress Working Committee here on Saturday and Sunday. It is becoming increasingly evident that several prominent members of the Congress are dissatisfied with the trend of the discussions in London, but it is still doubtful whether the Committee will give any definite directions to Mr. Gandhi.

The Committee will also consider the various alleged repressive measures, such as the dispersal of the liquor-shop pickets by the police in Madras Presidency and the alleged withdrawal of certain concessions regarding the collection of salt in the coastal villages. The agrarian situation in the United Provinces will be one of the principal subjects for discussion. Mr. Vallabhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are both coming for the meeting.

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NOVEMBER 7, 1931

THE ROUND TABLE

PREPARING FOR BURMA CONFERENCE

As the States delegation to the Round-Table Conference is not directly concerned in the minorities question, the adjournment *sine die* of the Federal Structure Committee has enabled the delegation to suspend for a time its regular meetings on two evenings of each week.

Meanwhile arrangements are being completed for the Burma Round-Table Conference to assemble later in the month. To-morrow 16 delegates arrive, and as several are already in this country only two or three others will be left to complete the panel. The arrivals to-morrow include the four representatives of Burma at the first sessions of the India Conference—Mr. M. M. Ohn Ghine, Sir Oscar de Glanville, U Ba Pe, and U Aung Thin. The delegates with them are U Maung Gyee, U Thein Maung, Tharawaddy U Pu, U Ni, U Su, U Chit Hlaing, Sra Shwe Ba, Mr. S. Loone, U Tun Aung Gyaw, Mr. Hoe Kin Seng, U Ba Se, and Tharrawaddy U Maung.

A statement on the proposed separation of Burma has been circulated to members of the Indian Conference by U Maung Maung Ji, who is now in this country and was leader of the Burmese contingent at the Karachi session of the National Congress. He considers federation to be the only way by which Burma may rectify her national ills. In assisting to formulate federation, he says, she would have a new status. No longer a secondary part of a huge British dependency, under the federal scheme, she would have national autonomy with effective partnership in the federation she would have helped to build and of which she would be a powerful member.

Separation, he adds, would impose on Burma a restricted growth in trade and commerce without any hope of a recovery. European races with vested interests in Burma would have all the trade rights, which would tend to strengthen their exploitation. In matters of trade and tariffs membership of the proposed federation would be of lasting benefit to Burma. If Burma remained within the Indian Federation she would benefit in currency and credit in the capital market, and automatically from the humanitarian measures undertaken by the International Labour Office.

Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur R. Srinavasan circulated yesterday a memorandum supplementing in several respects the statement of the claims of the Depressed Classes they submitted at the first session of the Conference. Its main purpose is to define the details, Province by Province and in the Federal Legislature, of the special representation asked for. The memorandum lays stress on the importance of separate electorates and of avoiding representation by nomination. There have been instances of nomination of representatives of the Depressed Classes not belonging to them. It is urged "that in each Province the Depressed Classes shall be strictly defined as meaning persons belonging to communities which are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent therein and which are enumerated by name in a schedule prepared for electoral purposes."

It is stated that there is much objection to the existing nomenclature of Depressed Classes, which is considered "degrading and contemptuous, and advantage may be taken of this occasion for drafting the new Constitution to alter for official purposes the existing nomenclature. We think that they should be called Non-caste Hindus, Protestant Hindus, or Nonconformist Hindus, or some such designation, instead of Depressed Classes. We have no authority to press for any particular nomenclature. We can only suggest them, and we believe that if properly explained the Depressed Classes will not hesitate to accept the one most suitable for them."

INDIAN FINANCE BILL DEBATE

CRITICISM OF TAXATION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, Nov. 6

The emergency Finance Bill was the subject of a further day's debate in the Legislative Assembly to-day. The spokesmen of all the non-official parties, including the non-official European group, reiterated that retrenchment was not carried sufficiently far, and must go still further, particularly in military expenditure.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, Leader of the Nationalist Party, contended that a sound line was to reduce the number of costly British troops, and declared that the Government of India wanted to do that, but was prevented by the Imperial Government, which opposed the step in the interests of the British taxpayer. The European members argued that retrenchment should be effected by reducing the troops and increasing the Air Force.

Business men, led by Mr. H. P. Mody, strongly protested that taxation on the present lines was excessive and injured the welfare of the land. Mr. Mody complained that the 340,000 payers of income-tax would contribute one-fifth of the total revenue of the Government. Mr. Heathcote, for the European group, declared that the repeated increase of taxes nearly, if not quite, reached the point of diminishing the returns. All the speakers agreed, however, that after exhausting the possibilities of retrenchment there must be sufficient additional taxation of some kind to balance the Budget.

NOVEMBER 9, 1931

ROUND TABLE

FEDERATION AND THE PROVINCES

Before leaving Lossiemouth last evening to return to London the Prime Minister received a letter signed by 28 delegates to the Round-Table Conference, comprising Congress, Mahasabha, Hindu Liberal, Sikh, and other members, offering strong opposition to the idea that provincial autonomy should be established as an intermediate stage in the process of bringing India to self-government.

The letter, dated London, November 6, was as follows:—

Dear Prime Minister,—It is with deep concern that we hear rumours to the effect that provincial autonomy will be introduced as a first step in the political reconstruction of India, leaving Federation and responsibility at the centre to follow later. We have read the statement to the contrary which appeared in the daily Press this morning. The rumours, however, are so strong and persistent that we must ask leave to place our views before you beyond the possibility of doubt. The needs of the present situation can be met only by a complete and comprehensive scheme, of which responsibility at the Federal centre must be as integral a part as the autonomy of the federating units. To divide the scheme into parts and bring into immediate operation one of the parts and postpone the other is to arouse fears of uncertainty and suspicions of the intentions of the Government.

We realize the importance of the Minorities Question, of which no satisfactory solution has yet been found. But at the same time we desire to express our clear opinion that it must not be allowed to block the way of a full and comprehensive scheme of responsible government, which alone can provide an adequate settlement of a pressing problem.

The first four signatures were those of Mr. Gandhi, Pandit M. M. Malaviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Mr. Sastri. The other signatories were:—

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. Jayakar, Sir Cowasjee Jehanghir, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Mrs. Naidu, Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, Dr. S. K. Datta, Mr. Birla, Mrs. Subbarayan, Sirdar Ujjal Singh, Sirdar Sampuran Singh, Raja Narendra Nath, Mr. Jammal Muhammad, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Shiva Rao, Diwan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao, Mr. Giri, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Barooah, Mr. Jadhav, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, and Mr. Tambe.

Two or three States Ministers who are in general sympathy with the views of the letter and took part in the discussions thereon did not sign on a matter so definitely British Indian. The question was discussed at two meetings of a number of the signatories. It is believed that several further adhesions could have been secured, but it was deemed advisable not to delay dispatch of the letter to obtain them, so that it might reach Mr. MacDonald by courier before his return to London.

A HALF-WAY HOUSE

When discussion began there were a few voices (and these by no means the least influential) inclined to favourable consideration, provided that definite provision was made, preferably by statute, for the coming of Federation within a prescribed period. It was recognized that the work of establishing a Federal Legislature and Government will inevitably take time, and that in the abstract a half-way house might be attractive. But the more the situation was examined the more convinced were the signatories that the intermediate bestowal of provincial autonomy would be a grave mistake. The publication a few days ago of assurances that the policy of Government remains broadly what it was declared to be by the Prime Minister on January 19 last, when he adjourned the first sittings of the Conference, somewhat allayed anxieties, but it was deemed necessary to write the letter on grounds which may be briefly indicated.

It is held that the scheme of Federation, with responsibility at the centre, subject to transitional safeguards, and with provincial autonomy, is a unity, and that if one part is adopted without the other parts there would be great difficulties in bringing the structure to completion. To begin with, it would lead to constitutional difficulties, for the Princes would not be prepared to negotiate Federation with the Provinces, and the change would tempt many of them not to federate. Further, it is contended that it would be open to any single Province to dictate terms for joining the Federation or to remain outside, and thus block the way of union. It was also felt that while the half-way scheme might possibly satisfy the larger minority communities the great bulk of the politically minded people would not be satisfied. There would be behind it no real force of popular welcome. Another objection was that since provincial autonomy would presuppose a settlement of the communal difficulty where it is least tractable—in the Punjab—there would be no justification, on the communal issue at least, for withholding responsibility from the centre. Reference was made to the administrative difficulties of a system under which the Central Government, remaining responsible to the Secretary of State, would be seeking to impose its will on nominally autonomous Provinces, particularly at a time when law and order might be difficult to maintain. The objections of the signatories may be summed up as arising from the fear that the half-way house might remain the stopping-place in the march to Indian unity.

Statements made yesterday that at a meeting on Saturday night the Moslem delegation discussed the draft of an agreed joint statement of their claims and those of the Depressed Classes, the Indian Christians, the Europeans, and the Anglo-Indians are without foundation. The meeting had chiefly under consideration the future of the North-West Frontier Province, the separation of Sind, and other matters affecting Northern India. It is well known that on broad principles agreement with the other minorities has been formulated and that details are being worked out. At present the document is being given appropriate shape for Constitutional discussion. Two distinguished representatives of communities concerned were engaged upon this work yesterday. There is reason to anticipate that the agreement will be completed in all particulars within a short time.

Most of the delegates to the Burma Round-Table Conference arrived at Victoria last evening. Their names were given in *The Times* of Saturday. They were met at Dover by Mr. F. A. M. Vincent, joint social secretary, and at Victoria by Mr. D. T. Monteath, the secretary of the Conference, representing the Secretary of State; Mr. G. Graham-Dixon, secretary to the British Delegation to the Conference; and Mr. T. Lister, I.C.S., who is attending the Conference on behalf of the Government of Burma.

MAINTENANCE OF ORDER IN BENGAL

EUROPEANS AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA, Nov. 8

Addressing a European audience at Kankinarrah yesterday Mr. Villiers, president of the European Association, announced that the Government of Bengal was on the eve of introducing vigorous measures for the suppression of the terrorist movement.

The real challenge to the Government, however, Mr. Villiers said, had been, and might again be, civil disobedience, and if there was a recrudescence of that it must be crushed promptly and ruthlessly. In that way the Government could show that the staying of its hand hitherto had been choice and not necessity, from strength and not weakness. He believed that if the Government were prompt and strong untold millions in the country would flock to the banner of good order.

Mr. Villiers also defended the Irwin Settlement, and said that Europeans here saw no reason for going back upon the Constitution that was being evolved in London, provided [illegible] which the Europeans had demanded were adhered to and implemented.

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The Indian Conference

In spite of other calls upon his time the PRIME MINISTER, who returns to London this morning, is to meet the Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference in the course of the week. His return, and the completion of the new Government, should quicken the pace of the Conference, which has paused in its activities since last Wednesday. On that day the Federal Structure Committee completed a valuable Report on the Federal Court. It had previously adopted a Report on the Federal Legislature and Federal Finance, so that all these Reports are ready for submission to the plenary Conference. It is true that—except for its Report on the Federal Court and for the filling in of details relating to the proposed Federal Legislature—the work accomplished under LORD SANKEY'S chairmanship leaves matters at present only a little more advanced than they were when the first Conference adjourned last January. But it must not be forgotten that, when once a solution, or a method of solution, of the minorities problem has been found, the issues before the Federal Structure Committee will be greatly simplified and its work may be expected to make more rapid progress.

At present the inability of the members of the Minorities Committee to compose their differences is holding up the work of the Federal Structure Committee. The representatives of the minorities who are serving on that body have naturally felt unable to commit themselves to definite and final opinions on the strength and composition of the Federal Legislature pending a settlement of the communal question. But while the failure of the Minorities Committee to reach agreement is regretted—and by its members just as much as by the Government—its causes are generally understood. The problem before them is of infinitely greater difficulty and complexity than any of the analogous problems which have confronted, tormented, and generally baffled European statesmen in recent times. Even the question of the nationalities within the Hapsburg Empire was simple by comparison. The Committee may not discover a solution. There are no indications that the attempts of friends of both sides to find a formula which will satisfy both Hindus and non-Hindus have been successful. On the other hand it is possible that the negotiations between the Moslem representatives in the Committee and those of the other minorities, except the Sikhs, may make the Hindu members more disposed to make concessions. Even if they are not so disposed, at all events the establishment of a common front by five out of the six minorities represented at the Conference should furnish the Imperial Government with valuable indications of the lines on which it might eventually offer its own solution of the problem.

It would be unreasonable to expect either the members of this or the other Committee, or the plenary Conference itself, to reach a complete understanding on every point submitted to them. The object of the Conference is to find the greatest common measure of agreement between the delegates, British and Indian, Hindu and non-Hindu, who are taking part in it, and thus to lay foundations on which Parliament can build. And this applies not only to the nature of its recommendations, but to the order of their fulfilment. There is nothing, for instance, either novel or surprising in the letter which MR. GANDHI and others have just addressed to the PRIME MINISTER, and of which a copy is printed on another page this morning. These delegates have consistently taken the view that the establishment of provincial autonomy should not precede federation and responsibility at the centre. That is their definite recommendation on a question which admits of endless theoretical argument. No doubt in a reasonable world there would be a good deal to be said for a scheme which would allow all the various federating units to become autonomous first and then to frame their central federal machinery for themselves. On the other hand there is no argument for such a scheme to be drawn from the failure to settle the minorities question. That is an obstacle to self-government, not merely at the centre, but in the provinces as well—indeed it assumes its most acute form in some of the provinces. But in any case the stage of inaugurating the various changes which are now under discussion has not yet been reached. There is no occasion whatever at present to become excited about the order of events. What matters for the moment is that the various representatives of India should continue to hammer out with the British delegates some common ideas about the future of their country for the guidance of the Imperial Government. They have the good will of the whole British people in their task.

NOVEMBER 10, 1931

ROUND TABLE AND MINORITIES

BACK TO LORD IRWIN'S DISPATCH

The Moslem delegates to the Round-Table Conference were to meet Sir Samuel Hoare yesterday afternoon to place their views before him on various matters, but Sir Samuel is confined to bed at his house with a severe chill. Headed by the Aga Khan, the delegates were received instead by Sir Findlater Stewart, the Permanent Under-Secretary, and gave him their views and latest information on the situation in Kashmir.

There can be no doubt that the Kashmir troubles have added to the difficulties in the way of agreement by direct negotiation between the parties to the communal controversy. The meeting of the Minorities Committee approaches without any sign of agreement between all the parties concerned. In consequence, and holding that the present opportunities are unlikely to recur, some delegates are turning again to the proposed solution in the Government of India dispatch of September, 1930. This, while it recognized that separate communal representation assumed a special significance with the growth of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature, agreed with the conclusion of the Simon Commission that "the privilege which they now possess cannot and should not be taken away from the Moslem community against their wish."

The dispatch, with special reference to the two provinces where the communal difficulty is greatest, admitted that there were objections to communal majorities in the Legislature guaranteed on a population basis and elected by a majority community in communal constituencies. It was held, however, that the majority community could be given communal constituencies on a population basis provided that it could not win a majority in the Legislature in this way but only by returning a sufficient number of members from the "special" non-communal constituencies, such as the commercial and university. Various ways of avoiding what has come to be known as a "statutory majority" for a majority community were indicated. The suggestion was made that for the withdrawal of the privilege of separate electorates the consent should be required of the community concerned, expressed by the votes of two-thirds of its members in the Legislature. Suggestions were also made in the dispatch for a reasonable adjustment of Sikh claims in the Punjab.

Much consideration has been given in the last few days to a suggestion that the Hindu Liberal and other progressive elements in the Indian Delegation should indicate to the Prime Minister a willingness that any decision the Government might be called upon to make in the probable event of final disagreement should be on these lines. Though there may be no concerted action in such a sense, there are experienced and distinguished public men prepared to recommend this course in the Minorities Committee. It is pointed out that on various other aspects of the communal problem, and more particularly those put forward by the Moslems, there has long been substantial agreement; and that if Bengal and the Punjab were disposed of on the lines of the Government of India dispatch the minorities problem should no longer block the way to completion of the work of the Conference.

A Government reception to the delegates to the India and Burma Round Table Conferences will be held at Lancaster House, St. James's, on November 17. The Prime Minister and Miss MacDonald will receive the guests.

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NOVEMBER 11, 1931

OPPOSITION TO CASTE IN INDIA

SPREAD OF THE JUSTICE MOVEMENT

The aims, programme, and achievements of the remarkable Justice Movement in Southern India, which has spread to other parts of the country, were set forth by one of its leaders, Sir Annepu Patro, to the East India Association at a meeting held yesterday afternoon at the Caxton Hall, under the chairmanship of Lord Goschen, late Governor of Madras.

SIR ANNEPU PATRO, who is a representative of the non-Brahmins at the Round-Table Conference, said that the movement was based on the foundation of social justice. The dream of Indian nationalism would be realized fully with the passing away of caste. Power could not be safely vested in the people unless the mental habit which sanctioned and enforced the customary treatment of other and lower castes and races was changed. The movement was liberal and progressive, the object being that of enabling every unit of Indian society to develop according to its genius, and thereby to form a strong element in the nationalism of India. Social reform was the main form of service when the movement started, but politics became more absorbing and occupied the foremost place in the programme. It was the painful duty of the organizers to separate themselves from the Indian National Congress, and to set themselves against its negative methods, which were subversive of any ordered and stable government.

When the Justice Party gained a majority in the enlarged Madras Legislature under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms great political unrest prevailed throughout the country, and financial conditions necessitated drastic cuts and gave little chance for the Ministry to finance nation-building departments. Nevertheless, every possible economy was observed and the party concentrated on the expansion of mass education, the development of local self-government, medical relief, and improved agriculture. The work started on these lines overcame sinister influences in the districts; elections to local bodies became lively and interesting; the ryot and peasant became articulate and learnt the value of the vote. The old system of rural *panchayats* was revived and brought into integral relation with the district and provincial administrations. The movement won the elections not only in the Madras Presidency, but also in the Central Provinces, and in the Bombay Legislature the party formed a strong element. It had now opened its doors to all persons, irrespective of caste or creed, who would subscribe to its programme. At a meeting of the All-India Committee and leaders last April it was generally agreed that the future Constitution of India should be on the basis of an all-India federation, but it was urged that power should not rest largely in the hands of the capitalists and the *intelligentsia*, to the detriment of the real people of the country; and that provision should be made for fair and adequate representation of all classes and communities.

DIVISION OF PARTIES BY CASTE

LORD GOSCHEN said that it was in Madras that this movement for individual freedom had made the most progress, and that an equality between the various castes had been most sought for. It had been a struggle for political and national development for all castes. Lord Willingdon, who was Governor of Madras when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced, formed a Ministry from the Non-Brahmin party, which was the largest party returned in the election. This experiment had for its basis the division of parties by caste in the absence of any other line of division. He had always believed that the experiment had had a steadying effect on the character of the Legislative Council by creating for the time a strong and more or less united opposition and preventing the Council from splitting up into innumerable sections in its early days while it was acquiring a knowledge of Parliamentary procedure. The Ministry was formed by members of one political party, who were therefore prepared to accept joint responsibility. This considerably added to the smooth working of the administrative machine and to the carrying into effect of the progress in local affairs which had been described.

LORD WINTERTON, M.P., said he did not think anyone could deny that Lord Willingdon took the right course when he formed the Ministry on the lines the chairman had indicated. Speaking with complete detachment he felt that Madras had many things to teach the rest of India. Elsewhere there had been some brilliant individual Ministers, but except in Madras there had not been a composite party or series of groups to form a Ministry.

MINORITIES AT THE ROUND TABLE

STATE MINISTER'S PLEA

It is understood that, notwithstanding the suggestion made by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its Bombay meeting last week-end, Mr. Gandhi has no present intention of leaving London before the Round-Table Conference proceedings come to an end. In view of the situation in India, reported to him by the Working Committee, he will not, however, undertake the somewhat extended tour on the Continent which he had contemplated. He may pay brief visits to Paris and Geneva at the end of the Conference to meet friends he has known well by correspondence.

Sir Prabashankar Pattani, the *doyen* of the Ministers of Indian States at the Round-Table Conference, has submitted to the Prime Minister a memorandum on the minorities question.

Sir Prabashankar is of opinion that far too much has been heard of differences on details and too little of the broad general principles which must be applied if there is to be any satisfactory solution of the problem. The majority community of Hindus should first seek to be united among themselves, and then offer to other communities a substantial share in the nationhood of India. The Moslems, for instance, should be given what is fair—or even a little more than what is fair. The majority, he says, can afford to be generous. For a country to be successful in self-rule a common political mentality higher than any individual mentality must develop.

A good code of law and order, a Constitution that will work without friction, the necessary measures of defence, freedom of individual vocation and religious belief and practice—these and other requisites for the general welfare can be provided without the Hindu or the Moslem having to make any real sacrifice. Various suggestions are made as to methods of ensuring fair treatment to minorities in the Federal Constitution. They include the need for a two-thirds majority of the representatives of any community for a Bill bearing on a matter of religion or custom and the reservation to the Moslems of one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature.

Sir Prabashankar strongly urges joint electorates, with due provision for reservation of seats for the Moslem minority, one of his arguments being that in a general electorate the majority community would awake to the necessity of meeting their Moslem brethren in a spirit of compromise. While appointments in the public services should go by merit, there should be reservation of a due proportion of places for minority communities. The backward classes should be provided with wider and more special facilities for education. The process should be that of levelling up the backward, not of levelling down the advanced, communities. "Religious distinctions will remain, a certain individuality in culture and customs will persist, and differences of temperament will continue; but there is no reason why the two great communities of India should not bring a common purpose to the affairs of their country, in the recognition that, for good or ill, the world is in the grip of democracy, and India cannot be an exception."

AN ANDHRA PROVINCE

There has also been circulated to the Conference a memorandum by the Rajah of Bobbili urging the need for an Andhra Province in the south for the Telugu-speaking people. They live in 12 contiguous northern districts of the Madras Presidency comprising the Northern Circars, Tanjore, and the Ceded Districts. The area is over 85,000 square miles and the population 17,250,000.

The Rajah of Bobbili states that the population of the Madras Presidency, barring the Malayalees and the Kanarese, is made up roughly of half Tamilians and half Andhras. These two peoples have the most marked differences of culture and traditions. The Andhras have felt that they cannot develop and emphasize the special qualities of their culture except by being a separate political and administrative unit. They also feel, writes the Rajah, that unless a separate Province is created for them, their interests will never be really looked after. Reasons are given for the view that for many years the interests of the Ceded Districts have been overshadowed by those of other parts of the Presidency. The demand for separate existence is neither accidental nor very recent. The Rajah adds:—

"I hope that my colleagues on this Conference will carefully consider the claims of the Andhras for being grouped into a new Province, and, after being convinced of those claims, give those of us who, like myself, have been working for its creation their entire sympathy and support. I would also wish to take this opportunity of requesting the British Government to review the entire question, and do the best by the people who are demanding what is only their mere right. In asking this I do not for a moment suggest that the time of this Conference should be spent on working out the entire details of the scheme for an Andhra Province. Indeed, I have no desire either to side-track the work of the Conference or in any way unnecessarily to delay its proceedings. If the Conference discusses this question and accepts the principle of separation for the Andhras, then the Government of India could take their own time for working out the necessary details, which need not, in any way, trouble my colleagues on this Conference."

NOVEMBER 12, 1931

INDIAN MINORITIES PROBLEM

COMMITTEE TO MEET TO-MORROW

The Prime Minister yesterday decided to summon the Minorities Committee of the Indian Round-Table Conference for to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock. The interview he intended to have before his departure for Scotland with Pandit M. M. Malaviya, but which had to be postponed, took place yesterday morning, when the veteran Indian politician, whom the Prime Minister has known since he went out to India in 1913 as a member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services, was with him for more than half an hour.

The minorities, other than the Sikhs, were engaged yesterday in further consideration of the statement of safeguards required which they are submitting to the Prime Minister. All the main points and really important details were settled some days ago, but delay has been caused by the view taken by some of the negotiators that the statement should be framed in precise legal language, leaving little or nothing in the way of precision of statement to any draftsman called upon to frame a Constitution. This has necessitated the reconsideration of points previously settled, with the result of some reopening of questions of relative quota, and consequent delay in having the document ready for the Prime Minister.

Meanwhile, the progressive Hindu sections have been in private conference again and again. There is much support for the view that, failing settlement by consent or the alternative arbitration methods suggested by Pandit M. M. Malaviya in *The Times* of October 26 being agreed to by the minorities, all parties should undertake to abide by the decision of the Prime Minister. It is felt that his personal prestige as head of the National Government with an unexampled Parliamentary majority, and his acquaintance with and interest in Indian affairs for many years past make it peculiarly appropriate that he should undertake this heavy responsibility. It is held that the next best thing to settlement by consent would be to follow the example of the British electorate and give Mr. MacDonald a "doctor's mandate."

Mr. Gandhi has made no secret of his dislike of asking the Government to impose a settlement; but it is understood that if all other parties concur in referring the problem to the Prime Minister he will not stand in the way. His objection has been to any settlement being imposed without giving the parties a voice in the form at least of selecting the referee or referees. He recognizes that the appropriate corollary thereto would be agreement on all hands to abide by the award.

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BENGAL MOSLEM'S APPEAL

In this connexion interest attaches to a statement made yesterday by Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, a Moslem representative from Bengal, who is known as a most sturdy upholder of the claims of his community to safeguards.

There is one point which should never be overlooked, Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq says. We have now a Prime Minister, in the height of his popularity, burning with a keen desire to give India her due. We have also the other members of the Cabinet no less keen and anxious to cooperate with the Prime Minister. And even more than all this, we have the great British people looking with expectant eyes on our labours at the Conference and hoping that, through our help and cooperation, the Indian problem will be brought to a satisfactory solution.

An opportunity like this will hardly again come in the near future, and those Indians who prevent a solution of our problems by adopting an obstructive attitude deserve to be branded as so many traitors, not only to India, but to the sacred cause of liberty and freedom throughout the world. It now remains for Sapru and Patro, Sastri and other leaders, to confer together and put an end to the disgraceful deadlock which has overtaken our deliberations.

The Maharajah of Kapurthala has been compelled by the pressure of State business to arrange to leave for India to-morrow. With the approval of the Secretary of State for India, Sirdar Jarmini Das will act as a delegate in his absence. Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, who has taken an active part in the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee, has also been called to India by his industrial interests, and will embark at Marseilles in the Viceroy of India to-morrow.

Our Madras Correspondent telegraphs that Sir George Stanley, the Governor, speaking at the Sheriffs' dinner on Tuesday, expressed the hope that he would be the first Governor to preside over Madras under Provincial autonomy. The remark, which was loudly applauded, expresses the desire of representative circles in Madras for early Provincial autonomy.

NOVEMBER 13, 1931

ROUND TABLE

TO-DAY'S STATEMENT BY MR. MACDONALD

The climax of the Round-Table Conference will soon be reached. Last evening the Cabinet had under consideration the provisional conclusions reached at two meetings of its India Committee. To-day, at the meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Conference, the Prime Minister may give some indication of the views of the Government on the situation created by the absence of a common measure of agreement between the main body of Hindu delegates and the various minorities which claim electoral and other safeguards.

Any general statement of Government policy cannot, however, be expected until next week, when it is believed that the plenary sittings of the Conference will begin. It is provisionally planned to devote three days to them, but this is not likely to be sufficient for the many delegates who wish to state their views, some of them for the purpose of proposing changes of substance in the conclusions provisionally reached by the Federal Structure Committee on matters of important detail. It is well understood that the Conference was not called together to draft a Constitution, and that when it ends a great deal of supplementary work must be taken in hand. Much of this, it is thought, can be undertaken by committees sitting in India.

In one highly important direction a great step forward was taken yesterday, when, after long and anxious negotiations between the various minorities, other than the Sikhs, an agreement was reached whereby they will be publicly and formally committed to definite demands both for general safeguards and for the specific claims of each community. As late as yesterday morning it seemed that the labour of many weeks might prove abortive owing to a difference of view on the precise status of the Frontier Province in the new Constitution, one section feeling unable to assent to the full claims made by Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, the champion of the unqualified status of a Governor's province. In the afternoon the difficulty was adjusted. The document, in its more direct original phrasing, was adopted, and it was handed to the Prime Minister by a small delegation which waited on him just before the meeting of the Cabinet. The document was made public late last night and is given in full on the following page.

When everything is taken into account, this agreement of the minorities on a great number of questions, not only general, but Province by Province, is an important achievement, and credit is due to the delegates who have worked so hard to bring it about.

It is thought that at the meeting of the Minorities Committee to-day Mr. Gandhi will be asked if he has any report to make on further efforts at adjustment of the minorities problem. As indicated yesterday, Mr. Gandhi is not indisposed to place the issue in Mr. MacDonald's hands for settlement; but it is not expected that at this stage the Prime Minister will consider that the time has arrived for a decision imposed by Government. In some quarters it is believed that it will be suggested that, with the help and counsel of the Viceroy, further efforts at adjustment by agreement may be made by the various parties when they return to India while the work of drafting legislation is being carried on in this country.

SIKH CLAIMS RESTATED

The Sikhs have restated their case in a memorandum circulated to their colleagues.

They renew their objections to any communal majority by statute or any reservation of seats by law for a majority community. They ask for 30 per cent. representation in the Punjab Legislature and Administration, and one-third share in the Cabinet and the provincial Public Service Commission. Failing this, they ask for the transfer of predominatingly Moslem areas to the Frontier Province so as to produce a communal balance. In this reconstituted Punjab there should be joint electorates with no reservation of seats. If neither alternative is acceptable, the Punjab may be administered by the newly-constituted Central Government till mutual agreement on the communal question is reached. It is further claimed:—

"The Sikhs should be given 5 per cent. of the total number of seats reserved for British India in each of the Upper and Lower Houses. There should always be at least one Sikh in the Central Cabinet.

"In case an Army Council is constituted the Sikhs should be adequately represented on it. The Sikhs have always had a special connexion with the Army, and therefore the same proportion of Sikhs should be maintained in the Army as before the War.

"The Sikhs should have effective representation in the all-India services and should be represented on the Central Public Service Commission. All residuary powers should vest in the Central Government.

"The Sikhs should have the same weightage in other provinces as is accorded to other minorities.

"The Provincial and Central Government should declare religious neutrality, and, while maintaining existing religious endowments, should not create new ones. The State should provide for the teaching of Gurmukhi script where a certain fixed number of scholars is forthcoming.

"Any safeguards guaranteed in the Constitution for the Sikhs should not be rescinded or modified without their express consent."

NOVEMBER 14, 1931

INDIAN COTTON DUTY

GOVERNMENT VICTORY IN ASSEMBLY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 13.

A motion for the deletion of the proposed ½-anna duty on raw cotton imports, imposed in the Emergency Finance Bill, was defeated in the Legislative Assembly to-day by 60 votes to 48. The result is regarded as the first victory of agrarian representatives in the Assembly in a straight fight with industrialists.

Speaking in the debate yesterday Mr. H. P. Mody, chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association, strongly opposed the proposal. Of the 58,000 tons of cotton imports last year, he said, 21,000 tons came from Egypt and 23,000 tons from Uganda and Kenya. They were used by Indian mills for spinning counts over 40's, and there was no Indian cotton from which it was possible to spin 40's warp. The duty, therefore, was useless to Indian cultivators, but, on the other hand, would greatly hinder the mills in the great progress which, conformably with the Tariff Board's advice, they were making in weaving finer cloth. Mr. Mody said he had received many communications from business associations condemning the proposed duty, and he created some sensation by reading a telegram from the Aga Khan that the duty would ruin the Indian cotton growers of Uganda, most of whom were his followers.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, leader of the Nationalists, stoutly opposed the duty on the ground that it would hamper the Indian cotton textile industry just when it was succeeding in its great effort to develop fine spinning and weaving, and would not aid the Indian cotton cultivator. To the manufacturer the duty would mean that the fine Ugandan and Egyptian cotton necessary for spinning a higher count would cost 12½ per cent. more than foreign competitors had to pay for it. As the Bill imposed taxation for only 18 months, the duty would only cover one Indian crop.

It was here pointed out that in 18 months two crops would be affected over the greater part of India; that as Customs duties were never revised for mixed periods this duty would remain in force until repealed; and that the assertion that no appreciable quantity of cotton of 1in. staple and over was grown in India was contrary to statistical facts.

The Government's non-official supporters to-day were mainly landholders of Northern India, led by Ahmad Nawaz Khan from the North-West Frontier Province and Nawab Talab Mehdi Khan from the Punjab. They effectively turned the debate into a contest between the interests of millowners and traders on the one hand and the poor cultivators and stricken landholders on the other.

The Government, the Nawab said, had failed to give cultivators treatment as good as it gave industrialists, and the millowners used foreign cotton at the sacrifice of growers in their own country. Industrial nationalists helped the campaign to make people use Indian-made cloth. But why should not the millowners be equally patriotic and use Indian-grown cotton, especially as the cultivators only needed a little encouragement to enable them to increase production of the fine variety needed.

Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member, pointed out in winding up the debate that thanks to the special assistance received in recent Budgets the Indian cotton textile industry was now the most prosperous of its kind in the world, and that the latest market prices proved that Indian cotton was deriving substantial benefit from the new duty. The duty had been imposed for revenue purposes only, but it was a great satisfaction to the Government to impose a duty which incidentally assisted agriculture.

There followed a debate on an amendment to quash the proposal to raise the import duty on machinery to 10 per cent. The case against it was that it would hamper the development of Indian industry. It was expected that the debate would run well into to-morrow, and some Government supporters in that expectation apparently left the House. The Opposition promptly seized the opportunity thus presented, the debate was quickly ended, and the Government lost by 53 votes to 52 in the division thus precipitated. It is estimated that the loss to the revenue will be half a crore of rupees this year and one crore in a full year.

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BARDOLI INQUIRY

WITHDRAWAL OF CONGRESS COUNSEL

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, Nov. 13

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, counsel for the Congress Party, to-day withdrew from the Bardoli inquiry which is being conducted by Mr. R. G. Gordon on the ground that Mr. Gordon ruled out his contention that documents in the possession of the Government should be made available to counsel for the purposes of the inquiry. Before withdrawing Mr. Desai made a long statement explaining his action and thanking Mr. Gordon for his "unfailing courtesy bordering on kindness" during the inquiry. His action is important because Mr. Gandhi made his attendance at the Round-Table Conference conditional on the inquiry being held.

Mr. Gordon, in making his order refusing inspection of the Government records, said that an application had been made for the production of documents which would enable a case to be made out against the Government on the basis of evidence produced by the Government itself. Mr. Desai had admitted, Mr. Gordon continued, that he did not know what these records contained, and that it was a matter of luck whether they would tell for or against the Government. Since the Congress admitted that they had not got evidence on which they could rely, but must depend upon such as might be derived from the Government records, it was incumbent upon them to produce that demand at an early stage of the proceedings. The Congress had presented the demand only after the inquiry had been progressing for a month, and had then coupled it with the ultimatum that unless the decision favoured them they would withdraw from the inquiry. In those circumstances it was difficult to avoid the conclusion that the decision to ask for the production of the Government records was made at a late stage in order to fill a large hiatus discovered in the evidence produced thitherto. Any reasonable request for the production of documents which were really shown to bear on some definite cases would be considered, but it was absolutely impossible to agree to the vague, unreasonable demands which Mr. Desai had made.

NOVEMBER 16, 1931

ROUND TABLE

DELEGATES AND MINORITIES

LITTLE PROSPECT OF UNITY

The week-end has been marked by much activity among the British Indian groups in preparation for this morning's meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference and in view of the critical stage which has now been reached. Mr. Gandhi did not follow his custom of spending the week-end out of London, but held conferences with various groups, wrote to the Prime Minister, and had an interview on Saturday with Lord Irwin and yesterday afternoon with Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, who later saw the Moslem delegates.

The aim of the meetings of Hindu Nationalist groups was to prevent if possible to-day's sitting of the Federal Structure Committee from bringing its proceedings to an end before there has been discussion of the powers of the Federal Executive and the financial, defence, and other safeguards. The Moslems have taken the attitude from the beginning of the present Session that they would join in the discussion of these matters only if all parties to such discussion while the communal problem remained open. On Friday the Prime Minister made his offer to undertake a settlement of the communal problem if all parties requested him to do so and undertook to abide by his decision.

On Saturday a group headed by Pandit M. M. Malaviya wrote to the Prime Minister stating that, with a view to enabling the work of the Federal Structure Committee to be continued and completed, and to enabling a report on the remaining subjects to be considered at the present Session of the Conference, they requested him to arbitrate on the communal issue as affecting the Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs. The letter added that they would abide by the Prime Minister's decision and would recommend that course to those whom they represented. In addition to Pandit M. M. Malaviya, the signatories to the letter were the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, Mrs. Naidu, Dr. S. K. Datta, Mr. Jayakar, Rajah Narendra Nath, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Birla, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, and Mr. Barooah.

CONGRESS POLICY

The limitation of the request to the Moslem and Sikh minorities was in line with Mr. Gandhi's strongly-expressed objection to the grant or continuance of special electoral rights to other minorities, and in particular his vehement objection to special arrangements for the Depressed Classes. Mr. Gandhi wrote to the Prime Minister on Saturday night that his non-signature of the Malaviya letter did not mean that the Congress would in any way resist the Prime Minister's award; indeed, the Congress had indicated that it would approve of any solution acceptable to the three parties concerned—the Hindus, the Moslems, and the Sikhs. As to the other minorities, Mr. Gandhi was of opinion that their case should be settled by agreement among their representatives and other members of the Conference. The Congress could not, Mr. Gandhi said, be reconciled to any further extension of the principle of separate electorates or special reservation of seats.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru also wrote to the Prime Minister supporting the request that he should arbitrate on the communal issue as affecting Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs. He added that he understood that an attempt was going to be made later to settle the problem of the Depressed Classes and other minorities, and that so far as he was concerned he would leave that matter also in the hands of the Prime Minister.

Yesterday yet another group gave the Prime Minister a blank cheque by requesting his arbitration and agreeing to abide by the decision without any qualifying phrases. The letter was signed by Mr. Sastri, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Annepu Patro, Mr. Joshi, Sir Padamji Ginwala, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Sir Cowasjee Jehanghir, Diwan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao, Mr. Shiva Rao, and Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudilayar. Yesterday afternoon Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir A. P. Patro, and Sir Cowasjee Jehanghir appealed to the Moslem Delegation to support this unqualified request to the Prime Minister. The Moslems offered their hearty support provided that similar support was forthcoming from all the other groups. They had no intention, however, to leave aside the smaller minorities with whom they had negotiated a pact; and they would be doing that if they joined in a request to the Prime Minister which did not come from all groups.

It is clear from discussions Mr. Gandhi had with the Moslem group late on Saturday afternoon that the Prime Minister's condition of unanimity has little prospect of attainment. Mr. Gandhi, anticipating a long sitting, took with him both his spinning wheel and two colleagues—Mrs. Naidu and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. The meeting lasted three hours.

The Mahatma condemned the five-party minority Pact signed on Thursday, and said that thereby difficulties had been greatly multiplied. He quoted the Koran—telling the Christian world that it knew its Sanskrit sacred book better than they themselves did—to show that it inculcated peace while they were perpetuating division. He challenged the right of representatives of some of the communities concerned to speak in their name, and said in India he would undertake a campaign to detach those communities from the claims made on their behalf.

Mr. Gandhi exercised all his powers of persuasion to induce the Moslems to draw back from the agreement, but was reminded that the parties are severally and jointly bound by the Pact. Incidentally, the Mahatma expressed his regret that he had not adhered to his original intention not to attend the Round-Table Conference unless a communal settlement was first reached in India.

CABINET'S ATTITUDE

While these negotiations have been proceeding the question of the policy of the Government to be announced by the Prime Minister has been anxiously canvassed. A week ago a letter was published in *The Times*, signed by 27 delegates, headed by Mr. Gandhi, offering strong opposition to the idea that provincial autonomy should be established as an intermediate stage in the evolution of Indian self-government. It is understood that the Hindu Liberal group was disconcerted by the information that Mr. Gandhi had intimated to the Prime Minister that he might be willing to see the introduction of provincial autonomy as a first measure if within six months of its introduction the way was prepared for responsibility at the Centre. After much discussion with his friends he has

(Continued on page 14, column 5)

ROUND TABLE — continued from page 12, column 4

written a further letter to the Prime Minister stating it to be his considered and final opinion that no scheme would be acceptable which did not include automatic and complete responsibility at the Centre.

There is reason to believe the Government would not be averse from the Conference exploring the measure of agreement which may exist among the delegates regarding responsibility at the Centre; but the Moslem objections to such discussion while the communal question remains open still stand. There is support for the idea that the details of communal adjustments to provincial autonomy might be worked out province by province in India (on lines broadly indicated in the Dispatch of Lord Irwin's Government written in September, 1930), while the British Government itself is diligently pursuing the path towards responsiveness at the Centre and takes the necessary legislative authority.

It is now common ground among close students of affairs that the work of building up a Federal Constitution will take time if the foundations are to be well and truly laid. A factor in the time problem is the manifest cooling off of not a few of the Ruling Princes towards Federation if it is not preceded or accompanied by machinery for joint action more effective than, or amplifying the merely advisory powers of, the Chamber of Princes. The fears expressed by Hindu and other delegates in the letter published in *The Times* a week ago could be met, however, only by the most explicit undertaking that the path of Federation would be pursued without faltering. It is noteworthy that there are Indians of distinction who openly advocate a start on these lines. In the new number of his quarterly, *Indian Affairs*, Sir Albion Banerji, for example, urges that provincial autonomy should be the beginning of the reforms.

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THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

DISCUSSIONS TO CONTINUE

MOSLEM CONCESSION

Predictions in many quarters yesterday that the Round-Table Conference would come to an end within a day or two were falsified by the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee yesterday at St. James's Palace. The Conference is not breaking up, nor will it break down, without discussion of certain vital issues implicit in the formula of Federal responsibility with transitory safeguards. The Government entertains the hope that there will be sufficient progress, first in the Committee discussions and then in the plenary sittings of the Conference, to allow the Session to be closed in time for the many delegates who have booked their passages to India by the mail steamer leaving Marseilles on Friday week to fulfil this intention.

The significance of yesterday's meeting was shown by the presence of the Prime Minister, who reinforced the assurances of Lord Sankey that, so far from the Government having any desire to avoid discussion of responsibility with safeguards, it was most desirous of ascertaining the views of the delegates thereon. Lord Sankey said those views would be of the greatest possible assistance to those of them who would have the task of putting them, or the eventual decisions of H.M. Government, into a Bill. They had not had the views of the delegates upon what was to be done in relation to the Army and External Affairs, on Commercial Discrimination, and on Finance. As to Finance, Lord Sankey put in the plea that they should express their opinions in "a very general way," having regard to the world situation, and should not go into too much detail.

Lord Reading held it to be essential that the views of the delegates should be ascertained. Mr. Benn spoke in the same vein, remarking that if the Committee ceased it would not only be an end to the Conference, but also be an end to the method of conference, which was an essential part of the policy of the Government.

"DISTURBED FEELINGS"

The Prime Minister remarked that it would fill him with "very disturbed feelings" for the Conference to disperse without a survey of these questions. He saw no reason why delegates should not be able to leave London on Thursday of next week.

On behalf of the Moslem Delegation, whose reluctance to discuss responsibility at the Centre while the communal problem remains unsolved was at the root of the difficulty, Mr. Jinnah asked for an adjournment to enable the Delegation to confer. The Committee accordingly adjourned, and the Moslem delegates held an emergency meeting. When the Committee reassembled after luncheon Mr. Jinnah announced that the Moslems were willing that the discussion on the four questions named by the Chairman should be proceeded with; but they made the reservation that "until and unless the Musulman demands and safeguards are incorporated in the Constitution it will not be acceptable to us." After an amplification of this position by Sir Muhammad Shafi, the Chairman thanked them for the conciliatory spirit they had shown. Dr. Ambedkar, Sardar Ujjal Singh, and Mr. Gavin Jones put in similar reservations on behalf of their respective constituencies [illegible] committed to definite demands [illegible] for

MINORITY CLAIMS

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru took the opportunity to say how entirely he supported the desire of the Minorities—and particularly the Depressed Classes—to ensure the protection of their interests. He then initiated the discussion on Defence. He was followed by Pandit M. M. Malaviya, who surveyed a wide historical ground, and will resume his speech this morning. It is expected that Lord Reading will be among those taking part in the discussion to-day, and that the Moslem position will be further elucidated.

The Aga Khan has been added to the Federal Structure Committee, and was warmly welcomed by Lord Sankey when he took his seat for the first time at the afternoon sitting. In a letter to the Aga Khan, Sir Hubert Carr has repudiated suggestions that the Five Minorities Pact is intended to carry equal rights of European commercial men beyond the position laid down in the resolution of the Minorities Committee as finally amended on January 19 last.

There was no intention [Sir Hubert Carr wrote] to assert any rights not covered in that resolution, and I am confident no misunderstanding existed in your own mind, for it is unlikely the Moslem Delegation would have been prepared to accept claims on the matter of commerce and industry which had not been accepted by the whole Conference. As there is no doubt the misunderstanding exists, however, I am sending you these few lines and sending a copy to the Secretariat in order to clear the position with members of the Conference.

*** A summary of the speeches at yesterday's sittings of the Federal Structure Committee appears on page 9. Questions relating to the Round-Table Conference and other matters affecting India were answered in the House of Commons yesterday, as recorded in our Parliamentary report.

ROUND-TABLE SPEECHES

PRIME MINISTER'S APPEAL

FUTURE OF ARMY

An official report was issued last night of the speeches made at yesterday's meetings of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference.

At the morning meeting LORD SANKEY, the chairman, in opening the proceedings, recalled the terms of the Prime Minister's Declaration in January, 1930, and added, "Every word of that Declaration stands to-day." Proceeding, Lord Sankey said that the members of the Committee had not yet expressed their views on what was to be done in relation to the Army and External Affairs—both problems of the first magnitude and importance—nor on Commercial Discrimination—another problem of great magnitude and importance—nor on Finance. The Government were extremely anxious that they should avail themselves of that opportunity of indicating generally their views, which would be of the greatest possible assistance to the Government. He proposed first to take the question of the Army and External Relations, next Commercial Discrimination, and then to deal very briefly and very generally with the question of Finance. That would not take very long, and after that, bearing in mind what they had said, the Prime Minister would be able, with the benefit of their views, to make the Declaration which would wind up the Plenary Session.

LORD READING agreed that it was essential they should ascertain the views of the various delegates. The matters were of great importance. It would be very regrettable if they did not at some stage ascertain the views of the various delegates upon them, and it would be most unsatisfactory if the Prime Minister, in any observations that he made, had to make them without any indication of the views of those who had been taking a prominent part in the discussion of affairs hitherto in other respects. "From the individual aspect," Lord Reading added, "and in view perhaps of a little more experience of Indian affairs than some of my colleagues can claim, I do attribute great importance to an expression of views. . . We are discussing here in all frankness all these subjects. We have pursued that method hitherto, and I think it would be desirable that we should continue to do so until the end. I hope, therefore, very much that this opportunity for expression of opinion will be afforded, also that we may see [illegible] views are alleged by any of the arguments which are put forward."

THE CONFERENCE METHOD

Mr. BENN said that the Prime Minister had told them, and it was a matter of great gratification, that the policy of the Government was unaffected by the electoral changes which had taken place. "I would remind the Government," he continued, "that if this Committee ceases it is not only an end of this Conference, it is an end of the method of conference; and the method of conference is an essential part of the policy of the Government. It is not merely a question of matter; it is a question of manner and method. The method of conference is an essential part of the method and manner selected by the last Government and continued by the present Government for the treatment and solution of this problem. The Government itself has very serious responsibilities with reference to the continuance of this Conference."

Mr. LEES-SMITH having supported Mr. BENN'S view, the PRIME MINISTER said the Government were very anxious that these subjects should be passed under review by the Committee. "It does fill me with very disturbed feelings that the Conference should disperse without a survey of these questions. I understand that there has been some reluctance on the part of the Committee as a united whole to discuss some of those matters, not on their own merits at all, but on account of certain things, like a communal settlement, being still unknown. I would like the members of this Committee not to allow that to keep them from discussing the full programme that the Government have put before the Committee. They can make their position perfectly clear, I think, that all that they do now is with reserve—that until this other matter is settled they must take part in discussions with that reserve in their minds. I think that would safeguard them sufficiently, if I might presume to express that opinion, but it would enable the Conference to do its work before it goes. I see no difficulty at all, if we sit from day to day, first of all as this Committee and then as the Plenary Conference, in allowing those of you who have taken your places for next week's sailing to get away. But I want to make it perfectly clear that it is the Government's desire—their very strong desire—that your opinion should be expressed on these subjects in just the same way as you have expressed your opinions on other subjects that have been discussed here. I need not say anything more, but repeat that we shall be very disappointed indeed if these subjects are not discussed."

MOSLEM DECISION

On the request of Mr. JINNAH the Committee adjourned to enable the Moslem members to consult their Delegation. When the Committee reassembled in the afternoon Mr. JINNAH said that he was authorized on behalf of the Moslem Delegation to state that they were willing that the discussion on the four matters mentioned by the chairman might be proceeded with; but they wished to make it clear that they reserved to themselves—and they thought that it was an essential and vital condition—that until and unless the Moslem demands and the safeguards were incorporated in the Constitution it would not be acceptable to them.

SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI also said that, while they had no objection whatever to the discussion of the four subjects, they still insisted that, whatever the Constitution which might ultimately be framed for India, Musulman interests, the interests of the 80,000,000 of his Majesty's subjects, must be safeguarded; and those safeguards must be included in the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Jinnah and Sir Muhammad Shafi had shown a very great example to the Committee and the whole Conference in the very reasonable attitude they had adopted. "Your desire," he added, "is to do the best you can in the present difficulty; but you are entitled to protect your own interests, and you would be foolish not to do so. I am going to see, as far as one individual can, that everybody is properly protected and that the legitimate claims of everybody are placed upon record. As far as I am concerned, if you will allow me to say it again, no document will leave my hands until I am satisfied that not only you but all of you are properly protected."

DR. AMBEDKAR said that the claim of the Depressed Classes was that they must have political safeguards, and those safeguards must be put into the Constitution and form part of it. With that proviso—which was fundamental—they were prepared to discuss these subjects.

SARDAR UJJAL SINGH defined the attitude of the Sikhs and Mr. GAVIN JONES that of the Europeans—agreeing to the discussion with the reservation made by the other minorities—and the CHAIRMAN then called on Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to speak on the Army and External Relations.

"A TURNING POINT"

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU expressed very genuine and sincere thanks to the Prime Minister, the chairman, and to the other members of the British Delegation, who had helped them in a most material degree that morning in clearing the air, and also to Sir Muhammad Shafi and Mr. Jinnah for the way in which they had responded to the general desire that the members should go on with "the discussion of these vital questions, upon [illegible] not of Hindu India, but of India as a whole, whose good we all have at heart."

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Having described the occasion as "the turning point in the history of this Conference," Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru continued:—"I have a strong and unshaken belief that no Constitution that you may devise, or that we may devise, has any chance of success in India unless the position of the Minorities is completely and adequately safeguarded. With the desire of the Minorities—and in that expression I would particularly include the Depressed Classes—to seek the protection of their interests I have completely associated myself, and I see absolutely no reason why there should be on the part of men who hold my views and convictions any weakening in that respect. Frankly, I think that we owe it to ourselves, if our nationalism is not merely a figure of speech, but a genuine deep-rooted sentiment, that we should tell the Minorities and the Depressed Classes that our future is bound up with their future, that we cannot advance at all without carrying them with us, and it is in that spirit that, in spite of the many happenings during the last few weeks which have given rise to a sense of despondency, I should like to approach our future task."

Since the beginning of the present session of the Round-Table Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said, they had been considering some momentous questions. Let them not overlook or under-estimate the importance of the questions which they had already considered and with regard to which they had arrived more or less at some conclusions. So far as the composition of the Federal Legislature was concerned, he claimed that their work had been eminently successful. Similarly, they had arrived at a considerable measure of success in dealing with the questions of Federal Finance, the Federal Court, and the Supreme Court of British India. The work hitherto done would have remained incomplete if they had dispersed without discussing, without coming to an agreement upon the vital question, the pivotal question, he would say, of responsibility at the Centre, or without discussing those safeguards in which they were all interested.

Turning to Defence, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that without the permission of the Governor-General Army affairs could not be discussed in the Indian Legislature. The problem now confronting them was whether the Army was to be within the sphere of Federal subjects from the start, but by convention withdrawn from control, or whether it was to be completely withdrawn. Advanced thinkers desired that the Army, under the control of an Indian Member, should from the first be within the purview of the Legislature; others thought that the Army Member should be responsible only to the Crown during the period of transition, but should be associated with the Cabinet and the Legislature. He associated himself with this last view. He pressed for an Indian Army Member. Technical questions were to remain with the Commander-in-Chief, who for many years would be a British officer. The Army Member would be responsible to the Governor-General; but for Supply should be dependent on a basic figure which would be a contract between the Governor-General and the Legislature.

As an immediate measure, the Governor-General should be empowered to enter into the contract, and this should be inherited by the new Government. This contract would cover normal expenditure. In the case of emergency special powers should be given to the Governor-General. The whole suggested arrangement was to be limited to the transition period; but the Governor-General would be unlikely to act without consulting the persons constitutionally associated with him.

Indianization had not been continuous and speedy enough. There was considerable room for reduction in military expenditure. Whether they liked it or not, the size of the Army must be determined by the capacity of the people to pay. Indian finance was at that moment in a bad condition. He would like it to be laid down beyond dispute that the Indian Army should be open to all classes in India.

PANDIT M. M. MALAVIYA said it had been stated that the British troops would not take their orders from the Indian Member. If, however, their fellow-British subjects thought they should be put on a footing of equality with Indians on all matters it must follow that, whether an Indian or a Briton happened to give the word of command, it must be obeyed by every one as a matter of duty. India could not go on paying for a standing army to the extent it was at present. There should be a small compact standing army of a size to be determined by military experts and public men, and a national army, larger in number, should be available for emergencies.

The discussion was adjourned until this morning.

EUROPEANS IN INDIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—When Lord Irwin was about to leave India, more than 100 Englishmen in Bombay sent him a letter expressing their appreciation of what he had done during his Viceroyalty. Since they were all under the age of 35, many of them expected to serve India for 20, if not 30, years. Theirs is the generation that must bear the burden of changed conditions in India. Yet they told Lord Irwin that "whatever seeming loss there may be in privilege and prestige, there is no loss whatever in the opportunities of personal service and individual influence." Like the majority of Englishmen in India, they have set their hopes upon the success of the Round-Table Conference. No statesman, they believe, dare allow the Round-Table Conference to fail. May I—perhaps the only member of the "Young European" group at present in London—be allowed to make one observation?

No one can doubt the good intentions of the European delegates when they associated themselves with the Minorities Agreement. Yet, so doing, they have misrepresented the character of their own community; for Englishmen in India are not Communalists. Religion, which separates one Indian from another, does not separate the Englishman from the Mohamedan, the Sikh, and the Indian Christian. There was no need for this close association with the religious minorities. The European delegates could have stood aside, so that, when the critical occasion arose, they might hold the balance.

Separate electorates are not the most pressing claim of the European community. Far more important is the possession of effective commercial safeguards and the statutory rights of citizenship in India. The European community is so small that when a European (non-official) seat falls vacant in the Provincial Council or Legislative Assembly, it is usually with the utmost difficulty that the seat is filled. Heads of firms reluctantly allow a member of their staff to spend several weeks in Delhi or Simla as a European legislator. They doubt sincerely whether it is worth the time or the money. Not long ago nomination day in Bombay arrived and not a single candidate came forward to claim the vacant Assembly seat, which remained unfilled until the European Association in Bombay selected the man who had actually opposed its own candidate in the Provincial Council election a few weeks beforehand.

I can name several Englishmen who believe separate European electorates to be a shadowy privilege they do not need. If India had been fortunate enough to possess a leisured class of Englishmen rather than a community of temporary sojourners, Englishmen would have offered themselves as candidates in open constituencies, confident of support from many sympathetic Indians. Though, admittedly, the majority of Englishmen prefer to retain separate European electorates, there are, I am certain, many among them who would sacrifice these electorates for the sake of some desperately needed example of compromise. Without an effective and immediate compromise the advocates of a Federal Government responsible to a central Indian Legislature will be fatally handicapped.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
J. R. GLORNEY BOLTON.
9, King's Bench-walk, Temple, E.C.4.

ROUND TABLE

A BREEZE OVER PROCEDURE

MR. GANDHI ON THE ARMY

NO MINORITIES SETTLEMENT

For a short time yesterday morning tempestuous seas were encountered in the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference meeting at St. James's Palace.

The Prime Minister's intimation on the previous day that he saw no reason why the work of the Conference should not be finished in time for delegates to catch next week's mail steamer at Marseilles for Bombay had evoked no contrary opinions. The storm arose yesterday after Lord Sankey had asked for the opinion of the Committee on two methods of procedure. One was to finish the Committee work this afternoon and begin the plenary meetings of the Conference to-morrow, with the prospect of the Prime Minister winding up the proceedings on Tuesday night. The alternative method was to continue present discussions this week and begin the plenary meetings next Monday. The difficulty of this method would be that of the risk of not being able to finish the plenary meetings until Thursday of next week. To go beyond that date would be very inconvenient for those who had booked or wished to book their passages for next week.

The late Secretary of State for India proved to be the stormy petrel of the occasion. Mr. Benn complained of the alternative time-tables, holding them to be inconsistent with the full purpose for which the Conference was called and also with the pledges of Government. The Conference was fully representative of all sections of opinion in India: was it to be brought to an end with a Bradshaw in one hand and a stop-watch in the other? Mr. Lees-Smith supplemented the efforts of his colleague to create a sense of grievance, and urged that discussions should be on the same lines as the other minor discussions which had taken place. The lead thus given was taken by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit M. M. Malaviya. Both spoke of "disaster" if the proceedings of the Committee or the Conference ended in speech-making.

SIR S. HOARE'S STATEMENT

Sir Samuel Hoare met these criticisms with some definite statements of Government policy and with an emphatic denial that the Government wished to break any pledge. They intended to maintain in one way and another consultation with representative Indian opinion at every effective stage in the process of constructing an All-India Constitution. Their proceedings had shown the problem upon which they were engaged to be even more complicated than they thought last year. There were vitally important questions which could only be settled first of all with great good will upon both sides, and, secondly, with further consultation in India. His reminder that the absence of agreement on the communal issue meant that the Committee would be faced with almost insurmountable difficulty in every detail of discussions connected with responsibility at the Centre was an indication of the reservations in this regard made by the Moslems and other Minorities. He urged that facts should be faced.

Lord Reading made a tactful speech, in which he recalled that the only purpose of the Chairman had been to ascertain the views of the Committee as to procedure. Speaking as one no longer in the Government, he expressed the belief that Government was ready to go on so long as the Conference wished to go on.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, at the afternoon sitting, made the Moslem position clear by stating that his group of delegates felt, in the absence of a communal settlement, that there was no reality about discussion on the subjects on the agenda. Accordingly, they reserved their opinion on Defence. The Nawab of Bhopal defined the attitude of the States Delegation, which was that as long as the Crown is responsible for the defence of India it must determine how it discharges that responsibility.

In the general discussion on Defence, Lord Reading, replying to Pandit M. M. Malaviya, said that any proposal for a responsible Government would be unacceptable to him if it did not make the exception that the Army must be in the hands of the Governor-General and that any Minister for Defence must be responsible to him.

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THE CLAIMS OF CONGRESS

Mr. Gandhi—incidentally remarking that if necessary he was prepared to winter in England—stated that the National Congress considered itself to-day capable of shouldering all the responsibilities that flow from responsible self-government. He claimed on its behalf complete control over the Army, the Defence Forces, and External Affairs. He twitted Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Malaviya on not being able to say to what extent the British Army in India could or should be reduced. He would say emphatically that the British troops there should be disbanded if they did not pass under his control "before I could possibly shoulder the burden of running the Government of India under the terrible handicaps under which they are labouring as a legacy of alien rule."

Mr. Sastri dissociated himself from these opinions; he continued of opinion that the Army and External Affairs had best remain Crown subjects during the transitional period.

Although the Committee rose early for the Chairman to fulfil his duties in the House of Lords, such good progress was made that the issues to which Mr. Benn imparted so much feeling went far to settle themselves. The Army discussion was finished; External Relations were discussed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Iyengar, and (as to their bearing on tariffs) by Mr. Benn. This morning a conclusion will be reached on procedure, and then the third question on the agenda, that of Commercial Discrimination, will be taken up.

The Draft Report of the Minorities Committee was issued last night. The Committee records with deep regret "that it has been unable to reach any agreed conclusion on the difficult and controversial question which has been the subject of its deliberations."

** The speeches at yesterday's meeting of the Federal Structure Committee are reported on page 17.

INCOME-TAX IN INDIA

A GOVERNMENT DEFEAT

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, Nov. 17

The Legislative Assembly to-day discussed Clauses 7 and 8 of the Emergency Finance Bill, which provide respectively for lowering from Rs.2,000 to Rs.1,000 the minimum annual income on which income-tax is payable and for raising by 25 per cent. the existing rates of income-tax and supertax.

In the debate on Clause 7 members of the Independent and Nationalist Parties eloquently protested against the further burdening of the lower middle class, who were already hard hit by the repeated increases in the import tariff. In reply, Sir George Schuster, Finance Member, pointed out that the tax proposed to be placed upon earners of small incomes would approximate to 2½ per cent. Although elected members refused to assent to that, the Retrenchment Committees, which the same members strongly supported, had not hesitated to recommend a cut varying from 6¼ to 7½ per cent. in the pay of Government servants earning the same amount. The Finance Member sharply criticized them for championing the private taxpayer while at the same time desiring to hit the more vulnerable salary earner in the public service.

In the division the Opposition won by 65 votes to 44.

The outstanding speeches in the debate on Clause 8 were made by Mr. Tait, representing the Burma European constituency, and Mr. Moore, Leader of the European Group, both of whom strongly criticized the Government proposals, but said that the group would vote for them in view of the need to balance the Budget.

Mr. Tait contended that the Government was annually losing crores in income-tax through evasions, and condemned what he described as the apathy of the highest authorities towards a situation which was recognized as little short of a scandal.

Mr. Moore said that the European was so heavily taxed that it was becoming very difficult for him to live in India at all. Nevertheless, there was a national emergency, in which every one must bear his share of the burden.

Mr. H. P. Mody said that the non-official members accepted no responsibility for balancing the Budget, because the Government refused to share it with them. If the Government asked for their cooperation by inviting them to discuss constructive alternative suggestions for raising revenue, they would have shared both the responsibility for and the odium of new taxation demands to which they had assented.

The debate had not ended when the House rose.

EXTENSION OF THE CONFERENCE

INDIAN NATIONALIST PRESS DISPLEASED

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, Nov. 17

The new lease of life given the Round-Table Conference has displeased the Nationalist newspapers here. One maintains that the "Clives of Imperialism have succeeded in seducing the Mir Jaffars of Indian politics," and says:—

Nearer at home the clash is coming quickly. Bengal has been stretched on the rack, the United Provinces have been goaded into a tax strike, and Bardoli is a signal post. Crafty and guilty officialdom is covering up its footprints.

It further suggests that if the rulers are honest they can meet civil disobedience half-way and obstruct its further progress by handing over the burden of ruling India to legitimate hands.

Another newspaper, which represents the Prime Minister as having acted under heavy Liberal and Labour pressure, says that this episode is a triumph for Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, a snub to the Tories and their allies, a warning to the Moslems, and "one more exhibition of the Prime Minister's acrobatic versatility."

The *Evening News of India*, which welcomes this latest development, says that whether Mr. Gandhi stays in London and assists in framing an agreed convention on the control of finance and the safeguards against commercial discrimination will provide an acid test of the good faith of the Congress. The *Times of India* says that the Prime Minister's and Lord Sankey's action proves the British Government's sincere desire to bring the Conference to a complete and successful conclusion. It also says that India should appreciatively recognize the willingness of the Moslems and other minorities to depart in the national interests from the position they have hitherto stubbornly adopted.

THE RIOTS IN KASHMIR

MAHARAJAH OF BIKANER'S VIEWS

BIKANER, Nov. 17.—Reference to the recent troubles in the State of Kashmir was made here in a speech by the Maharajah of Bikaner.

The Maharajah said that whatever were the real facts of the situation, two things stood out beyond all controversy. First, there was the sympathetic and friendly attitude of the popular Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, and secondly, that, whatever the facts and inner history of the earlier happenings in Kashmir, there was incontestable evidence of outside agitation and of *jathas* (bands) from the neighbouring province of the Punjab wanting to force their way into that State. Troubles of such a nature would always be matters of grave and anxious concern to the Rulers, Governments, and peoples of every State, and grave consequences were bound to arise sooner or later if such an unfortunate condition of affairs was not put a stop to.

Rightly or wrongly, the Hindu-Moslem problem had loomed large in the Kashmiri troubles. Moslems were preponderant in the State of Kashmir, of which the ruler was a Hindu. Similarly, there were States of which the ruler was Moslem but the population largely Hindu. If such troubles had arisen in Kashmir on religious grounds or under the influence of communal or other feelings, surely the Moslem rulers of other States would be the last to feel any particular gratitude towards any outside people who might have been responsible for having stirred up religious fanaticism and hatred in Kashmir. Reuter.

THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

PROLONGATION OF SITTING

EUROPEANS' POLICY

The prolongation by some days of the sitting of the Round-Table Conference may be expected as a result of arrangements made at yesterday's meeting of the Federal Structure Committee at St. James's Palace. A number of delegates are now revising arrangements lately made to return to India by next week's mail steamer.

Much time was again spent yesterday on questions of procedure, and it was ascertained that the real, though not clearly expressed, ground for complaint on the previous day was that under the time-table the Prime Minister had indicated on Friday the work of the Committee would close without the presentation to the plenary Conference of reports upon the range of safeguards now under discussion. The fact that they all find some place in the reports adopted last winter seemed to be of little account to the objectors. Pandit Malaviya intimated that the reports India would await would be those on the Army, External Affairs, Commercial Discrimination, and Financial Administration. For his appeal for reports thereon there was ardent support from Mr. Benn, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (who said the matter was one of principle, not of detail), Mr. Lees-Smith, Mr. Sastri, and Mr. Jayakar. Both Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Sankey pointed out the difficulties of report-making on subjects on which "a very influential section of the Committee"—the Moslems—were reserving their opinions.

FOUR MORE REPORTS

Lord Sankey said he would do his best to make some sort of a report, although he could not promise detailed presentation as in previous reports. Lord Reading thought it a pity that there should be any idea in the minds of members of differences between the coming report and other reports before the Conference. After private conversation with Lord Reading, Sir Samuel Hoare, and Lord Lothian, Lord Sankey intimated that when the outstanding discussions were concluded he would start drafting four reports—one for each topic. The preparation of the documents would mean working night and day, but that could not be helped. So, once more, the Conference ship sailed into smooth waters.

On the question of Defence, Sir Akbar Hydari made a noteworthy supplement to the observations of the Nawab of Bhopal on the previous day on behalf of the States Delegation. He said that whether there should be a Minister of Defence, whether he should be an Indian or a European, whether he should be from the elected members of the Legislature—all these were questions which the States desired to leave for decision by the Crown, to which they would reserve full responsibility so long as defence was a Crown subject.

Mr. Benthall introduced the subject of Commercial Discrimination in a fully informed and conciliatory speech. He said the Europeans asked not for privilege, but for equal rights and for reciprocity. The real future prosperity of India depended upon the joint endeavours of Europeans and Indians.

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Mr. Jayakar expounded Indian national settlement. The Nawab of Bhopal declared without hesitation that the States were prepared to extend to Europeans equal rights with their own subjects, so long as they did not expect any discrimination in their favour in the matter of jurisdiction.

Nearly 40 signatures have been secured to a representation to the Prime Minister by delegates to the Conference relating to the coming Burma Round-Table Conference. It is suggested that the India Conference should be asked to nominate 10 representatives to the Burma Round Table.

** A summary of the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee appears on p. 6.

ROUND TABLE

WORK OF FEDERAL COMMITTEE

EUROPEANS' CASE FOR SAFEGUARDS

An official report of the proceedings at yesterday's meetings of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference was issued last night.

Before the general debate was resumed, SIR PROVASH CHUNDER MITTER said he had come to the conclusion that they would be serving no good purpose by prolonging those discussions. They must find out constitutional methods for countering direct action. The position in Bengal to-day was full of direct action—direct action by terrorists and direct action by those who followed Mahatmaji's lead. So far as the Bengal Hindus were concerned, he had no hesitation in saying that the prolongation of the Conference would not make them agree to anything near to what had been suggested by the different minorities. If they wanted to have peace, then so far as Bengal was concerned they could have peace by sending out a small Commission to find out the facts—a Commission of three British statesmen and associated with them a Moslem Judge and a Hindu Judge. Let there be, among others, two issues—one, how the interests of the Minorities could be safeguarded, and the other by what electoral methods conflict would grow less and less.

In reply to LORD READING and SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, SIR PROVASH CHUNDER MITTER said that, although he was interested in Bengal, his suggestion was not limited to that Province.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.—Then I think it is only fair that it should be put before us in a formal manner on behalf of the Government, and we should be given the chance of discussing this matter. I do not wish a question of this great importance to be raised in this indirect manner, specially with reference to Bengal, although it may affect the whole of the country.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr. JOSHI, continuing the general debate, dealt with the subject of Labour. He contended that the Provincial Legislatures should be empowered to legislate as well as to administer legislation on Labour questions. At the same time, the Federal Legislature should also have power to legislate on Labour matters, and the administration of legislation should be left to the States and to the Provinces with one reservation—namely, that the Federal Government should have power to spend money on matters which were dealt with by the Federal Legislature. Secondly, he proposed that the ratification of International Conventions should be a matter within the authority of the Federal Government and the Federal Legislature.

SIR AKBAR HYDARI said that, so far as Hyderabad was concerned, Mr. Joshi would not find very much difficulty in coming to some agreement with Hyderabad so as to safeguard the rights of Labour on purely humanitarian grounds.

Continuing, Sir Akbar Hydari said, in regard to defence, that the Nawab of Bhopal had read out a statement which represented the unanimous opinion of the Indian States Delegation. Whether there should be a Minister of Defence, whether he should be an Indian or a European, or either, whether he should be from the elected members of the Legislature or nominated by the Viceroy—all those were questions which they desired to leave for decision by the Crown, to which they reserved full responsibility as long as Defence was a Crown subject.

FUTURE PROCEDURE

Before the general debate was continued the question of the future course of the Committee and the Conference was again raised. PANDIT M. M. MALAVIYA urged that the work should go on, that the discussions there should be completed, a report prepared, discussed, and passed, and that then a date for the Plenary Conference should be fixed. Mr. BENN, Mr. LEES-SMITH, SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, and Mr. SASTRI supported the Pandit's appeal.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE.—The situation, as I see it, is that it is extremely difficult to say what kind of a report it will be until we have finished our discussions. That is my first point. My second point is that it is very difficult to make the same kind of report as we made last year when a very influential section of the Committee are reserving their opinion.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.—That fact can certainly go down in the report, that a very influential section of the Committee reserve their decision; but subject to that we must have a report. That is our submission.

LORD READING thought it a great pity that there should be any idea in the minds of any members of the Committee that there was going to be any difference drawn between the report which was to be presented now in regard to these matters and the reports which had hitherto been presented. The discussions had been very useful, and he did not think that too much time had been taken up, so far as he could judge. "I attach the greatest importance to the matters which we are at present discussing," Lord Reading added, "We all realize that these are very vital matters on which we must come to some conclusion. I think it is better to give those who have been invited to express their views the opportunity of doing so, and, therefore, I beg of you to treat this in the same way as the others."

After conferring with Lord Reading, Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Lothian, and the Civil servants, LORD SANKEY, the Chairman, suggested that they should go on with the discussion on Discrimination and Finance. When that discussion was finished, he would start drafting four reports—on the Army and Defence, External Relations, Commercial Discrimination, and Finance. After the Committee had discussed them, he would put them in proper order and send them to the Plenary Conference, which would then consider them.

RIGHTS OF EUROPEANS

SAFEGUARDS UNDER NEW CONSTITUTION

Mr. BENTHALL then opened the discussion on Discrimination. "The leaders of British commercial opinion," he said, "have in recent months made it quite clear on many occasions that they have no desire whatsoever to stand in the way of any legitimate aspirations of Indians or to impede India's constitutional advance on sound lines. We are just as anxious as anyone else for a successful outcome of this Conference, but it has been necessary for us, and still is necessary, to state that unless our rights are protected in the clearest and most unequivocal manner we must reserve our consent to the transfer of power, and that protection must be afforded in the Act itself; but let me add that if a solution can be found I feel quite confident that a great cloud will be cleared away between the two peoples and it may lead to a happy solution of the whole problem."

The problem divided itself, in their minds, into five sections. "The first of these is the substance of the trading rights of the British subjects in India. The second is the methods by which Indian trade can be assured of a fair deal. The third refers to trade relations between Great Britain and India. The fourth relates to the method of introducing an agreed solution into the Constitution. The fifth section concerns trading agreements between India and Burma, if Burma is separated, between Burma and Great Britain, between each individual State and Great Britain, and the internal problem between the States and Provinces of India. These last additional aspects do complicate the problem, and cannot in the long run be avoided. But once the first four points have been settled I feel confident that the rest will fall more easily into solution."

EQUITY AND RECIPROCITY

Their first claim to recognition, Mr. Benthall said, was based upon their past service and their established rights, which were part of the national economy. They were not demanding something new, but the retention of something which they already had; and no one would willingly allow himself to be deprived of something which he had justly earned and which he valued very highly. He thought they would agree with him that that was a fair claim. It seemed to him that if their two countries were to go hand in hand together in the future there could be no [illegible]

nations than the principle of equity and reciprocity.

Mr. BENTHALL, continuing his speech after the luncheon adjournment, said nothing that they asked for would prohibit the Government of India from treating any industry as a fit subject for nationalization or socialization. Should the new Legislature desire to adopt a policy on those lines they were quite prepared to admit that the Legislature should be in that respect master in its own house; but they would ensure that existing rights—for example, those under leases or licences—could be abrogated or cut down only on the terms that proper compensation was made to the holder. Further, a clause guaranteeing the right of property was, in their opinion, an essential feature of the new Constitution. Then again, it would be open for the Indian Legislature to assist any industry by direct financial assistance. They had, of course, no objection to a reasonable policy of that sort provided that no discrimination was exercised on racial lines or against one or two companies fulfilling the same functions.

A SUGGESTED CONVENTION

"When our delegates last year discussed a Convention," Mr. Benthall continued, "the British commercial community had in mind that it would be possible at this Conference to come to an agreement which would regulate not only the position of the British commercial community in India but also the trade relations between the two countries. We contemplate that if we can arrive at a commercial agreement on general principles between the two countries, not imposed but negotiated fully at this Conference, we should perhaps have established a bond between the two countries which would put the past months once and for all behind us and would enable the traders in both countries to get on with their work on a real basis of identity of interests.

"In our view the conclusion of such an agreement would be as much an act of constructive statesmanship in the economic sphere as the definition of political relationship between the two countries in the political sphere. We have always interpreted the clause in the Minorities Sub-Committee's Report as meaning what it says—namely, conventions based on reciprocity. Naturally, such a document would provide for most-favoured-nation treatment between the two countries—the minimum basis possible, of course, between two countries under the same Crown; but we also contemplate that the principle of Imperial preference will be affirmed."

COMPULSORY RESERVATION

Even at that eleventh hour it was not impossible that a general outline of agreement might be reached, and the legal drafting could be done later. They contemplated that, as a result of their discussions there, they should arrive at an agreement setting out in some detail the principle of non-discrimination and also covering trade relations between the two countries. They contemplated that the result of their discussions would be set forth in the form of an agreement as a schedule to the Act. Should any legislation of an objectionable kind be put forward directly or with intent to discriminate against Minorities, they assumed that the Governor-General would have exactly the same powers to deal with it in the case of British commercial rights as in the case of the rights of Minorities. He would have power to return a Bill for reconsideration and disallowance and reservation such as existed in all Dominion Constitutions. They contemplated further that legislation of a discriminatory nature or legislation calculated to injure the interest of any Minority would by a clause in the Act be compulsorily reserved for his Majesty's assent.

They thought, the speaker continued, that possibly legislation dealing with banks should be reserved. With regard to *de facto* discrimination against Minorities, they contemplated that the rights of Minorities should be most clearly set out in the provisions, and that the Governor-General should see that the spirit and letter of their rights were observed, and that whenever those rights were infringed appropriate action should be taken. Mr. Benthall concluded by urging that the best way by which they could arrive at a definite conclusion on this matter was by a continuance of informal discussions, possibly of a slightly wider nature than they had carried on hitherto. If they could not reach complete agreement on all the points he was quite satisfied that they could carry the measure of agreement reached a great deal farther than it was carried at the last Conference.

INDIAN OPINIONS

Mr. JAYAKAR assured Mr. Benthall that, speaking generally, public sentiment in India did not desire to make any racial discrimination as a general principle between one community and another. The speaker referred to the Nehru Committee's Report, which, he said, adopted an expedient which, he thought, it would be their duty in course of time to adopt, because he thought it furnished the lines along which a solution could be

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sought—namely, a clause with regard to fundamental rights and a definition clause indicating what they meant by a citizen. The Nehru Committee went as far as it was possible to go, because they practically admitted to citizenship every one who was lawfully resident in the Indian Commonwealth, or carrying on business in the territory.

Speaking generally, the principle of no discrimination was agreed to, but they all felt that there were special cases either of industries or of other public activities which might require special adjustment and special treatment, and all that they were anxious to ensure was that India should not barter away her rights to deal with those specific cases as they occurred, according to special circumstances. While recognizing the principle of no commercial discrimination, they were anxious to reserve for their future Government of India the freedom to make special adjustments in special cases in the case of industries which became important or were all-important at the present moment and might be described as key industries.

"A FORMULA"

Last year, Mr. Jayakar continued, it was thought better not to go into details, but to have a formula which stood midway between the two extreme positions. They pledged themselves to two characteristics of the Convention. The first was that the Convention was to work on the basis of reciprocity, and the second was that it was to be appropriate to all the circumstances of the case. The question of an ultimate commercial agreement between England and India was not germane to that discussion, and that question must wait until India was free. One difficulty he felt was that if they entered into a trade agreement and it was not ratified by the Legislature of the future, he did not know quite what would happen. They must therefore wait for a trade agreement between England on the one side and India on the other until the time came when they were put into a co-ordinate position to enter into an agreement with one another and until they were equal from the point of view of dealing with one another.

Mr. Jayakar went on to say that the future Government of India ought to have freedom to deal with every Member of the British Commonwealth on its own terms, and he did not want that freedom to be interfered with in any way by anything they did there. They were quite willing that residents of the United Kingdom should be covered by the formula, but it should not be extended to any other country outside the United Kingdom. He agreed with Mr. Benthall that it might be mentioned as a fundamental right that there should be no discrimination. He had also said that the Viceroy would have certain powers, as was the case in every Dominion. They would also have the Federal Court, and every citizen would have the right to take a case right up to the Federal Court and have it decided whether particular legislation offended against the principle of no discrimination. He asked Mr. Benthall, therefore, whether he did not consider it wise, having regard to all these things that we now provided—the Federal Court, the power of the Viceroy, the signification of his Majesty's pleasure—to be satisfied with this formula.

Mr. BENTHALL.—I would just say, in reply to Mr. Jayakar, that our protection must be in the Act and must be of such a nature as to afford us proper protection.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.—There is no dispute with regard to that.

Mr. BENTHALL.—I think this clause is too vaguely drafted to provide that.

Mr. JAYAKAR.—Sometimes it is wisdom to leave things vague.

Mr. BENTHALL.—I doubt if it would be in this case.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.—As one who had something to do with the drafting of this clause I admit it is vague and that it requires careful revision.

ATTITUDE OF THE STATES

The NAWAB of BHOPAL said he had no hesitation in saying that the States would gladly be prepared to extend to Europeans equal rights with their own subjects, so long as the Europeans did not expect any discrimination in their favour in the matter of jurisdiction and would submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the States.

SIR PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS said that the net result of what Mr. Benthall said struck him at any rate as indicating: "You shall not touch anything in which any Britisher is interested, and we want provision for it from now." "That," the speaker commented, "is a tall order, and, if I may say so, it is a demand which does not appear to me to be justified." He asked Mr. Benthall to consider whether the restrictions which he had indicated did not practically amount to shackles on the development of India commercially and industrially—shackles which had no parallel in any other country or in any other British Dominion.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas had not completed his speech when the Committee adjourned till to-day.

ROUND TABLE

PROTRACTION OF SITTINGS

SAFEGUARDS FOR COMMERCE

The confident expectation in well-informed circles from the first assembling of the second session of the Round-Table Conference that it would extend into the month of December now seems certain of fulfilment. Yesterday the Federal Structure Committee meeting at St. James's Palace did not finish the consideration of the question of commercial discrimination, and it does not assemble for what will be its fiftieth meeting since the Conference met last winter until Tuesday morning. The delicate subject of financial safeguards has still to be considered, and later the Committee is to be called together to go through the four draft reports promised by Lord Sankey.

At best, therefore, the plenary sittings of the Conference will not begin until the end of next week; and it is probable that this final stage will not begin before Monday, November 30. Some members are postponing their passage to Bombay, arranged to start from Marseilles next Friday, for a fortnight.

Lord Sankey explained the long adjournment by intimating that he could not be present either to-day or on Monday. There will be a Cabinet meeting to-day, when Indian policy is expected to be among the matters under consideration. The Prime Minister has been giving as much attention as possible to the subject during recent days, and has had conversations with the Nawab of Bhopal, Mr. Gandhi, the Aga Khan, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and other leaders. The few days' interval will be useful in the opportunity given for informal discussions between the delegates.

LORD READING'S SPEECH

There was no "stop-watch and Bradshaw" method, as Mr. Benn will have noted, in yesterday's discussion. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas finished his speech, and there were four others. Sir Purshotamdas criticized the proposal for a reciprocal agreement, arguing that India had little to gain from it. It seemed to him that the proposition of the Europeans was "What is mine is mine; what is thine is ours jointly." Lord Reading's statement in a speech at once constructive and conciliatory, that on the general principle of no discrimination there was very little difference between both sides, secured the acquiescence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Lord Reading claimed that the encouragement of Indian industry could be secured entirely on non-racial lines. He urged that any convention should not be postponed until the new Constitution came in, but should be concluded by consent as soon as possible.

Mr. Gandhi made one of his perplexing and largely irrelevant speeches. He could not agree to the formula settled in the last session, nor commit the Congress to it. He could not even agree that the rights of all Indian-born subjects should be guaranteed.

The speeches are summarized on page 7.

TRADE SAFEGUARDS IN INDIA

EUROPEANS' CLAIMS

DISCUSSION AT ROUND TABLE

The official report of yesterday's meetings of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference was issued last night. When the Committee met in the morning the discussion on Commercial Discrimination, initiated by Mr. Benthall on Wednesday, was resumed.

SIR PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS, Lord Chancellor, continuing his speech from yesterday, referred to the passage in the Government of India dispatch concerning safeguards against commercial injustice, and said that he agreed that the strictest provision should be made either in the Statute or in any other manner which the British Government might think necessary to ensure that no injustice would be done to the British interest, *qua* British interest.

But he wished to ask whether a policy desirable in the national interest should be held back because a British national was one of those affected by it. Such a policy would not be held back if an Indian national were affected by it. Thus the demand put forward by Mr. Benthall seemed to amount to something unwarranted, not to use a stronger word. Were the British in India not yet prepared to identify themselves with the interests of India first, second, and last, even though they were assured that no injustice should be done to them as British or as non-nationals? He thought it unfortunate that they could not spare the time now to have the matter thrashed out in sub-committees or by private negotiations. If no settlement could be arrived at at that Conference, he wished to ask in all seriousness: Was it likely that a better settlement would be arrived at in the future? Delegates ought not to be allowed to leave London without they had settled this question in a manner in which alone it could be settled to-day.

As for trade relations between Great Britain and India, he would stake all his experience against the likelihood of India under a self-governing Government building up enormous tariff walls immediately against imports from abroad, and perhaps including imports from Great Britain. But, at the same time, he would point out that so far as trade with Great Britain was concerned, reciprocity would be of little or no value to India. What had India to gain from Great Britain's reciprocation in the way which Mr. Benthall had indicated? In spite of the relations between Great Britain and India during the last 100 years at least there was no Indian house or firm established in Great Britain which did commercial business with India on a scale which could be computed in any respectable proportion to what was being done by British houses. Mr. Benthall was asking India to come into a partnership which had no precedent or parallel. It would put a brake on the economic advancement of India, impose an irredeemable mortgage on the economic improvement of the country and render all improvement of political status such as was envisaged by the Conference completely nugatory. His earnest appeal was that they should trust the Legislature and rely on the powers vested in the Governor-General in the ordinary course.

LORD READING'S VIEW

LORD READING said that he had been impressed by the statements on both sides of the case, but nobody could have listened to the discussions which had taken place without realizing that in truth on the broad question of principle, which was, after all, the vital matter, there was no difference of opinion. He wanted, therefore, to take first the broad question and then to deal with the difficulties that arose on it. As he understood it, everybody at the Table recognized the general principle that in trade, commerce, and industry no distinction should be made, either in legislation or in administration, between Indian and British subjects or between Indian and British corporate bodies. He gathered that there would be no difficulty, therefore, in arriving at the proper formula upon that subject. There had been a number of attempts to reach a formula, and they eventually reached the formula which was now on page 49 of the Report. It had been said that that was a vague formula. He agreed that it was neither specific nor precise, but to his mind it had advantages in that respect because it was elastic. He was more disposed to the formula of general application than to dealing with specific instances, and although he did not for a moment suggest that the formula was perfect, yet it had the merit and it was a great [illegible] at that moment of receiving the assent of everybody except, if he remembered aright, that of Mr. Jinnah.

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He was also impressed by the reference to the Nehru Report, in which it was stated that it was quite inconceivable that there should be anything in the nature of discriminatory legislation. Therefore, it being inconceivable, there could not be any objection, so far as they could, to making provision for possibilities. The definition of "citizen" as amended in the Nehru Report was: "A person who, being a subject of the Crown, carries on business or resides in India." There were two difficulties with regard to that to which he wished to draw attention. One difficulty was that the definition would not cover, in relation to business, either firms or corporate bodies. He understood, however, that there was no objection to that—and, indeed, Mr. Jayakar had said quite frankly that he drew no distinction between a company and a corporation. The second difficulty was that of the implication in the definition that in order to become a citizen of India a person must cease to be a citizen of this country. That was fatal from the British point of view. If the definition was to be used in any way there must be the further amendment to it that if a man became a citizen of India it did not involve the giving up of his citizenship in Great Britain or the United Kingdom.

Another point which ought to be cleared up, Lord Reading continued, was the position of those who were not resident in India but who were carrying on business in India. Was he right in taking it that there would be no discrimination against such?

Mr. JAYAKAR.—"Either carries on business or is resident."

LORD READING.—Yes, but that does not answer my point. I may read that and I do read it to mean that if a man is living here and carrying on business in India there is to be no distinction. Is that also what Mr. Jayakar means?

Mr. JAYAKAR.—Yes.

LORD READING.—If I may put it perfectly clearly suppose A is living in this country and is trading with India. He is carrying on business in India but he is not resident there. As I understand it there is to be no discrimination against him any more than against a person resident in India. Is that right?

Mr. JAYAKAR.—Yes.

LORD READING.—That makes the position sufficiently plain for me and I accept that. It brings us to this, that certainly, in general, it is not intended that there shall be any discriminatory legislation or administration against British subjects. I understand that to be admitted. The only question is therefore how we are to put that as a formula to give proper protection.

"UNDUE" COMPETITION

Lord Reading said that he still felt some difficulty in reference to what was called undue competition. As he understood from what Mr. Jayakar said, his view was that if there was undue competition of a powerful company against a small company that was trying to make its way, then there were special circumstances which could be dealt with in a special way. He hoped that that would not be persisted in, because to his mind it was the danger-spot in the whole of the discussion which was proceeding. It was a real danger for the reason that when Indian politicians spoke of anything in the nature of special circumstances in that connexion they were not thinking of discriminatory legislation by that name, but in fact there might be discriminatory legislation in the sense that a powerful British concern could be penalized in order that an Indian concern might flourish. If that was what was meant then he would oppose that root and branch. He thought it fundamentally wrong in principle. They were obviously entitled to legislate against unfair competition, but if it was merely unfair because the concern happened to have achieved its great and powerful influence either by its capital or by its reputation or by the associations that it had made, then obviously they could not attempt and they ought not to attempt to legislate against it.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.—Would that stand in the way of the Indian Legislature taking special measures to give encouragement to Indian industries by protection or bounty?

LORD READING.—To the indigenous trade of course it would not. I gather that what is meant is that a trading body doing particular things would get the benefit of the bounty. It would not make any difference whether it was Indian or British.

Lord Reading concluded by saying that the only question now remaining was the method by which the rights he had spoken of were to be secured. He would prefer, if they could get it, a convention by agreement. He would object strongly to a convention which had to be passed by the new Legislative Council or Assembly after the Constitution had been granted. To his mind it was essential that this should form part of the Constitution. If they could not have such a convention, then it would be necessary to have clauses in the Act with reference to regulations, or whatever they might be termed, which would have to take the place of the convention, and which again he would put into a schedule of the Act and therefore give statutory effect. And, further, he would have put under the Statute power to the Governor-General and not only the power ut the obligation to protect minorities [illegible]

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, who spoke next, suggested that they should stand by the formula evolved last year, and that Mr. Benthall and those whom he represented should consider whether it would not be wise in their interests to supplement it by a proper and carefully devised definition of citizenship which would give them the same status as Indian-born subjects of the King for the purpose of trade, business, and commerce in India. The definition of citizenship in the Nehru Report was not intended in the slightest degree to encroach upon the rights of citizenship which belonged to Englishmen by their birth. It might, however, be urged that there was room for improvement in the language.

The basic principle of the discussion, Sir Tej continued, was that there should be no discrimination whatsoever. At the same time, he held that it was by no means inconsistent with that principle that India should have liberty to encourage, foster, and support her own industries. As for two further guarantees asked for by Mr. Benthall, the guarantee that the sanctity of contract should be observed and the guarantee for their rights of property, he would refer Mr. Benthall again to the words of the Nehru Report in this regard.

DEMANDS OF AUTONOMY

SIR PHIROZE SETNA said that Indians had no desire whatever to injure the legitimate interests of the European commercial community. On the contrary, provided there was a satisfactory political settlement, Indians would welcome European capital and skill in the development of India's resources. He thought it was a mistake to treat the question as one of racial or commercial discrimination. There was no discrimination. There was only a matter of equalization. There was common ground that in the past Europeans had had far wider scope than Indian merchants. Therefore if in the future government of India subsidies were given to Indian organizations exception should not be taken to that.

It did not mean that they had any desire to discriminate against Europeans or British traders in India. All it meant was that they could not forgo the unqualified right in any way, to shape economic policy in the interests of Indian nationals. If at any time they did so, it could only be in very exceptional cases; and if Europeans claimed that this power should not rest with the Legislature and desired the right to appeal to another tribunal, such as the Supreme Court or the Federal Court, he did not think any sensible Indian would oppose such an application. Indians could not possibly accept the principle that the autonomy of a self-governing India should in the matter of commercial policy be in any way inferior to that of other free people. whether free as an independent nation or a self-governing Dominion.

MR. GANDHI'S FORMULA

Mr. GANDHI, having offered his congratulations to Mr. Benthall on a "very temperate statement," said that he had endeavoured to study the resolution passed at the last Conference, but he was sorry to have to dissent from it. He was therefore delighted yesterday when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru readily admitted that it was vague and that it was susceptible of improvement. According to the resolution there was to be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India, and the rights of Indian-born subjects. That was a terrific thing and he could not possibly commit the Congress to a resolution of that character, much less commit the future Government of India. He could not even endorse the formula that the rights of all Indian-born subjects themselves could even be guaranteed or equal.

But he wished to associate himself completely with the British merchants and European houses in their legitimate demand that there should be no racial discrimination. He would therefore suggest a formula somewhat in the terms:—

> No disqualification not suffered by Indian-born citizens of the State shall be imposed upon any persons lawfully residing in or entering India merely on the ground of race, colour, or religion.

There would be no discrimination in this formula against a single British national or for that matter against a single European. The grounds that would be applicable to them for discrimination would be also the grounds for discrimination against Indian-born citizens. He had another formula also in connexion with existing rights:—

> No existing interest legitimately acquired, and not being in conflict with the best interests of the nation in general, shall be interfered with except in accordance with the law applicable to such interests.

What he had in mind here was the Congress resolution in connexion with the taking over by the incoming Government of obligations that were being to-day discharged by the British Government. There was no question of repudiation, but merely of taking over under examination, under audit. Some of them had made a study also of the privileges and the monopolies enjoyed by both Europeans and certain Indians. All of these, too, that had not been "legitimately acquired" would be taken away. Every such interest must have been righteous and above suspicion, and the law would be no respecter of persons.

CRIMINAL TRIALS

Up to now, Mr. Gandhi continued, no one had said a word in connexion with two lines which appeared at the end of the resolution—namely, "It was agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained." He could not possibly be a party to such reservations. All the communities to-day who would be the future Indian nation must start with good will and mutual trust or not at all. If they were told there must be all those reservations it would not be liberty and responsible government, but it would be all safeguards. Safeguards would eat away the whole of the Government. Therefore he appealed to the Europeans to withdraw this idea of safeguarding their rights. He ventured to suggest that the two formulas he had put forward should be adopted. If the wording was not satisfactory they might suggest some other wording. But outside those formulas of a negative character, whereby there was no bar sinister placed against them, he ventured to say that they ought not to ask for more.

CITIZENSHIP

Referring to the definition of citizenship, Mr. Gandhi said that he would like the Committee to realize that the Nehru Report was to-day a back number. It was based upon the idea that they were to have Dominion status, but the Congress had taken several strides further. The definition of a citizen was a terrific job. He could not possibly undertake on the spur of the moment to present what would commend itself to the Congress or what would commend itself to him. Therefore, he would simply say, in connexion with the word "citizen," that he reserved his opinion on the definition entirely for the time being.

He did not despair of finding a common formula that would satisfy the Europeans, but he could not think of any detailed scheme which could be incorporated in the Constitution. What would be incorporated in the Constitution was some formula around which all kinds of rights could arise. There was no conception in it of doing anything administratively. He had expressed his own hope in connexion with the Federal and Supreme Court, and the law taught them that there was absolutely no wrong for which there was no remedy to be found in a Court of law. He, therefore, thought that the Europeans might rest assured that the future Federal Court would not send them away empty handed.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU asked Mr. Gandhi whether he proposed that the National Government of the future should examine and investigate the title of property of every one, and by what machinery.

Mr. GANDHI.—If you will give me permission I will certainly answer those questions, which are very legitimate questions. I have really given my view. So far as I understand, it is not intended that the Administration should do the thing; everything that is done will be above board.

As soon as Mr. Gandhi had concluded the meeting was adjourned, Lord Sankey announcing that it would meet again on Tuesday, when Pandit Malaviya would continue the discussion on Discrimination.

Judgment was postponed at the Central Criminal Court yesterday on Henry George Williams, 19, a student, of Tooting, who pleaded "Guilty" to endeavouring to obtain £38 by means of a forged telegraph money order.

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NOVEMBER 21, 1931

MOSLEM POLICY AT ROUND TABLE

THE DELHI RESOLUTIONS

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, Nov. 20

The full text of the resolutions passed by the All-India Moslem Conference at its meeting in Delhi was issued this morning. The resolution on the Moslem delegates' decision at the Round-Table Conference runs as follows :—

The Working Committee considers that the participation of Moslem members in the proceedings of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee before a satisfactory solution of the communal question is inconsistent with the directions of this Conference, and it warns the Moslem members that this Committee will refuse to share responsibility for any conclusions which may be reached on subjects on which the Moslem Conference has expressed no definite views.

A second resolution declares that the representation of the Moslems in the Punjab and Bengal should not have been reduced so low as 51 per cent., and adds that representation should be on the basis of population. Demands are made for the complete and unconditional se[illegible]ation of Sind and for a fully elected Legislature for the Frontier Province.

A long resolution on Kashmir begins with an expression of "heartfelt sympathy to the poor defenceless Moslems of Kashmir, on whom untold cruelties have been perpetrated." The efforts of Punjabi Moslems to support their brethren in Kashmir are described as an unrivalled achievement. Demands are made for the immediate implementing of the Maharajah's announcement and the withdrawal by the Government of India of the Kashmir *jatha* Ordinance, with the release of all prisoners arrested under its authority. "The British Government are hereby warned," the resolution adds, "that they shall be responsible for all the consequences which may ensue if Kashmiri Moslems are again left to the mercy of Dogra troops."

In political circles this afternoon the opinion was freely expressed that the danger lies not so much in the attitude of the Working Committee itself as in the effect the resolutions are likely to have on the situation in the Punjab, where feeling is already running high.

The overwhelming majority of those here who have hitherto been the most sympathetic towards the Moslem claims regard the resolutions as a mixture of obstruction, provocativeness, and sheer stupidity ; but it is no use disguising the fact that they will go down well in the Lahore bazaars and other whispering galleries of the Punjab. The Moslems are in that frame of mind when they refuse to listen to argument or advice from outsiders, and the real need at the moment is for the responsible leaders of the community, both here and in London, to take their courage in their hands and lead their people back to reason.

NOVEMBER 23, 1931

INDIAN ROUND TABLE

THE FINAL STAGES

COMMITTEE REPORTS NEARLY READY

The last stages of the second session of the Indian Round-Table Conference can now be foreseen with tolerable accuracy. The Federal Structure Committee reassembles to-morrow morning, when a brief statement by Pandit M. M. Malaviya will probably close the debate on commercial discrimination. The way should thus be cleared before noon for the last subject on the agenda—that of the financial safeguards. And here the wisdom of Lord Sankey's warning against prolonged and detailed discussion is widely recognized. Existing world conditions in economics and finance do not provide an appropriate time for fervent debate on the extent to which in the transitional period financial policy must be under the control of the Governor-General ; nor is there, of course, any disposition in responsible British quarters to modify the series of safeguards broadly laid down at the first session of the Conference.

The discussion, in fact, might well be completed on Wednesday, and then all that would remain for the Committee would be to consider the draft reports which Lord Sankey has had under preparation. These reports may be expected to go through quickly, owing not merely to the pressure of time, but also to Lord Sankey's custom of informal consultation on specific points with members specially interested in them. The reports will be simplified by the absence of Moslem contributions since their decision to take no part in them while the communal issue remains open.

Since Friday is to be marked by the ceremonial opening of the Burma Conference by the Prince of Wales it is thought not unlikely that the first meeting of the plenary session of the Indian Conference will be held on Saturday—this being the first occasion in the history of the Conference of a Saturday sitting. It is hoped that the Prime Minister will make his concluding speech on the afternoon of Tuesday, December 1, or at latest on the following morning.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

During the interval in the work of the Federal Structure Committee, the fears and anxieties of Hindu Liberals and other Nationalists with regard to Government policy have been increased by the action of the Conservative India Committee in sending a deputation to the Prime Minister to ask for certain assurances as to informing the House of Commons of decisions that may be taken on the communal question. Nor do they show any sign of weakening in the determination, announced a fortnight ago, to oppose the idea of legislation for intermediate provincial autonomy. This attitude will be maintained no matter to what extent "hostages" may be given of working towards federation with all reasonable speed in the shape of unequivocal assurances in the preamble of the Bill or otherwise. The Hindu Liberals and the Nationalist groups are frankly distrustful of the outlook and intentions of a large proportion of the Conservative majority. In this connexion it is to be remembered that the Hindu "realists" were moulded in the pattern of the traditional British Liberalism of half a century ago, and that ancient political prejudices which [illegible] relation to present-day conditions have a strong hold upon them. But, this consideration apart, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his friends argue that provincial autonomy must be an unreal shadow while the central Government remains responsible to the Secretary of State for India and not to the Indian Legislature. They hold that there would be no place for them under such conditions in public life.

On the other hand there are warm and influential friends of the Federal solution who are convinced that, if the psychology of such opinions did not blur the issue, the intermediate establishment of provincial autonomy would best pave the way to Federation. They meet the practical objection entertained by some competent Indian observers that autonomous provinces might attempt to bargain and lay down conditions for entering the Federation, or reserve the right to contract out, by the answer that due statutory provision could be made against such action. And they point to a large amount of detailed work—including negotiations with the individual States—to be carried on by Government and by committees of the Conference in this country and in India as an indication of the relatively long time that must elapse before Federation can be brought into being, even though there is no avoidable delay.

ROUND TABLE FOR BURMA

SEPARATION ISSUES

The sittings of the Burma Round Table Conference, which will be opened by the Prince of Wales next Friday, will be dovetailed into those of its Indian prototype with the least possible delay. The delegates from Burma have been in London since the early part of the month, and have had informal talks with delegates of what may be termed the parent Conference. The meeting at the smaller Round Table is for the purpose of "seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement regarding the future Constitution of Burma and the relations of Burma with India."

At the first session of the Indian Round Table a year ago a sub-committee was appointed under the chairmanship of the late Earl Russell, then Under-Secretary of State for India, to consider the conditions which would enable Burma to be separated from India on equitable terms, and to recommend the best way for securing this end. The sub-committee prefaced its report with a suggestion that his Majesty's Government should make a public announcement that the principle of separation from India was accepted, and that the prospects of constitutional advance toward responsible government held out to Burma as part of British India would not be prejudiced by separation. Two members from other provinces, Mr. Mody and Mr. Shiva Rao, desired it to be recorded that they could not endorse this recommendation without qualification. When the Report was "noted" by the Conference some other members from India proper pressed for further consideration before any action was taken. When the Prime Minister adjourned the Conference on January 19 he stated that the Government would pursue the decisions of the sub-committee and make the necessary inquiries concerning the conditions upon which the separation was to take place.

This announcement was amplified in two important particulars by the Secretary of State for India (Mr. Benn) in the House of Commons on the following day. He stated that the constitutional objective after separation would remain "the progressive realization of responsible government in Burma as an integral part of the Empire"—thus applying to the country the precise words of the famous Declaration of August 20, 1917. The second statement was that

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the Government would take such steps toward the framing, in consultation with public opinion in Burma, of a new Constitution as might be found most convenient and expeditious, their object being "that the new Constitutions for India and Burma shall come into force as near as may be simultaneously."

THE FINANCIAL ASPECT

Expeditious action was much hampered by the long persistence of a rebellion which broke out last December in the Tharrawaddy district under the leadership of a pretender to the Burmese throne. This kept the Government of Burma preoccupied for some months. Nevertheless a good deal of preparatory work was done, and effect was given to the recommendation of Earl Russell's sub-committee that the difficult and technical question of financial settlement should be thoroughly explored by experts. The work was referred to Sir Henry Howard, a former Secretary of the Financial Department at Delhi, for the Burmese Government, and to Mr. J. C. Nixon, I.C.S., Accountant-General, for the Government of India.

The only outstanding point of disagreement between these experts was that they made separate proposals on what would, in the event of separation, be a fair division of existing obligations concerning pensionary charges. Regarding the public debt they remarked that neither the history of the unproductive debt nor elements in its recent growth afforded any basis for its apportionment between India and Burma. It was therefore suggested that the debt should be divided in the proportion which the total revenues, central and provincial, of Burma at the time of separation bore to those of British India as a whole. Burma should undertake to pay the Government of India from the date of separation the interest on the outstanding debt, plus her share of the central pension charges. The experts advised that Burma should have the liberty after due notice to introduce a separate currency system of its own, either at the time of separation or later, but it would not be necessary to settle in advance the arrangements for currency management adopted in Burma while she still retained the use of Indian currency.

THREE PARTIES

The first session of the Indian Conference included four delegates from Burma who were unanimous in asking for separation, and, on the tacit understanding that it would be granted, took little or no part in the general discussions on Federation. The second session of the Conference has included no delegates from Burma. The composition of the Burmese membership of the impending smaller Conference was criticized by malcontents, who held that it was not truly representative of Burma, and there was also much complaint that no Burmese woman delegate was included. It was argued that, as the purpose of the Conference was to frame a Constitution for Burma, this should be the business of the Burmese people, not of minority communities such as Europeans, Indians, and Chinese. As constituted, however, well over half the delegation represents Burmans, using the term in its most exclusive sense.

That section of the delegation which is taken to represent Burma is split into at least three parties—namely, Separationists, Anti-Separationists, and Home Rulers. Apparently the first would get rid of India at all costs. The second are not rightly labelled; they have no particular love of India, but would use her to squeeze out better terms by entering the Federation in the first instance with the intention of contracting out when it happened to suit their convenience. Entry on those terms would not, to say the least, tend to the stability of Federation; since, if Burma could contract out, why not Assam, or indeed any province of Peninsular India? The wishes of the third section are not clearly stated. Sometimes they seem to desire independent [illegible] Home Rule, sometimes a mixture of the two.

One thing can be said with certainty: were the delegation as a whole to scrap side issues and pull together, the framing of an acceptable Constitution for Burma, given due adjustments with India, would be a fairly simple matter. There are factions in Burma, but there is no communal strife; there are no sovereign States and no millions of depressed classes to complicate the political situation.

The delegation from Burma numbers 23, or rather more than one-fourth of the number from India at the parent conference, which has admittedly suffered from unwieldiness. Among the nominees are the Sawbwa (ruler) of Hsipaw, a Northern Shan State with an area of 4,400 sq. miles, and the Sawbwa of Yaunghee, a Southern Shan State with an area of 1,345 sq. miles. They also include the four representatives of Burma at the first session of the Indian Conference, Mr. M. M. Ohn Ghine, Sir Oscar de Glanville, U Ba Pe and U Aung Thin. The interests of Indians in Burma are represented by two barristers, Mr. N. M. Cowasjee and Mr. S. N. Haji, now manager of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. The great part which British capital and enterprise have played in the development of Burma is reflected by the membership of Mr. Kenneth Harper, general manager in India for the Burmah Oil Company, and Mr. R. B. Howison, general manager in the East of Messrs. Steel Bros. and Co., Ltd., who have wide and varied interests in Burma. Two members represent the interests of the Karens.

The chairman of the Conference is Lord Peel. The Conservative Party delegates are Lord Winterton and Mr. J. S. Wardlaw Milne; the Liberal Party delegates are Lord Mersey and Mr. Isaac Foot; and the Labour Party delegates Mr. G. H. Hall and Major Graham Pole. The latter lost his seat at the General Election, but following the precedent of the Opposition Labour representation in the parent Conference, this will not affect his membership. Mr. D. T. Monteath, of the India Office, is the Secretary-General of the Conference.

One of the last announcements of the late Labour Government, issued on August 21, was that the Conference was to assemble at some date in November to discuss the lines of a Constitution for a separated Burma. It was added that when the results of its deliberations were known there would be an opportunity for a review of the whole position by all the parties concerned before any final adoption and proposal to Parliament by his Majesty's Government of measures to carry out their provisional decision in favour of separating Burma from India.

Reuter's Agency understands that there will be one woman delegate to the Burma Round-Table Conference. She is Miss May Aung, and she will represent the women of Burma.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

DIVERGENT VIEWS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Such federal Constitutions as we know have all arisen by a process of natural evolution. Definite political entities which have reached a fairly uniform political level voluntarily decide to federate, and after prolonged discussion among their ablest leaders agree to a specific transfer of their own powers to a central Government. This and a Customs union have been the postulates of federation, supplying the base on which a formal Constitution can be built.

In the case of India all such precedents have to be abandoned. The federating units still remain to be decided, and some of those suggested are clearly unsuitable. We have no means of knowing what powers the older provinces, each far larger in population than any Dominion of the Empire, are prepared to confer upon a federal Government, or whether they are willing, as they would be called upon to do, to finance impecunious new States created to serve political objects.

In the absence, however, of such and more essential data, the Round-Table Conference, after discussions extending over several months, are on the way to produce a paper Constitution unlike anything the civilized world has known, the whole depending upon the settlement at some future date of the vital principles on which the entire structure must depend. The process can only be likened to constructing a modern building without either foundations or the steel framework which holds it together. While crucial matters remain in the air, the draft Constitution deals freely with such details as the allotment of seats to Delhi, Ajmer, Coorg, and British Baluchistan, areas obviously unfit to become units in any federation, while gravely prescribing that some form of oath ("the formula" requiring "careful consideration") should be taken by the members of the Federal Legislature.

This constitution, as sketched, is founded on the shifting sands of assumptions, which may prove to be unrealizable. Thus it seems to be taken for granted that Indian India, with 562 States differing widely in most respects, can be incorporated with British India "in some manner, which it will be easier to determine when the varying groups have been constituted"! In truth, India is at present quite unready to fall into any federal scheme, even if the Indian States should finally decide to federate. Those which depend on the Customs for the great part of their revenue will certainly refuse, unless British India consents to compensate them, which British India is most unlikely to do, while an Indian State whose ruler is still a minor cannot decide its fate until he attains full age.

None of the conditions necessary for drafting a constitution at present exists. Unless the whole of Indian India should decide to federate after being made aware of the many implications, Lord Reading's willingness to contemplate "responsible government at the centre" falls to the ground. Until the crucial question of minorities is finally settled, systems of election and the allocation of seats cannot be laid down; and, even when these important matters are settled, the excessively complicated question of financial resources and relations, on which the practical realization of this very expensive federation depends, will still remain to be exhaustively examined, which, in Lord Peel's view, would require a year.

For these and other reasons, the draft recently made public can only be regarded as a *ballon d'essai*. We need not, therefore, criticize it in detail. It is enough to point out that it contemplates (1) immense illiterate electorates, unknown to any previous federation; (2) a qualification for membership in the Federal Legislature which, as the Simon Report has explained, implies no more than the ability to discriminate between an elephant and an umbrella on a voting paper, while attaching some vague political significance to both; and (3) an absence of the safeguards which Lord Reading and other British delegates have pronounced to be indispensable.

As regards the constitution of the Federal High Court, we note that no agreement has been reached on the Congress demand that it must be the final court of appeal for India. We think it practically impossible that the interpretation of a British Act of Parliament, which might gravely affect the interests of minorities, of British residents, and of the nation and Empire, should be left to the final decision of an Indian Court.

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In these circumstances, which we have described as briefly as possible, we strongly urge that the framing of a constitution for India should be deferred at least until these fundamental questions have been finally settled. It must be clear that, as matters now stand, there is nothing upon which a federation of India can be based.

We remain, Sir, yours, &c.,

SUMNER.	GEORGE MACMUNN.
SYDENHAM.	CHARLES OMAN.
GREENWAY.	AUSTEN HADOW.
CLAUD JACOB.	LOUIS STUART.
ALFRED KNOX.	O. C. G. HAYTER.
REGINALD CRADDOCK	WARIS AMEER ALI.
MICHAEL O'DWYER.	

November 20.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—At this critical moment, when statements made by his Majesty's Ministers in the Indian Round-Table Conference have brought some hope of a successful issue, we wish to recall the statement made on behalf of the late Government at the close of the first session of the Conference last January :—

> "The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights."

It is our conviction that this country intends to adhere to this commitment and that public opinion will support the National Government in upholding and implementing it.

We are, &c.,

KATHLEEN D. COURTNEY	F. W. NORWOOD
G. LOWES DICKINSON	J. H. OLDHAM
H. W. FOX	A. MAUDE ROYDEN
G. P. GOOCH	KENNETH SAUNDERS
A. HERBERT GRAY	EDWARD THOMPSON
HAROLD J. LASKI	FRANCIS YOUNG-HUSBAND
A. D. LINDSAY	

SECOND CHAMBERS IN INDIA

LANDLORDS' SUBMISSION

The Maharajah of Darbhanga and the Rajah of Bobbili have circulated to their fellow-delegates to the Round-Table Conference a memorandum on the need for Second Chambers in the Provinces under the new Constitution.

It is recalled that a sub-committee of the first Session of the Conference reported that the decision to incorporate a Second Chamber in the new Constitution of any Province, other than Bengal, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa (where opinion in favour of a Second Chamber had already been expressed) should not be taken until opinion in the Province definitely favoured that course. The signatories of the memorandum remark that the size and population of the Indian provincial units afford the best argument against the proposal of the sub-committee. It is inconceivable that at the threshold of a new era of great constitutional reform the affairs of provinces with populations ranging from 20,000,000 to 45,000,000 should be left to the untrammelled control of a Single Chamber.

Giving the reason why landlords, among others, require a Second Chamber in the Provinces when they have already demanded special representation in the popularly elected Chamber, the memorandum states:—"The reason is obvious. Because the claim for special representation in the popular Chamber arises out of a desire on their part, not indeed to affect by their own vote the decisions of that House, but to have their case properly presented for consideration by the members of that body. The landlords realize that they cannot have by special representation in the popularly elected Chamber such number of members as can in any way influence the actual voting on matters in which they are interested. Also, before a question comes up before the Second Chamber it is highly essential that every effort should be made for the Lower Chamber to appreciate the special point of view of landlords. If that point of view is ignored or brushed aside by the Lower Chamber, then one real safeguard can only consist in the revising or suspensory powers of the Second Chamber. . . .

"It has to be specially explained that Second Chambers in the Provinces do not help the interests of the landlords only. They serve to an equal extent all those special interests like the Universities, Labour, and commerce. And thus the Second Chambers tend to ensure the rights and privileges of the important minorities."

Mrs. Subbarayan has circulated a memorandum on the representation of women in the Indian Legislature. In one important respect she differs from the Begum Shah Nawar and Mrs. Naidu, her two women colleagues. She holds that for a considerable time until the public becomes sufficiently educated, it is extremely unlikely that women will be returned in India through the ordinary poll; and she claims that there is considerable support in India for the view that some special provision is necessary.

KASHMIR AGITATION IN THE PUNJAB

MOSLEM LEADER'S WARNING

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, Nov. 23

Sir Muhammad Yakub, a former President of the Legislative Assembly, has issued a message on Kashmir to Moslems in the Punjab as secretary of the Moslem League.

A new chapter, Sir Muhammad Yakub states, has opened with the Maharajah's proclamation and the initiation of the Glancy-Middleton Commissions, and he continues:—"I feel it to be my duty to warn the leaders of the Ahrar movement against the dangers to which a continuance of the *jatha* activities is likely to expose the welfare of Kashmiri Moslems." He suggests that there is a danger of embroiling the *jathas* in a clash with British troops and alienating the sympathy of the Government of India and the British Government, and he points out that the continuance of the movement does not form a proper background for an impartial inquiry. Fresh incursions of *jathas* are also likely to "give a handle to evil advisers of the Maharajah in inducing him to go back on his announcement and postpone reforms."

This is the first warning issued to the Moslems by a responsible leader urging that they should bring the agitation to an end.

The Moslem League has been meeting during the last two days and has been busy passing resolutions similar to those of the All-India Moslem Conference, expressing alarm at the course of events at the Round-Table Conference, and warning the British Cabinet against "succumbing to the extravagant claims of Mr. Gandhi, which will result in placing the Moslems and the other minorities at the mercy of an aggressive and uncompromising majority."

ROUND-TABLE PROBLEMS

WINDING UP THE SESSION

A COMMONS DEBATE?

POLICY OF THE CABINET

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

The Prime Minister devoted a large part of yesterday to the Indian problem. Accompanied by the Secretary of State for India and Lord Sankey (as Chairman of the Federal Structure Committee), he gave interviews at different times of the day to the Aga Khan, Sardar Ujjal Singh, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Ambedkar, and Sir Annepu Patro. Last night he was the guest at dinner of Sir Akbar Hydari [illegible] Hyderabad delegation. To-day he will have a conversation with Mr. Gandhi.

In the late afternoon there was a meeting in the House of Commons, which had been extensively advertised beforehand, of the Parliamentary India Committee, that large heterogeneous body over which Mr. Wardlaw Milne presides with so much courage and common sense. The purpose of the Committee was to receive a report from the deputation which waited upon the Prime Minister and Mr. Baldwin last Thursday. But a general discussion was soon interrupted by a division, and, since most of the members were due to attend another committee, the meeting was adjourned without any positive results until 4 o'clock this afternoon.

A NEWSPAPER CAMPAIGN

The meeting of the Committee had been preceded by an intensive newspaper bombardment demanding that "an end should be set to the preposterous Round-Table Conference." During the week-end leading articles to this effect were printed—to mention only the London Press—in almost identical terms on Friday in the *Evening News*, on Saturday in the *Daily Mail* and again in the *Evening News*, on Sunday in the *Sunday Dispatch* and the *Sunday Pictorial*, on Monday in the *Daily Mirror* and once more in the *Daily Mail* and the *Evening News*. In one case the editorial appeal was supplemented by the views of a number of "great Empire administrators," headed by Lord Brentford (Sir William Joynson-Hicks), who must have blushed at this description of his industrious career in the House of Commons; while in another case it was flanked significantly by a feminine pen-portrait of Mr. Churchill, who "has in him all the elements of a great statesman" and will one day "be elected by the people of England to the place to which his powers entitle him."

It is well known here, of course, that all these papers are controlled by one man (Lord Rothermere) and express no more than his individual opinion; but members were commenting yesterday on the effect which such a campaign might produce—*e.g.*, on foreigners ignorant of the ownership of our popular Press—in a case where important international issues were really at stake.

BEATING THE AIR

They recognize, however, that in the case of the Round-Table Conference this agitation for its dissolution is merely beating the air. The end of the session is already fixed by common consent for the middle of next week. There can be no question of anticipating it. Nor does any serious person desire to interrupt the detailed work which will follow the broad deliberations of the Conference, probably through smaller Committees working both in this country and in India. The Conference has not done everything that some enthusiasts hoped of it—notably the question of minority representation remains unsolved, though it is nearer to solution than it was—but it has done a great deal of useful work. The purpose ahead of it, as it was defined in these columns last January—Responsibility with Safeguards for a Federated All India—stands unimpaired and will be reaffirmed. And in the meantime, while the central work goes forward, there are practical steps to be taken at once, particularly in the sphere of provincial autonomy, to show that the British Government means business.

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TWO POINTS OF CRITICISM

Apart from the winding-up of the second session of the Round Table, the two points on which the critics seem to have fastened are:—

1. The Prime Minister's recent abortive offer to give a decision on the question of communal representation in return for a written undertaking from everyone concerned that it should be accepted and worked; and

2. The prospect that he will state the views of the Government on the present stage of the work of the Conference at the final meeting of the Conference itself and not in the first instance to the House of Commons.

As every one knows, Mr. MacDonald's very proper condition of laying down a communal settlement was not fulfilled; but there was every justification for making the offer. Some of the Indian delegates were inclined to cover the failure of the Hindu-Moslem negotiations by suggesting that the British Government had stood aloof and would use the deadlock as a pretext for inaction. It was essential to make it clear that every help in settling their differences was at their disposal from the British Government if they should really require it. No doubt a settlement made among themselves would always be incomparably better than a settlement sought from outside. There is no reason yet to despair altogether of such a settlement. But it may come to the latter alternative in the end, and the critics who are complaining of the Prime Minister's action should be the last to object to so conspicuous a recognition of Great Britain as the impartial arbiter in Indian quarrels.

With regard to the second ground of their criticism, there will presumably be no difficulty about staging an Indian debate in the Commons before the House rises if there is a general desire for it. The Prime Minister made so much quite clear yesterday afternoon. On the other hand there is no essential connexion between the proceedings of Parliament at this stage and Mr. MacDonald's closing speech as Chairman of the Round-Table Conference. This speech, it may be supposed, will sum up the business of the session and restate the policy of the British Government in India. It will also indicate the proposals of the Government for carrying out their policy during the next few months. There is no question yet of legislation, which is the business of the House of Commons, and therefore there is no substance in the demand that the Prime Minister's speech to the Conference should in effect be debated in Parliament before it is delivered. To yield to such a demand would indeed be to abandon all constitutional precedents and to shirk the elementary duties of a Government.

COMPOSING DIFFERENCES

MR. GANDHI'S OBSCURITIES

Our representative at the Round-Table Conference writes:—

Various efforts have been made towards adjustments of outstanding differences in the last few days. There have been private discussions between the British and the Indian commercial delegates to the Conference as to formulas for meeting their respective views. There has also been some effort by Nationalist groups to come nearer to agreement as to giving the Prime Minister a blank cheque on the minorities problem. Mr. Gandhi adheres to the limitations he stipulated to confine the reference to the Hindu, Moslem, and Sikh claims; but it is understood that if the rest of the British Indian delegates were prepared to make their request to the Prime Minister unconditional he would not stand out, and might seek the sanction of the Working Committee.

The Mahatma is often called upon by his friends to interpret or justify his own speeches. His recent remarks as to the future conflict in Bengal arising between the Haves and Have-Nots run counter to the claim put forward by such landholders as the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga and the Rajah of Bobbili, as well as from other responsible quarters, for the rights of property to be safeguarded in the Constitution. Mr. Gandhi has been telling a meeting of Nationalist delegates that his observations on the subject must not be taken too literally; but that he is opposed to any general provision for the protection of property. He holds that this might hamper the future Indian Government in taking steps for which there are precedents in British-Indian legislation. He particularly mentioned the protection given in recent decades to tenants-at-will of zamindars in the United Provinces and elsewhere by the bestowment of hereditable and transferable occupancy rights; and he also referred in this connexion to the land value taxes provided for in recent Labour legislation in this country.

The Moslem Delegation met last night and decided to send the following telegram to Fath Abdulla Haroon, the president-elect of the All-India Moslem Conference:—

With reference to your cable: we repeatedly and emphatically placed the position of the Moslems before the Government, that until the communal question is settled no Constitution that may be framed will be acceptable to us. We have not been participating in the work of the Federal Structure Committee regarding responsibility at the Centre. You need have no anxiety regarding the Moslem attitude in this Conference.

NEW GOVERNORS IN INDIA

SIR JOHN ANDERSON FOR BENGAL

The India Office announced last night that his Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to approve the following appointments:—

The Right Honourable Sir John Anderson, G.C.B., at present Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Home Office, to be Governor of Bengal in succession to the Right Honourable Sir Stanley Jackson, G.C.I.E., whose tenure of office expires in March next.

Sir James David Sifton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, to be Governor of Bihar and Orissa in succession to Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, whose tenure of office expires in April next.

Mr. Michael Keane, C.S.I., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, to be Governor of Assam in succession to Sir Egbert Laurie Lucas Hammond, K.C.S.I., C.B.E., Indian Civil Service, whose tenure of office expires in June next.

Sir John Anderson, Governor-designate of Bengal, who is 49, and was educated at George Watson's College, Edinburgh, and Edinburgh and Leipzig Universities, entered the Colonial Office in 1905. He served as secretary of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee (1909), secretary of the West African Currency Committee (1911), Principal Clerk in the office of the Insurance Commissioners (1912), and then secretary (1913), Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping (1917-1919), additional Secretary to the Local Government Board (April, 1919), Second Secretary to the Ministry of Health (1919), and Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue (1919-22). From 1920 he was Joint Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He received the C.B. in 1918 and was created a K.C.B. in 1919 and a G.C.B. in 1923.

Sir James Sifton, who is to succeed Sir Hugh Stephenson as Governor of Bihar and Orissa (which became a Governor's Province in 1920, with the late Lord Sinha as the first Governor), was Acting Governor from April to August, 1929, and again from June to September, 1930. Born in 1878 and educated at St. Paul's School and Magdalen College, Oxford, he was appointed to the Indian Civil Service after examination in 1901. After serving several years in Bengal, he was transferred to Bihar and Orissa in 1912, being successively magistrate and collector, secretary to the Financial and Municipal Departments of the Government, and deputy-commissioner. He became Chief Secretary to the Provincial Government in 1925, and in 1927 was appointed a member of the Executive Council. He was created a K.C.I.E. in June of this year.

INDIA AND DOMINION STATUS

MR. CHURCHILL'S VIEW

A LOOSE TERM DEFINED

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Lord Irwin misapprehends the direction of the criticism which, much to my regret on personal grounds, I made against him and those associated with him in Indian politics.

There are many speeches of public men and Ministers in the years immediately after the War about "Dominion status" for India. They may have been wise or unwise, practical or sentimental; but all were governed by the India Act of 1919. The preamble of this Act defines the policy and gradual development of self-governing institutions in India, and Clause 41 affirms the right of Parliament after a period of 10 years upon the report of a Statutory Commission to decide "Whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, . . . or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government . . ." existing in India.

In the 10 years several important things happened. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were not attended by an increase in good will even from those political classes they were designed to satisfy, nor by an improvement in the efficiency of Indian administration. On the contrary, degeneration alike in political feeling and in the quality of the administration of many services was obvious. The Statutory Commission, consisting of men of all parties, after surveying the whole field, deliberately avoided mentioning the term "Dominion status" in their Report. They did this, not because it would be right to assign final limits to the progress in self-government of any of his Majesty's subjects; but because it was clear that no helpful advantage would follow from the use of such expressions at that time.

Moreover, in the interval a second situation had occurred. The Imperial Conference of 1926 had transformed the meaning attached to the loose term "Dominion status" in such a way as to abolish all conception of Imperial supremacy; and this vast change was subsequently to be prescribed in the rigid language of a statute.

Mr. Michael Keane, Governor-designate of Assam, was born in 1874, and was educated at Blackrock College, Dublin, and University College, London. He was appointed to the Indian Civil Service after examination in 1897. He served in the North-West Frontier Province, was Under-Secretary to the Government (1906-7), and became assistant commissioner in 1911 and deputy commissioner three years later. He was appointed judicial secretary to the United Provinces Government in 1918 and Chief Secretary in 1919, and became President of the Legislative Council in 1921. He served on the deputation to the Tonk and Sirohi State (1910) and on the Public Services Commission (1928).

CALCUTTA EUROPEANS' APPROVAL

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA, Nov. 23

The announcement of the appointment of Sir John Anderson as Governor of Bengal has been received with approval by Europeans here, who anticipate from his past record a firm administration of the Province and a tightening up of the machinery of government.

BURMA ROUND TABLE

The following *communiqué* was issued last night:—

The India Office is authorized to announce that, in order to avoid the interference with the programme of the Indian Round-Table Conference which would be involved by holding the formal opening of the Burma Conference at St. James's Palace, his Majesty the King has been pleased to approve that this ceremony shall take place in the King's Robing Room in the House of Lords on Friday, November 27.

NOVEMBER 24

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Nov 25th

It was at this juncture, when the Statutory Commission desired to exclude all mention of "Dominion status" from their Report, and when "Dominion status" itself had been fundamentally altered, that Lord Irwin and the Socialist Government he served went out of their way to make a new declaration reviving the term "Dominion status" and bringing it into the forefront of the immediate issues of Indian politics. The disastrous consequences were, first, that the Report of the Statutory Commission was fatally prejudiced before it was published; and, secondly, that "Dominion status," instead of being a vague, remote, and largely ceremonial aspiration, was treated by the Indian political classes as something already in their grasp, not to be esteemed or valued, except as an admission extorted from Great Britain upon the path to independence.

This double disaster has poisoned alike the present and the future. Hopes have been aroused which are not going to be gratified; words and phrases have been used in a new atmosphere upon high, formal, responsible authority which everyone knows do not accord with the realities of the Indian situation. Ground has been given for reproach, and Parliament is itself involved in profound embarrassment.

This is the burden which, in my judgment, rests upon those who have directed the recent course of Indian affairs.

Yours faithfully,
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

House of Commons, November 24.

ROUND-TABLE PROGRESS

YESTERDAY'S WORK

STATEMENT BY HINDU LIBERALS

A great deal of progress was made yesterday towards winding up the Second Session of the Round-Table Conference about a week hence.

The Prime Minister, accompanied by Lord Sankey and Sir Samuel Hoare, had a long conversation in the morning with Mr. Gandhi, and later had talks with Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. E. C. Benthall. In quest of Sikh opinion he saw Sardar Sampuran Singh as well as Sardar Ujjal Singh. The Federal Structure Committee finished the discussion of Commercial Discrimination and turned to Financial Safeguards. Lord Sankey's Draft Report on Defence and External Relations was issued last night. He hopes to have the report on Financial Safeguards circulated to-morrow; and that on Discrimination may be ready to-day.

The India Parliamentary Committee, at its resumed meeting in the afternoon, did no more than agree that a day should be given to discussion of the Conference before the rising of the House. This prospect had, of course, been held out already by the Prime Minister, and the debate will presumably take place next week. Meanwhile a motion in the House of Lords led to a firm and interesting statement from Lord Lothian of the Government attitude towards outrage and disorder in India.

DISCORDANT DELEGATES

The talks with the Prime Minister have revealed the attitude of two main groups. It has been made clear that the Moslems will give no support to the introduction of responsibility at the Centre, or indeed of any further responsibility in the Provinces, while the question of the protection of Minorities remains open. A meeting of the Moslem Delegation yesterday confirmed the previous decision not to take part in the discussion of these subjects. The Hindu Liberals, for their part, are protesting that they will have nothing to do with provincial autonomy as a half-way house. A statement to this effect was issued yesterday by 14 delegates, and it is one to which other delegates, *e.g.*, Sir Annepu Patro, the leader of the Justice Party, are believed to adhere in substance. The present signatories are Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Pheroze Sethna, Mrs. Subbarayan, Mr. Sastri, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Mr. S. B. Tambe, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. V. V. Giri, and Mr. B. Shiva Rao. Their statement runs as follows:—

In view of the situation that has developed at the Round-Table Conference and the repeated attempts during the last few days by members of the dominant political party in Parliament either to bring the proceedings of the Conference to an immediate end or to bring pressure to bear upon the Government not to make any declaration at the Conference itself, but to declare their policy in Parliament, we desire to issue the following statement:—

(1) It is our considered opinion that no political party of any standing in India will in the slightest degree favour the introduction of provincial autonomy as the first instalment, with a mere promise of establishing responsibility on a Federal basis in the future.

(2) The Conference was not, in our opinion, called for this purpose, and none of us would have taken the trouble to come to England to achieve merely provincial autonomy, which was, indeed, recommended by the Simon Report. We think, in the first place, that no genuine provincial autonomy can be established without responsibility at the Centre. Even if it could be established, we are clearly of the opinion that no party in India will be prepared to take it; and if it is intended to rely upon the support of any particular class, or any minority among the people of India, for the working of 'provincial autonomy,' then we think that the position, instead of being improved, will become one of great complexity and instability, and will give rise to a situation which, in the best interests of both countries, must be avoided.

(3) If his Majesty's Government intend to take this step, it must be understood that it will not be with our consent, but wholly contrary to our advice, and the Government must be prepared to take full and sole responsibility for their action.

(4) We claim the early fulfilment of the declaration of his Majesty's Government made on January 19 last, which was explicitly reaffirmed only a few days ago by the Prime Minister on behalf of the National Government. A mere reiteration of it in a fresh declaration, or in the preamble of a Bill for provincial autonomy, leaving the establishment of Responsibility at the Centre to some future date, will receive no support from us, and will be strongly resented in India as a complete breach of faith and as being wholly inadequate to the needs of the country.

It is understood that this document was issued to the Press without being communicated in the first instance, as a matter of ordinary courtesy, to the Prime Minister as Chairman of the Conference. The proceedings of the India Parliamentary Committee are said to be very largely responsible for it. In any case it can have no influence on the settled policy of the Government.

FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS

It remains to add that in the discussion in the Federal Structure Committee on Financial Safeguards yesterday Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—putting in the caveat that the discussion would be useless if there was no more than provincial autonomy at the end of it—suggested the establishment of an advisory Financial Council to be solely concerned with sound finance. Lord Reading, in firm but conciliatory language, said that nothing that had transpired had changed the views he expressed at the first Session of the Conference in regard to the safeguards that would be required. Safeguards were needed not because there was no confidence in India; but because the investing public had hitherto known that the control had vested in the Secretary of State in Council.

*** A report of the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee and a summary of the Draft Report on Defence and External Relations appear on page 17.

BURMA ROUND TABLE

ADDITIONAL BRITISH DELEGATES

The India Office announced last night that in addition to the British delegates to the Burma Round-Table Conference whose names were published on October 13, Sir Samuel Hoare Secretary of State for India, and Lord Lothian, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, will attend the Conference as ex-officio delegates.

In addition to the delegates from Burma, Miss May Oung, who is at present in London, has been invited by His Majesty's Government, after consultation with the Governor of Burma, to attend the Conference.

It is understood that the representatives of the Burmese Women's Association withdrew the demand for the addition of two women delegates to the Conference. Miss May Oung will be the only woman delegate to serve.

NOVEMBER 26, 1931

ROUND-TABLE EMOTION

A COMBINED ATTACK

SIR S. HOARE ALLAYS SUSPICIONS

The air of the Federal Structure Committee was more heavily charged with emotion yesterday morning than at any of the previous sittings. A succession of Hindu delegates spoke in condemnation of provincial autonomy as a half-way house; and, while there was no question of the strength of their feeling, there was a risk at times, as Sir Samuel Hoare said, of drifting into melodrama. His speech put matters in their right proportion and disposed of what he termed alarmist rumours.

The initiative (without previous notice to the Lord Chancellor) was taken by two members of the British delegation who have ceased to be members of Parliament, Mr. Benn and Mr. Lees-Smith. The latter spoke of "a tragic position," and of the Conference being "on the verge of disillusionment." The main question on which the Committee and the Conference might break down was the question when the Federal structure would be erected. Was it to come into being simultaneously with the autonomous provincial governments or later? Though it would mean delay he favoured synchronization as being safer, less open to suspicion, and less likely to delay ultimate federation.

On the text thus provided there were further homilies from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who said he did not believe that there was any considerable section of Indian opinion prepared to work provincial autonomy without responsibility at the centre; from Mr. Sastri, who remarked that if trouble came in India people in this country would not be able to say that they had not been seriously warned; from Mr. Mudaliyar, speaking on behalf of the Non-Brahmin, or Justice, Party; from Mr. Joshi, as a representative of trade unionism; from Mr. Jayakar, who asked whether India was to have freedom by good will or some other method; from Mrs. Subbarayan, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Pandit M. M. Malaviya, and Mr. Gandhi. The last-named, once again [illegible] said that his

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intimation to the Prime Minister of willingness to consider provincial autonomy as an interim measure actually meant that it must be the provincial autonomy of his conception, which he now saw would not be given. He hoped that the slender thread which bound him to Great Britain would not snap ; if it did he would have to come out again as a passive resister and non-cooperator.

UNFOUNDED ASSUMPTIONS

The Secretary of State for India then showed that much of the emotion called forth was beside the point. He denied categorically the assumptions on which it had been based. The Government had not irrevocably made up their minds upon a certain course of policy ; to have done so would have been discourteous to the leading representatives of Indian opinion the Prime Minister was seeing day by day. They were not going to break pledges they had given over and over again. They had not decided to bring to an end the policy they had consistently adopted of trying to obtain a settlement of the Indian constitutional question by the method of conference and agreement. The Government would carry out their pledges at the earliest possible date.

The question of procedure on which this debate nominally turned will come up again this morning. Mr. Jinnah stated that the Moslem delegation would reserve their decision and the expression of their views on this subject until they knew what procedure was to be followed—an evident allusion to future arrangements. Strong efforts have been made by the objectors to a half-way house to induce the Moslems to join in stating that they will not assist in working provincial autonomy without simultaneous central responsibility, but the immediate concern of the Moslem delegation is their preference for no Constitutional reform pending the settlement of the communal issue.

In the afternoon the fourth draft report, dealing with Defence and External Relations, was adopted after discussion of one or two points. The Commercial Discrimination draft report was issued late last night, and will be considered to-day. The Financial Safeguards discussion, to which Mr. Gandhi contributed, will probably be finished to-day, and there will remain the adoption of the draft report thereon as the final work of the Committee.

DEPARTING DELEGATES

A farewell afternoon party given by the High Commissioner for India at India House was a sign of the closing stages of the Conference. Maulana Shaukat Ali left yesterday to attend the Moslem Congress at Jerusalem. Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Mr. Shafi Daoodi left a few days ago. Those connected with the Conference who leave for India to-day are the Maharajah of Dholpur, Sir Mirza Ismail (with his wife and daughter), Mr. Krishnama Chari (Dewan of Baroda), Nawab Liaqat Ali Khan (Dewan of Patiala), Mr. Sen (Foreign Minister of Patiala); Sir Muhammad and Lady Shafi, the Begum Shah Nawaz, Sardar Sampuran Singh and Sardar Ujjal Singh—the two Sikh representatives.

The Parliamentary India Committee has asked the Government to give two days for the discussion in the House of Commons on the work of the Round-Table Conference, and it is probable that this request will be granted.

*** Summaries of yesterday's speeches in the Federal Structure Committee and of the Draft Report on Commercial Discrimination appear on page 9.

ROUND TABLE

THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S ASSURANCE

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference met at St. James's Palace yesterday. The question of the policy of the Government was raised at the outset by Mr. Lees-Smith, and after speeches by the members Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, made a statement. In the course of the proceedings Lord Sankey, the chairman, referred to the declaration [given in *The Times* yesterday] by 14 delegates condemning the introduction of provincial autonomy and deferring the grant of responsibility at the Centre.

Mr. LEES-SMITH said that the prospect at the moment was that the Conference was going to end in failure, and he thought that the short discussion they were now to have was their last effort to save it. The question was:—"When is this Federal Government to come into being, and is it to come into being simultaneously with the Provincial Governments or later than the Provincial Governments?" That was the question that had to be settled, and on which the Committee had the right to express itself. There were two alternatives—(1) that provincial autonomy should be established as early as possible, and that the Federal Government should be created at a later date; (2) that the two should be established as far as possible simultaneously. He himself was convinced that, in spite of its difficulties, the second alternative—simultaneously bringing into being provincial autonomy and Federal responsibility—was the safer of the two.

The disadvantage, Mr. Lees-Smith said, was that it would mean the establishment of provincial autonomy at a later date than it could be brought into being taken by itself. He would suggest that the method of conference should continue, that practically that Committee should for this purpose be kept in being, that it should work in India with the Government of India, and that the Government of India should continuously work out the system of Federal responsibility and use its efforts to expedite it so that India would know that it was going to be brought into being at the earliest possible moment, and that its own trusted leaders were in continuous consultation. He could not believe that in those circumstances India would be so disturbed that progress would be rendered impossible.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU said he was an irreconcilable opponent of provincial autonomy divorced from responsibility at the Centre. He was not prepared to support it, nor was he prepared to advise his country to accept it. "Those of us who have stood by the Government in critical times, who believe in ordered government, who are anxious that India should be saved from a period of strife and turmoil and that we should be allowed to settle down to constructive work, will feel, and legitimately feel according to my view, that they have been let down by this Government. I hope things will never be allowed to reach that pass." If, however, India could be genuinely convinced that the machinery had been set up, that the machinery would be constantly in working order, that something was being done to achieve the end which they all had in view, India would not be restive. "Let your experts satisfy me that a three years' period is required, and I will accept it, but if it is a question of choice between accepting provincial autonomy now and waiting for three years, at the end of which time we are to get the whole thing, I would much rather wait for three years than accept provincial autonomy now."

"AN INTOLERABLE BURDEN"

LORD SANKEY then called on those members of the Committee who signed the declaration on provincial autonomy.

Mr. MUDALIYAR, on behalf of the non-Brahmin Justice Party in Madras, said that they as a cooperating section would find it almost impossible to work the scheme of provincial autonomy divorced from the element of responsibility at the Centre. It would be unfair to the provincial Administration to impose on it the consequences of quelling any agitation that was bound to arise owing to dissatisfaction at responsibility not being introduced at the Centre. It would be an intolerable burden on him or on his party to put down an agitation for which they were not responsible, an agitation [illegible] was not illegitimate—an agitation for responsibility at the Centre.

Mr. JOSHI, as a representative of Indian labour, said they were unwilling to wait any longer in order to get an opportunity to promote measures for the uplift of the masses of India. They felt that if mere provincial autonomy was introduced and real responsible government delayed, the country would again be plunged into agitation, and the attention of the people and the attention of the Government and of the Legislatures would be wholly engrossed in the work either of agitation or of keeping peace and order.

Mr. JAYAKAR expressed the view that anything short of Central responsibility coupled with Federation, any proposal of a provincial character, even though it meant provincial autonomy, would mean the dismal failure of the Round-Table Conference.

Mrs. SUBBARAYAN said that the eyes of all India at the moment were fixed, not on the Provinces, but on the Centre. It was the emblem of their nationhood. The reforms to be secured were going to be valued in India entirely by the degree of responsibility given at the Centre.

Mr. SASTRI believed that the wiser and the safer plan was to wait for provincial autonomy until the second step could also be made ready to start with it. "Do not," he said, "let there be an interval between these two steps, for there is no doubt that that interval will be taken advantage of by mischief makers of every kind, and the interval will be indefinitely prolonged, and your best intentions will be frustrated. . . .

"I have," Mr. Sastri added, "been a friend of this Empire. . . . But I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that often, when those who run this Empire have come to the cross-roads of events, they have failed to listen to the voice of caution and to the voice of justice, and have taken a wrong step and landed themselves and the great Commonwealth in confusion."

SIR PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS, on behalf also of Mr. Jamal Muhammad and Mr. G. D. Birla, associated himself with the opinions which had been expressed. "I am very apprehensive," he said, "that if this step which is being threatened is taken, Bolshevism and Communism in India will not have to be imported from across the borders, but I feel, and I say it with all the responsibility of my position here, that many in India will feel that the Government of India and his Majesty's Government are, perhaps unwittingly, planting that very wicked plant in India by this."

CONGRESS AND TERRORISM

Mr. GANDHI said he had come to the conclusion that "you, or the British Ministers, do not contemplate giving India that measure of provincial autonomy which would satisfy a man of my mentality, which would satisfy the Congress, and which would reconcile the Congress to taking up provincial autonomy, although there may be delay in getting responsibility at the Centre." Taking Bengal as an illustration, he knew that there was a terrorist school active there. Everybody ought to realize by this time that he could have no manner of sympathy with that terrorist school in any shape or form. Supposing that Bengal had provincial autonomy to-day, what would Bengal do? Bengal would set free every one of the *detenus*. Bengal would not hunt down the terrorists—an autonomous Bengal, he meant—but Bengal would try to reach those terrorists and convert them, and he should approach them with every confidence and wipe out terrorism from Bengal. They would see what his conception of provincial autonomy was. He would not allow a single soldier to enter the Province of Bengal; he would not pay a single farthing for the upkeep of an Army which he might not command.

In the [Delhi] Pact it was written in so many words, Mr. Gandhi continued, that he was coming to London to discuss and to receive really the responsibility at the Centre: Federation with all its responsibility—safeguards undoubtedly—safeguards in the interests of India. What he feared was that the slender thread which he had again built up of cooperation with the British nation and with British Ministers was about to snap and that he should again declare himself a convinced non-cooperator and civil resister—that he should redeliver the message of non-cooperation and civil resistance to the millions of India, no matter how many air balloons would float over India or how many tanks would be brought to India.

While, on the one hand, Congress would fight British authority and its terrorism, legalized, so also would Congress fight terrorism, illegal, on the part of youth. Between these two what he felt was that there was this course opened up for the British nation and for him [Mr. Gandhi] by Lord Irwin. He had built this bridge, and he [Mr. Gandhi] thought he was going to have a safe passage. A strong Centre governed and administered by an alien authority, and a strong autonomy, were a contradiction in terms. Hence he felt that provincial autonomy and Central responsibility had, really speaking, to go together. He had, however, an open mind. If somebody would convince him that there was provincial autonomy, such as he had conceived, for instance, for Bengal, available, he would grasp it.

[illegible] also stated the Congress view.

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SIR SAMUEL HOARE

SIR SAMUEL HOARE said that it seemed to him that they ran a great risk of drifting into an atmosphere of melodramatic tragedy. A number of most alarmist statements had been made that morning. It had been assumed, he supposed, from headlines in the Press. Those who lived in England and who knew the English Press pretty well did not attach too much importance to headlines, to whatever party the particular newspaper might owe its allegiance.

"It seems to have been hastily assumed," Sir Samuel Hoare continued, "first of all, that the Government have irrevocably made up their minds upon a course of policy; secondly, that the Government have also decided to break pledges that they have given over and over again; and thirdly, that the Government have decided to bring to an end the policy that they have consistently adopted in spirit and in principle of trying to obtain a settlement of Indian constitutional questions by the method of conference and agreement. Let me say quite definitely that there is no ground for any of those suspicions at all. (Cheers.)

"I take them in order. First of all—that we are embarking upon a period in which we are going to abandon the attempt to find a solution of these very difficult constitutional problems by agreement. That is not so, and it will be made quite clear before the end of the Conference that we intend, so far as you allow us, to continue this definitely considered policy of attempting to advance by agreement and by confidence. Secondly, it has been assumed this morning that the Government have irrevocably made up their minds upon a certain course of policy, and upon a certain course of policy that is assumed to involve breaches of pledges given by us in the past. That is not so. The Government are doing what I should have thought any sensible Government would do—they have been engaged almost incessantly during the last few days and weeks in attempting to gather representative Indian opinion, and particularly representative Indian opinion from the members of this Committee. It is common knowledge—indeed, it has already been stated in the Press—that a number of these interviews have been taking place in the course of the last two or three days between the Prime Minister and the leading representatives of Indian opinion in the Conference. Those discussions are still going on, and it would seem to me to be the height of folly—apart from the height of discourtesy—that we should go through the farce of discussion of this kind when we have already irrevocably made up our minds upon any policy. That is certainly not the course that the Prime Minister and the Government have pursued. Quite honestly, and with an open mind, we have been discussing with representatives of Indian opinion in the Conference these very difficult questions, and let us not disguise from ourselves the fact that these questions are very difficult questions.

FULFILMENT OF PLEDGES

"They are very difficult questions for this reason: that we have found in the course of these discussions that a number of problems that we had hoped would have been solved this year are not solved. What we had hoped might have proceeded more quickly 12 months ago will now take a longer period of time. In view of that fact—and it is a fact that I think has been admitted by every member of this Committee—we have been considering what is the best course first of all to carry out our pledges; secondly, for carrying out our pledges at the earliest possible date; and, thirdly, for making quite clear, both to the world of Great Britain and the world of India, that it is still our intention to try to find a solution of these questions at as early a date as we can with mutual good will.

"That is the exact position of to-day. We are to-day having more of these discussions. We are considering very carefully the grave issues to which allusion has been made this morning, and when we ask you to come and consult us we ask you because we wish to hear your views, and not because we have already made up our own.

"That, Lord Chancellor, is in a sentence or two the exact position as it is to-day. After this discussion I shall, of course, and so will you, convey to the Prime Minister the views that have been expressed by several influential members of the Committee. Those views have all expressed one view, and no doubt a very weighty view; but it is obvious to every one that even upon the kind of questions that we have been discussing this morning there is no unanimity, even though theer may have been unanimity in the speeches this morning. What I will undertake to do is to see that the views which have been expressed by several important members of the Committee this morning will at once receive the very careful attention of the Prime Minister.

"Now, I do not think there is anything else I need add to what I have said. I must not be drawn, in a discussion of this kind, into a debate with Mr. Gandhi on administrative questions, but I should like, in fairness to the administration of the Government of India, to say that I do not agree with the picture that he has this morning painted of what is going on in Bengal. I have this morning written a letter to Mr. Gandhi, which I think is on its way, asking him to come to the India Office, when we would explain to him what we believe to be the real state of affairs.

"I have now told the Committee quite frankly and unreservedly what the position of affairs is, and I hope, having said what I have, we can dissipate this atmosphere of tragedy and panic into which so many members of the Committee have drifted."

FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS

At the afternoon sitting Lord Sankey submitted his Draft Report on Defence and External Relations, and signed it on behalf of the Committee. Lord Reading then took the chair.

Mr. GANDHI, continuing the debate on Financial Safeguards, said that the Congress had never suggested, as it had been viciously suggested against it, that one single farthing of national obligations should ever be repudiated by the Congress. What the Congress had, however, suggested was that some of the obligations which were supposed to belong to India ought not to be saddled upon India, and should be taken over by Great Britain. He could not, he continued, endorse safeguards that would interfere with the full discharge of his responsibility by the Indian Finance Minister, and that responsibility conceived predominantly in the interests of the ryots.

Mr. IYENGAR and Mr. BENTHALL having spoken,

SIR AKBAR HYDARI said that he felt that the proposal for a Statutory Financial Council had very great possibilities. They ought to consider all the propositions with regard to safeguards and so forth as not being any reflection on their self-respect, but as propositions which had been created in view of their long connexion with England and also in their own interests, because that connexion would continue for a very long time, and, he hoped, for ever.

The Committee adjourned until this morning.

THE MOSLEM VIEW

That statement can hardly fail to take into account some representative expressions of opinion at yesterday's sitting. Mr. Jinnah, while repeating the postulate of the Moslem delegation that settlement of the minorities problem must be the *sine qua non* of any constitutional advance, said that they shared the view expressed by Hindu speakers on the previous day that provincial autonomy alone would not command the support of the better mind of India. He agreed that provincial autonomy and responsibility at the Centre must come into operation simultaneously. A much-respected elder statesman of the Moslems, Sir Muhammad Shafi, who was leaving London an hour or so later, confirmed this interpretation. He was going back to Lahore with his heart full of grief that these communal questions had not been settled by mutual agreement. But did not that failure cast upon H.M. Government the responsibility of coming to a decision on the communal issue? He respectfully advised the Government to come to a just decision and then "go ahead not only in the Provinces but also at the Centre."

EUROPEANS CONCUR

Mr. Gavin Jones, for the Europeans, deprecated the action of Mr. Lees-Smith in raising the procedure discussion. The Europeans would have preferred that provincial autonomy should be introduced before federal responsibility; but in view of the attitude of the Indian delegates he now thought that the advance in the Provinces and at the Centre should be simultaneous.

A suggestion by Pandit M. M. Malaviya, in a long speech, that there was a wide difference of opinion in the Cabinet on the subject of responsibility at the Centre, drew from Sir Samuel Hoare the interjection that there had been no difference of opinion of any kind. A reference in the Pandit's speech to the irrelevant topic of an appointment to an Indian Governorship led Sir Samuel to observe that he was making a very unfair charge or insinuation against one of the most respected public servants in this country.

After a fruitless endeavour to obtain an expression of the Government view, Mr. Benn (who had been pressing for a report on procedure) complained that Sir Samuel Hoare on the previous day had not stated the mind of the Government as to simultaneous advance in the provinces and at the Centre. Was the era of cooperation to end, he asked, by the Government's presenting a mere ukase which would be the final scene of the Conference? (He made no reference to the fact that last January, when he was in charge of the India Office, exactly the same method of closing the Conference by "ukase" was employed.)

THE FINANCIAL DEBATE

Sir Samuel Hoare, who was prevented by Parliamentary duties from being present the previous afternoon, now made a statement on the financial debate. The discussion had been useful and the Lord Chancellor's caution had been accepted on all sides of the table. What mattered in finance was not agreement or disagreement among politicians but confidence in the great markets of the world. Bankers and investors were nervous of politicians and political changes. They had to be convinced of soundness if their help was wanted. There was no idea of placing undue obstacles in India's way; the desire was to preserve India's credit. The safeguards to be provided must therefore be effective. There was no conflict of interests here between India and England. Nothing would be lost and everything would be gained if they postponed for the present a discussion of details.

NOVEMBER 27, 1931

PROVINCES AND CENTRE

MORE ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSIONS

A CROWDED WEEK-END

The penultimate meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference was held at St. James's Palace yesterday, when the draft report on Commercial Discrimination was adopted, and the discussion on Financial Safeguards was closed. At the final meeting of the Committee this afternoon (the morning being reserved for the ceremonial opening of the Burma Conference by the Prince of Wales) the draft report on Finance will be considered, and also the position of Labour legislation as a Federal subject.

The plenary session of the Conference will begin on Saturday, and it is expected, in view of the large number of speeches to be made, that the sitting will go on until late in the evening. The question of holding even a Sunday sitting was considered, but it is hoped that, without this complete obliteration of the week-end rest, the Conference will close on Tuesday afternoon with the Prime Minister's statement on behalf of the National Government.

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An incidental feature of the sitting was Mr. Jinnah's statement that he could not imagine that federation on an All-India basis could come within any period of years for which they could reasonably expect India to wait; and, therefore, they should turn their vision to a federated British India "instead of hugging and hanging on to this illusion and mirage of All-India Federation." The anxiety of Pandit M. M. Malaviya that the Nawab of Bhopal, as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, should reply to these schismatic opinions was not satisfied; but the Princes' delegation works as a team, and doubtless a considered statement on the subject will be made at the plenary sittings. Moreover the immediate discussion did not form the subject of a Committee report.

At the departure of delegates whose names were mentioned in *The Times* yesterday from Victoria yesterday afternoon the Prime Minister was represented by Mr. J. G. Laithwaite and the Secretary of State for India by Mr. W. D. Croft. Mr. P. J. Patrick, of the Political Department of the India Office, was also present.

** A summary of the speeches at yesterday's meeting of the Federal Structure Committee appears on page 17.

ROUND TABLE

MOSLEM ATTITUDE DEFINED

SIR SAMUEL HOARE ON FINANCE

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference met at St. James's Palace yesterday under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey, the Lord Chancellor. At the outset Lord Sankey invited those delegates who did not speak on Wednesday to express their views on the point raised by Mr. Lees-Smith.

Mr. JINNAH, explaining the attitude of the Moslems, said that from the very beginning of the Conference they had made it clear that they were not going to stand in the way of the constitutional advance of India. The Moslems felt that mere provincial autonomy being brought into being would not command the support of the better mind of India. He wanted the Committee also to remember, however, that no Constitution that they framed would be acceptable to the Moslems unless their demands were complied with. He entirely agreed with the proposition that provincial autonomy and responsibility at the Centre must take place simultaneously. At the same time he could not imagine how they were going to complete the Federal structure of the Government of India on the basis of an All-India Federation within any period that they could reasonably expect India to wait for.

LORD READING.—What is it that Mr. Jinnah suggests from the Moslem point of view is to be done in the absence of a communal agreement as to electorates and so forth ?

Mr. JINNAH.—You cannot possibly enact any Constitution without a Hindu-Moslem settlement.

SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI said that Mr. Jinnah had referred to what they held to be the *sine qua non* of any constitutional advance in India—namely, the settlement—if possible by mutual agreement; otherwise by his Majesty's Government—of the communal problem. Assuming that the Constitution which was framed did include in it—and it must include them, otherwise it would not work even for 24 hours—Moslem safeguards as well as safeguards for the other Minorities, then his advice to his Majesty's Government was "Go ahead. . . . Come to a just decision, a decision which will give the 80,000,000 of his Majesty's Moslem subjects their rightful place in the India of the future, and a decision which will give the other Minorities also a rightful place in the India of the future. Go ahead not only in the Provinces but also at the Centre. That is the advice of one who has all his life believed that the future of India lies within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and who believes that a happy and contented India will be a source of immense strength to that Commonwealth."

EUROPEAN ATTITUDE

Mr. GAVIN JONES, speaking on behalf of the Europeans, said they themselves wished that provincial autonomy should be introduced prior to Federal responsibility, for it was quite inevitable that the constituent States should be created prior to Federation. They stood, however, by the principles which were agreed to at the last Conference, and did not think that a measure which dealt only with provincial autonomy was adequate. It was quite evident that their fellow-delegates on the Committee would not accept only provincial autonomy, and they could not force self-government on those who had got to work the Constitution. The result of forcing merely provincial autonomy on them would be that they would wreck the Constitution.

Responsible government, Mr. Gavin Jones continued, was not something that could be granted. It had got to be achieved. In the meanwhile India must be governed, for it was the first duty of a Government to govern. In his opinion, India had not been governed. Lawlessness had been condoned, and lawbreakers conciliated. The impression had got abroad in India that the Government was about to quit. The position, therefore, now was that they had got to restore peace and tranquillity, for there could be no advance in India, either provincial or central, without peaceful conditions and a balanced Budget.

SARDAR UJJAL SINGH, on behalf of the Sikhs, agreed that responsibility at the Centre should be introduced simultaneously with provincial autonomy. The work of the Round-Table Conference would prove a failure if they went back with some advance in the Provinces and mere assurances with regard to Central responsibility. No Constitution, whether provincial autonomy or Central responsibility, would, however, be acceptable to the Sikhs unless their interests were fully safeguarded.

"AN UNFAIR CHARGE"

Mr. IYENGAR and PANDIT M. M. MALAVIYA also endorsed the view that provincial autonomy alone was inadequate. The Pandit said that it was on the basis of the agreement with Lord Irwin that the Congress agreed to be represented at the Conference and that Mahatma Gandhi came to London, and every question that was referred to related to the establishment of a Central responsible Government in India.

Later the Pandit said:—An appointment [Sir John Anderson as Governor of Bengal] has been recently announced, and it is said that a particular gentleman whose name was announced had been in Ireland and connected with the administration of the Black and Tans.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE.—Well, I can tell Pandit Malaviya that he is making a very unfair charge against one of the most respected public servants in the British Service.

PANDIT MALAVIYA.—My Lord, I have not made any charge.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE.—You have merely made an insinuation, which is worse.

PANDIT M. M. MALAVIYA.—No; I beg your pardon. I am only suggesting that if that is an indication of the policy which is being pursued, then I want to lodge my protest against that policy. I am saying nothing against the gentleman; I do not know him; I have nothing to say against him.

Mr. BENN said that they had found that in some way a sort of stranglehold had appeared on the deliberations of the Committee at the very moment when they were approaching what were indeed the vital issues. There was a fear that what would really happen would be that they would get the Statutory Commission's recommendations put into force as early as possible, and that the hopes by which that Conference was animated—namely, Central responsibility—would be deferred to some undefined future. If it was the intention of the Government to advance with provincial autonomy first, it would be necessary that the communal settlement should be settled before such an advance could take place, and if that question, therefore, was settled there was nothing to stand in the way of the unanimous desire of that Committee that the advance should be simultaneous.

LORD SANKEY said that he would report the views which had been expressed to the Cabinet, and then called on Sir Samuel Hoare to speak on Finance.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE

SIR SAMUEL HOARE said that when they talked of safeguards they were not gratuitously creating obstacles for the purpose of blocking Indian progress. They were genuinely trying in the interests of India herself to satisfy the conditions that were, in their honest view, essential to Indian stability and Indian prosperity.

Supporting the warning given by Lord Reading that they should continue to avoid too great detail, Sir Samuel Hoare said he would confine himself to a general statement of the Government's attitude. "The safeguards to be provided to secure the fulfilment of the obligations for which the British Government will remain responsible and to ensure the maintenance of the financial stability of India must," he said, "be effective safeguards. He added that those objects

are effectively secured, we desire that any All-India Federation that may be established should enjoy the greatest possible measure of financial independence within its own sphere. One word as to the necessity of safeguards. So long as the Crown remains responsible for the defence of India the funds necessary for that purpose will have to be provided and the principal and interest on sterling debt issued in the name of the Secretary of State for India must be secured, as must also the salaries and pensions of officers appointed under Parliamentary authority; and as the provident and pension funds which have been fed by subscriptions from officers have never been funded but remain a floating obligation on the revenues of India, responsibility for payments to retired officers and their dependents must remain with the Secretary of State until any new Government is in a position to provide sufficient capital to enable trust funds to be established. The annual charges under these various heads will amount in the aggregate to a considerable portion of Federal revenues, and for this reason it is necessary to include in the Constitution provisions sufficient to ensure that those obligations are met. This means, in effect, that the safeguards to be provided must ensure the maintenance of financial stability and credit, and this, in its turn, depends upon provsions in a new Budget to control the balance, that the sinking fund arrangements are adequate, that capital and revenue expenditure are allotted on sound lines, that excessive borrowing or borrowing for revenue purposes is not undertaken, and that a prudent monetary policy is consistently pursued. So far as the Budget is concerned, this by no means implies that the Governor-General would control its preparation in detail. Provided that the Budget is properly balanced, the Federal Government can have wide discretion to decide both upon the nature of the taxation to be imposed and upon the objects of expenditure, other than expenditure under the reserved heads."

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

The members of the Committee might say, "Let us know what safeguards you propose to effect the objects you have in view; formulate them and describe them to us in detail." That, in ordinary conditions, was a reasonable request, Sir Samuel Hoare said, but nevertheless suggested that at the present moment it would be undesirable to do it. The world was passing through a financial and economic crisis. Trade was depressed. Most national Budgets were unbalanced, and the currency systems were disorganized. From those evils India had not escaped, and, as they all knew, his Majesty's Government had given certain undertakings that, if the need arose, they would seek Parliamentary authority to come to her assistance.

"That being the position, if we were required here and now to formulate the safeguards which would effectively secure the maintenance of the financial stability and credit of India, it is evident that these safeguards would have to be of a very rigid character. Apart from this, the structure of the new Constitution is still under discussion, and it is evident that the precise nature of the safeguards to be provided must fit in to the constitutional structure as finally determined."

Referring to the proposal for a Reserve Bank, Sir Samuel Hoare said that they were agreed that a Reserve Bank should be established with as little delay as possible, a bank secure with adequate resources, free from political influence and independent of Government. If such a bank could be established, the formulation of financial safeguards would be greatly simplified, but, even if the gold and sterling assets necessary were available—and they were a long way removed from that—would any reasonable person advocate the establishment of a Reserve Bank at a time like the present ?

"Our objective," Sir Samuel Hoare concluded, "is unchanged. The first essential for the security of India's position as a nation and for the prosperity of her people is the maintenance of confidence in her financial stability and credit. Accordingly, safeguards recognized as effective must be settled which will ensure that the finances of India are properly administered and that the obligations for which the British Government will remain responsible are met. Subject to such safeguards, we desire to give to the new Federal Government, when it is established, the greatest possible measure of financial responsibility within its own sphere, but, for the reasons that I have given, and which I hope generally will commend themselves to the Committee, we do not think that the time has come when it is desirable to formulate the precise machinery by which to give effect to the safeguards to which I have alluded."

The Draft Report on Commercial Discrimination [summarized in *The Times* yesterday] was then submitted to the Committee, and, after certain reservations had been suggested, the Report was signed by the Chairman. The Committee adjourned until this afternoon.

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THE INDIAN ROUND TABLE

PLENARY SITTING TO-DAY

Meeting for the fifty-third day since the opening last year of the Indian Round-Table Conference, the Federal Structure Committee yesterday completed its labours. The first of the plenary sittings of the Second Session of the Conference will begin this morning at St. James's Palace, and it is expected that it will continue until late this evening.

The Federal Structure Committee adopted the Draft Report on Finance. Then Mr. Sastri expressed the general feeling of gratitude to Lord Sankey for his great services in the Chair, and he was followed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jinnah, the Nawab of Bhopal, and Mrs. Subbarayan. In reply, Lord Sankey spoke of his indebtedness to the permanent officials, and, referring to his own unabated faith in federation, said, "In my view a Federal India is not only possible, I think a Federal India is probable.

** A summary of yesterday's proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee appears on page 9.

INDIAN ROUND TABLE

FEDERAL COMMITTEE'S WORK ENDED

The Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference held its closing meeting at St. James's Palace yesterday afternoon under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey, the Lord Chancellor. At the outset Lord Sankey submitted his Draft Report on Finance, which, after several emendations, he signed on behalf of the Committee.

The Report recalls that in their Second Report the Committee indicated in some detail their view that during the transition period special provision would be necessary. Their proposals in this connexion were based, in the opinion of some members of the Committee, upon the following fundamental propositions:—

(1) That it is essential that the financial stability and credit of India should be maintained;

(2) That the financial credit of any country rests in the last resort upon the confidence of the investor, actual and potential;

(3) That one result of the connexion which has subsisted between India and the United Kingdom has been that her credit in the money markets of the world has hitherto been in practice closely bound up with British credit;

(4) And that a change in her Constitutional relations with the United Kingdom which involved a sudden severance of the financial link between the United Kingdom and India would disturb confidence and so place the new Indian Government and Legislature at a grave disadvantage.

The proposals designed to avert such a situation had been further discussed at the Committee's present session, and the Report points out that some members, who had not taken part in the Committee's earlier discussions, "expressed themselves as unwilling to contemplate any limitations upon the powers of an Indian Finance Minister to administer his charge in full responsibility to the Legislature, on the ground that a Constitution which did not concede complete control of finance to the Legislature could not be described as responsible government."

ATTITUDE OF CAUTION

"The majority of the Committee," the Report continues, "adhere to the principles enunciated in their previous Report. They feel strongly that if the attitude of caution with which they approached this question last January was justified—as they are convinced that it was—the financial crisis which has since overwhelmed both the United Kingdom and India in common with so many other countries has still further reinforced its necessity. . . . The majority of the Committee record it as their view that the conclusions reached in the Committee's Second Report form an appropriate basis for approach to the task of framing the Constitutional definitions of the powers and interplay in the sphere of finance of the various elements which will compose the Federal Authority. Further they, advisage, and that it would be premature at this stage to attempt to elaborate the application of these conclusions. While they are prepared to explore more fully the suggestion of an Advisory Finance Council, they cannot on the basis of the discussion that has taken place commit themselves to the view that such a Council would adequately secure the effective maintenance of confidence in the credit of India, which must be the essential test of the measures necessary in the sphere of finance."

Mr. JOSHI, the trade union representative, asked what sort of proposal the chairman proposed to make on the question of the power of the Federal Legislature and the Federal Government to legislate on Labour questions affecting the whole of India.

The CHAIRMAN, who described Mr. Joshi's point as of great importance, said that there had not been an opportunity this Session to advance farther than the general conclusions reached at the last Session. Further consideration would have to be given to it. He thought the matter had better be appended in its proper place in the Report on the Legislatures.

The Chairman then announced that the first meeting of the Plenary Conference would be held at 10.30 this morning.

TRIBUTES TO LORD SANKEY

Mr. SASTRI then conveyed a vote of thanks to the Chairman—"A vote in which," he said, "our hearts are all deeply engaged." It was quite likely that in much of the work that they had actually done they had not succeeded in carrying the judgment and the wishes of either the people in India or the people in this country; but among themselves, although there were sometimes differences of a sharp kind between one section and another, there had prevailed a most wonderful spirit of cordiality, a spirit of give-and-take upon all sides British and Indian, Indian States and British India, Labour and non-Labour. That dominant feature of the proceedings of the Committee had been in large measure secured by the absolute impartiality of the rulings of their Chairman.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU supported Mr. Sastri, and associated with the tribute the members of the staff and the Chairman's advisers, "who have borne the brunt of the day."

Mr. JINNAH, the NAWAB of BHOPAL, and Mrs. SUBBARAYAN also joined in the tribute.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he would like to say how much he had been helped in his labours by the distinguished Civil servants who had been in daily attendance. He did not think it was any secret that since the delegates left on the last occasion he had been presiding over a Committee of Civil servants, seven or eight in number, who had been discussing all the questions that they (the members of the Committee) had discussed there. Those Civil servants should have the chief share in any praise.

Continuing, the Chairman said:—"First, last, and all the time, I am in favour of a Federal India. I am not going to desert you, and I am going to take good care that nobody does desert you, and I do not think anybody desires to do so. In my view a Federal India is not only possible, I think a Federal India is probable. And the sooner we can satisfy your aspirations the better for everybody. I am not going to say good-bye. I hope I shall meet you again somewhere, some day, and I hope at any rate that I shall be one of the first to be able to congratulate India upon having achieved what I know to be its ambition, and what I know will bring it peace and prosperity at the last." (Cheers.)

INDIAN FINANCE BILL PASSED

FEARS OF AGITATION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, Nov. 27

The Council of State this evening finally passed the Emergency Finance Bill by 24 votes to nine.

The Government had a similar margin of support throughout detailed discussion of the measure.

The most noteworthy aspect of the speeches was the apparent apprehension of the Elected Members that the heavy new taxation, which will admittedly press heavily upon people in many directions, will provide useful excuses for agitators. This apprehension, in its turn, reflects the uneasiness caused among non-officials of all classes by threats of renewed civil disobedience by Mr. Gandhi and his supporters. Every one knows that, if Mr. Gandhi conducts a campaign of that kind again, there will be an aggravation of economic difficulties, and a practically certain outbreak of grievous communal strife.

RESTRICTION OF IMPORTS

TWO DEBATES IN THE COMMONS

FUTURE OF INDIA

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

The Government had hoped that it would be possible to bring the first part of the Session to an end by Friday, so as to give Ministers a chance of getting into closer touch with the work of their Departments. The Cabinet's unanimous decision, however, that immediate steps must be taken to restrict the importation of non-essential fruits, flowers, and vegetables has made this impossible, and the House of Commons cannot now get through its work before Thursday of next week at the earliest.

The House of Commons will have three main questions under consideration this week. To-day and to-morrow are set aside for the Committee and Report stages of the financial resolution on which the Bill to restrict the imports of horticultural products must be based. It will be presented to-day by Sir John Gilmour, the Minister of Agriculture, and the only members who are likely to oppose it are the Labour Party and a few Liberals who feel that Sir Herbert Samuel has gone too far in agreeing to the principle of any tax on food, even on luxuries. The Unionist members representing agricultural constituencies have already passed resolutions welcoming this first instalment of the Government's agricultural policy.

When he speaks to-day Sir John Gilmour will be able to show how the imports of luxury fruits and vegetables have increased during recent months, and he will also explain the method by which it is proposed to charge the new duties according to the value, weight, measurement, or quantity of the goods. In the case of manufactured goods under the Abnormal Importations Act, Mr. Runciman has fixed the duty in every case so far at 50 per cent.; but it is probable that in many of the cases of horticultural produce the Ministry of Agriculture will wish the duty to be at the maximum of 100 per cent. of the value.

THE INDIAN DEBATE

At the request of the Parliamentary India Committee, two days—Wednesday and Thursday—have been given up to the debate on the work of the Round-Table Conference. It will take place on a motion approving the statement of the Government's policy which the Prime Minister is to make to the Conference to-morrow, and a large number of members have expressed their desire to speak. The Ministerial speakers will include the Prime Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. Baldwin, and Sir John Simon. Mr. Churchill has postponed his departure to America from Wednesday until Saturday in order to take part in the debate. The Labour Party's speakers will include Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Attlee, who was a member of the Statutory Commission. The party's representatives on the Round-Table Conference are no longer members of the House of Commons.

On Friday Mr. Runciman will ask the House of Commons to approve the first Order issued by the Board of Trade under [illegible] Act. Any

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criticism there may be is likely to be directed against the omission of goods from the Order rather than their inclusion. Members are hoping that before the debate takes place a second Order will have been issued, and representations are to be made to Mr. Runciman to bring iron and steel within the scope of the scheme. Opinion on the wisdom of applying the Act to goods which may be regarded as the raw material of any of the large exporting industries of the country is so divided that the Cabinet may have to give a decision on the point.

The Cabinet will also have to be consulted about the continuance of the land tax machinery which was set up under this year's Budget. Mr. Chamberlain has promised to make a statement on the point before the recess, and, while it is now generally assumed that the work on the valuation will be slowed down and finally abandoned altogether, the actual decision has not been taken. Members are particularly anxious that no further appointments should be made to the staff of valuers until the future of the land tax is settled.

HOURS OF LABOUR

Sir Henry Betterton, the Minister of Labour, will be asked to say to-day whether the Government has arrived at a decision about the Washington Hours Convention. Although a Cabinet decision has not yet been taken, it is regarded as extremely unlikely that the new Parliament will be asked to ratify the Convention. Since the Labour Government tried unsuccessfully to pass its Hours of Industrial Employment Bill last year little further progress has been made, and in the view of Ministers there are two outstanding objections to the Convention —that it cuts across industrial practices in use in this country that are in no way contrary to the 48-hour principle and that its meaning is doubtful on some most important points. Out of the 55 States which are members of the International Labour Organization only nine have ratified the Convention unconditionally.

The House of Lords will take the Committee stage of the Statute of Westminster Bill and the second reading of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill tomorrow. On Wednesday Lord Strachie and Lord Banbury will ask for information on the appointment of land valuers under the Finance Act, and on Thursday Lord Lloyd will ask whether any representations have been made to the Government about the present and future conditions of service of British and Indian Civil servants in India.

ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

PLENARY SESSION

PRIME MINISTER AND MINORITIES

The first of the plenary meetings of the Round-Table Conference was held at St. James's Palace on Saturday under the chairmanship, first of Mr. MacDonald, the Prime Minister, and later of Lord Sankey, the Lord Chancellor.

LORD SANKEY, moving the adoption of the Third Report of the Federal Structure Committee (dealing with the Federal Legislature, Federal Finance, and Federal Court) and the Fourth Report (dealing with Defence, External Relations, Financial Safeguards, and Commercial Discrimination), said that some day he hoped to visit India; and when it was his good fortune to do so, he proposed to go straight to see that magnificent building, the Taj at Agra. What time, what thought, what patience, were spent upon it; and with what result? A wonder of the world and a building worthy of India. "We," he continued, "are now engaged upon a building. What time, what thought, what patience, it requires. Let us make it worthy of India. . . . You [the Prime Minister] too have a part to play in the building. We are all looking forward to the declaration that you are to make on Tuesday next, and, if you will allow me to say so, I hope—more than that, I believe—that you will be remembered not only as a Prime Minister of [illegible] Britain, but as the architect of the Federal Constitution of India." (Cheers.)

The PRIME MINISTER next moved the Second Report of the Minorities Committee, and drew attention to paragraph 6: "The Committee has, in these circumstances, to record with deep regret that it has been unable to reach any agreed conclusion on the difficult and controversial question which has been the subject of its deliberations." The Prime Minister referred to the invitation he made to the members of the Committee to request him to take certain action on the subject. He regretted to inform the Conference that the invitation and its conditions were not accepted, and that, therefore, the matter of the Minorities remained as it was in the Report. "I regret it very much," the Prime Minister continued. "I am sure every one who sat with me on that Committee will agree that we strove our very hardest to get some agreement. But I want to say now—and I say it with very definite conviction—that this problem can be solved still. It has not been solved up till now, but I am as hopeful as I was at the beginning that by further work, by the exercise of good will, by the facing of the actual facts of the situation, and, above all, by the exercise of the well known pride of the Indian representatives, they will find a way out of this very difficult and very troublesome situation."

SMALLER STATES' CLAIM

The RAJAH of KOREA opened the general debate. Speaking for the smaller States, he said that there seemed to be an opinion prevailing that the present constitution of the Chamber of Princes would provide a fair and correct basis for the construction of the States section of the proposed Upper Federal House, but, with the greatest respect to that opinion, he wished to say that the model of the Chamber of Princes would not prove acceptable to the smaller States, and that at present it had not found support in those States. In regard to the condition necessary to bring about Federation, the speaker said it had been suggested that if the States came in, if a population of 51 per cent. of the aggregate States' population joined the Federation, the scheme should be given effect to; but he ventured to think that such a condition alone would not meet the requirements of the situation sufficiently. Unless there was a definite minimum proportion of the aggregate number of States joining the Federation, and which also covered 51 per cent. of the total population of the States, there would be a possibility of only a few big States with large populations joining the Federation, and giving effect to that scheme on the satisfaction of their claims, without satisfying the claims of other States, which might be equally desirous of federating. He submitted that both conditions should be combined, and on the satisfaction of both of them the scheme should be given effect to.

SIR ANNEPU PATRO said that the promises made of Federal responsibility with safeguards ought to be fulfilled as early as possible. If, however, they found that there were circumstances which would necessitate delay in the constructional work, then they must have responsibility in British India. A scheme of responsibility might be introduced in the Central Government of India. For the purpose of provincial autonomy a solution of the Minorities problem was essential, and its application to the centre was only consequential. There would be no other insurmountable obstacle in the way of adopting responsibility in the government of British India.

N.W. FRONTIER PROVINCE

SIR ABDUL QAIYUM declared that nothing short of an equal status with other Provinces would satisfy the North-West Frontier Province. The question had assumed serious dimensions, and unless the people were given the benefit of full-fledged reforms immediately the Province would remain in its present state of upheaval. His own position as a member of the Round-Table Conference on his return this time would be still more difficult. The outside influence of the extremists in India had succeeded in making the people believe that it was only the Congress which recognized their rights of equal partnership with the rest of India. The "Red Shirt" movement had, therefore, widely spread, with its consequential policy of repression, and had proved a danger to the best interests of the Province. While the unanimous decision of the people of the Frontier was for complete equality with other Provinces, he was prepared to admit that the lack of facility for experience in public life and administration which Lord Curzon's partition scheme brought about, might possibly justify some slight and temporary modification in certain directions, not necessarily in the Government of India Act, but in the Instrument of Instructions under that Act. However, all differential features of the provincial Constitution for the North-West Frontier Province must be considered as temporary and must disappear after a short time, say, at the end of five years or so.

The RAJAH of SARILA, having further urged the claims of the smaller States,

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR, who declared that he would fight as long as he lived against independence or a severance of the connexion between India and England, said that the Moderates claimed a complete transfer of power in the Provinces, with no reservations to the Governor except and only when the machinery of government broke down, and at [illegible] of government breaking down. They stood for a simultaneous transfer of all power at the centre, with the exception of defence and external affairs. Referring to financial safeguards, he said he would be prepared in the Constitution to give the British Government a watching brief to guard her responsibilities, but he would not be prepared in the Constitution to place the British Government in the position of a mortgagee in possession. "If, Mr. Prime Minister," the speaker concluded, "you make a mistake at this critical juncture you will wipe men like myself and a good many of my friends out of public life. We are not going to join the non-cooperation movement, but there will be no school of thought to which we can belong. We are against non-cooperation. We firmly believe it is not to the best interest of our country. Do not let the masses of the people believe that non-cooperation is the only method of gaining liberty in India."

DR. LAW urged that the problem of anarchism in Bengal was not so much a problem of the police as a problem of statesmanship. To his mind, the right remedy in order to stamp out terrorism was to ensure that the final outcome of their labours at that Conference was a full measure of self-government. That would remove all grounds for discontent by laying the foundation of economic prosperity.

POLICY OF THE STATES

The NAWAB of BHOPAL, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, said that as the work of the Conference had proceeded from day to day he had become more and more convinced that the one solution of the complex problems of India was the creation of an All-India Federal Constitution. (Cheers.) Notwithstanding the unfortunate dissensions, mistakes, and even failures, nothing could dim the steady flame of India's legitimate desire to be an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. (Cheers.) Nobody had denied that the realization of that desire must be subject to such reservations as might be necessary in the interests of the Indian Empire. "As a friend of the Empire, I should like to say that, in my judgment, it would be highly inequitable, and, if I may say so, even unfair to all of us, if by any chance decisions were taken which might be in conflict with the purpose for which this Conference was convened—(cheers)—or be at variance with the principles on which we have been working throughout the year both in India and in England. Therefore, Sir, in the best interests of the Empire as a whole and for the sake of knitting together more closely the ties of good will and affection between Great Britain and India, I beg you to formulate some scheme which will permit the continuance of the work, the foundations of which were so well and truly laid by your famous declaration of January, 1931."

Concluding, the Nawab of Bhopal said:—"We have learned to love and respect our friend, the friend of India, Lord Sankey. (Cheers.) No word of appreciation, no tribute, can ever be too high for the great work he has been doing as Chairman of the Federal Structure Committee. (Cheers.) We want him as early as possible in our midst in India; we want him to continue to preside over our deliberations, to help us in solving our problems and completing our work. We hope, Prime Minister, that you will be pleased to accede to our wishes."

LANDLORDS' RIGHTS

The MAHARAJAH of DARBHANGA said that the landlord class, to which he belonged, had the largest and most important interests at stake in British India, and they should be adequately preserved and safeguarded. It should have special representation in any new scheme of government, and should also have an electorate and a quota of seats in the Central, as well as the Provincial, Legislatures, commensurate with its interests. He was gratified to see that the Lord Chancellor and his Committee had recommended the retention of its special representation.

In regard to the question of Legislatures, the Maharajah urged the necessity of having Upper Houses in the Centre as also in the Provinces where the different interests should be adequately represented. A Second Chamber was necessary in that it exercised a salutary check on the impetuosity of the Lower House in many matters and in many ways.

A MOSLEM VIEW

Mr. FAZL-UL-HUQ said that as Moslems they knew very well that responsible government for India meant that their Hindu friends would have 17s. in the pound. They [the Moslems] did not grudge them the 17s.; all that they wanted was that in the 3s. that remained they and the other communities would be allowed to have their proper share. Separate electorates really enabled the Moslems and others to get opportunities for cooperating with the other communities in advancing the common interests of the country as a whole. His friend Dr. Moonje, in a note he had circulated, referred to the opinion of Sir Austen Chamberlain condemning the system of separate electorates as being opposed to the principle of responsible government. He wondered if Sir Austen Chamberlain had come across two such incongruous specimens of humanity as Dr. Moonje and himself—(laughter)—serving different religions, worship-

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A MEMBER.—The same God.

Mr. FAZL-UL-HUQ.—No, it cannot be the same God. My God is for separate electorates; his God is for joint electorates. (Loud laughter.)

Continuing, Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq said that instead of trying to deceive themselves and to deceive the world that there was no communal trouble in India, it was much better to take note of the fact that for at least some time to come this condition of things was bound to remain, and meanwhile it should be their earnest endeavour, by whatever means might be in their power, so to adjust the path of political advance that those who were at the present moment suspicious of one another might learn that true patriotism really transcended all communal considerations. He agreed with Sir A. P. Patro that a beginning could and should be made by conferring autonomy on the Provinces, even under the present Government of India Act. If they waited for the time to come when they could have responsibility at the Centre as well they might have to wait for years and years.

FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS

SIR PADANJI GINWALA said he did not look on the safeguards in connexion with finance at all as safeguards which were imposed upon them. "These are safeguards which I am willing to offer to my creditor," he added. "I have borrowed his money and I mean to repay it, and I want to assure him that, whatever happens to me, his money is safe in my hands. That is how I look on this question of safeguards. It is not a question of the Secretary of State or Parliament or anybody dictating to us what we should give. It is our duty to offer to our creditor, whoever he may be, the assurance that his money is safe in our hands, not only because we respect his rights as they exist at present, but so that we may induce him hereafter to lend us his money on the same favourable terms as before. . . .

"It has been suggested that this is to put the creditor in the position of a mortgagee in possession. If that is the effect, then so far as I am concerned it will not disturb my peace of mind at all; so long as I owe him money he must have his remedy against me. Therefore, in whatever Constitution you may devise provision must be made that the rights of the creditors of India are properly secured."

Referring to the military budget, Sir Padanji proposed a Standing Finance Committee in charge of military expenditure before which the budget must be placed by the Military Minister and the Military Department. That budget must be scrutinized—*in camera*, if they liked—and an appeal must lie to the Governor-General if there was no agreement between the Standing Finance Committee and the military authorities when the budget was being considered. That would at any rate give a part of the Assembly the opportunity of studying military expenditure and familiarizing itself with Army management. Further, he would have another committee (corresponding to the Public Accounts Committee in connexion with civil expenditure) solely in charge of military expenditure. He would also suggest that there must be an Appropriation Bill as regards the military expenditure, which would give the whole House some opportunity of raising a debate on questions with which it might be competent to deal.

In conclusion the speaker urged that the Conference should not be dissolved. A future conference should be convened, in this form or any other, at which the whole Constitution could be considered in its more or less final state. In the meanwhile he would make one suggestion. If there had been no unanimity on many questions there was one, he thought, on which there had been unanimity. That was, as regards the Depressed Classes, the removal of untouchability. He did not believe that there was anyone who would not agree that this great blot on Indian civilization should be removed as soon as possible. The Conference must give some opinion on the point, that swift and clear action should be taken, by statute if necessary, to remove untouchability.

Mr. GIRI, on behalf of the Indian Labour Delegation, declared that comparatively minor issues had been given undue prominence, while vital matters relating to the establishment of full responsible government for all India had been forced through a hurried discussion devoid of all sense of reality. The proper division of a community for electoral purposes should be on the basis of occupation rather than of religion or race. They were not against a Federal form of Government, but their concern was to see that it was truly representative of all the people of India, from British India as well as from the Indian States, and did not consist merely of the wealthier classes and the nominees of the Princes.

KHAN BAHADUR HAFIZ HIDAYAT HUSAIN, who feared that Federation was an ideal for the future which might take time to consummate, said that in the meantime no good purpose would be served by letting British India mark time. There was no reason why British Indian Provinces could not themselves federate and create a Federal Government in the Centre for British India without the Indian States coming in. When they came in they would [illegible]

DEMOCRACY IN THE STATES

The MAHARAJAH of INDORE was unable to deliver his speech in person owing to a motor-car accident a few days ago, and it was read by Mr. S. M. Babna. The Maharajah, in the course of his speech, declared that he had given very careful consideration to the scheme outlined last year and considered in detail again this year by the Federal Structure Committee. It did not, however, provide the essential safeguards for the States, and, further, presented almost insuperable difficulties. It would have been in the interest of British India if the States were left out altogether at the present stage and British India had independently evolved a Constitution suited to its conditions. The States would then have considered how they would come into closer association with British India for matters of common concern. But as the decision to federate had already been taken, after much thought, he outlined a scheme that, in his opinion, was suited to the peculiar conditions of India, and likely to meet the requirements of the several interests, and circulated his views some time ago.

Continuing, the Maharajah of Indore said that the way to bring about reform wherever necessary in Indian States was not to force undiluted democracy on them. Democracy had its good points, but experience had shown that it was not an unmixed blessing. It had been tried in the West, and he was not quite sure if the opinion was entirely in its favour. They in India should therefore benefit by the experience gained elsewhere, and model their future institutions with due regard to the traditions, sentiments, and temperament of the people; institutions that they could not make use of properly might do more harm than good. Though this was true of all India, it would apply with greater force to Indian States where the people had for ages lived happily under a benevolent monarchy, and where the personal element, the sense of a personal contact between the ruler and the ruled, based on affectionate care on the one hand and devoted loyalty on the other, had played such an important part in creating an identity of interests between the Sovereign and the people. The States might have been conservative in outlook in the past, some of them might even now be a little behind the times, but they were all advancing; and it was his firm conviction that an advance under an indigenous form of rule and government would be far more conducive to the abiding prosperity of the people than one based on an imitation of the march of events in some foreign lands.

MINORITIES PROBLEM

Mr. BASU having spoken, the NAWAB of CHHITARI said that although the efforts to the communal problem had been futile and unsuccessful, they had been of great use in so far that they had narrowed down the points of difference. There was complete agreement between every section of Moslems on all salient points except one, and that was the subject of joint electorates. As to the question of separate electorates, his position was the same as it was last year, when he spoke on the question in the Minorities Sub-Committee. As certain communities insisted on separate electorates there should be a clause in the Constitution that they could have separate electorates at first and give them up whenever they liked of their own free will. After all, separate electorates in themselves were not the goal. They were the means to achieve the goal. When all other safeguards for the Moslem community had been embodied, when they had seen the working of the Constitution, when they realized that the real safety of the minority rested upon the good will of the majority more than anything else, he thought they would be willing to give up the separate electorates. What they wanted was to create a feeling of nationalism. The speaker associated himself with the Nawab of Bhopal's view that the solution of the Indian problem rested in All-India Federation.

DIWAN BAHADUR RAJA NARENDRA NATH and Mr. JADHAV continued the discussion.

SIRDAR JARMANI DASS, speaking for the Maharajah of Kapurthala, said the Maharajah had signified his concurrence in the Federal scheme. The progressive ideas which his Highness brought to the rule of his State were well known. The institution more than 10 years ago of a Legislative Assembly closely associated his subjects with his Government. It was widely hoped that in due course all Indian States would introduce constitutional forms of government so as to bring their systems into line with responsible government in British India so far as might be practicable. He shared that hope, being emphatically of the opinion that the welfare and prosperity of the whole of India would depend largely on the Ruling Princes keeping that policy steadily in view. (Cheers.)

Federation was an ideal accepted by all parties, and if there were differences of opinion among the Princes it was not on the basic principle of Federation, but on the method of selecting representatives to be sent to the Federal Legislature. The difference was that some Princes favoured direct representation and others indirect representation through an electoral college.

The communal trouble in India, which unfortunately was [illegible] of the States, was, he was convinced, transitory and artificial. Once confidence was restored and all suspicion removed, factors of community, caste, and creed would take only a secondary place in the political life of the country. That was the spirit of the younger generation to-day, as on them would rest soon the responsibility of working and developing the new Constitution, and one could look to the future for a united and happy India without any misgiving and indeed with confidence.

DOMINION STATUS

MR. BAROOAH said it was Dominion status that India demanded to-day. He could conceive of no Dominion status for India without responsible government at the Centre and without control over the Army, the purse, and foreign affairs to the full extent to which they were enjoyed in the other Dominions in the Empire. He did not forget that in some of these departments safeguards were necessary for the period of transition; but none of the delegates was afraid on that account. They were agreeable to all just and proper safeguards.

The RAJAH of BOBBILI further argued the claims of landholders, who, he said, would be false to their principles and untrue to their order if they did not desire to preserve the inherited rights of their class and secure legitimate guarantees in the new order of things. They desired that all the covenants and obligations which the present Government had entered into with them must be carried over to the new régime and accepted by the new Government.

EUROPEAN VIEW

SIR HUBERT CARR said that his colleagues and he felt that the deliberations extending over the past year had led to a very remarkable degree of agreement on many questions of vital importance to the future of India. Were nothing to result from the Conference other than the increased understanding and respect which delegates had found for each other, the gain would be considerable. This closer relationship enabled all parties to give voice, without fear of misunderstanding, to their genuine thoughts, and permitted the advocacy of lines of action in the knowledge that they would be judged in the spirit in which they were put forward. It is in that atmosphere that the European section of the British Indian Delegation stood firmly for such financial safeguards as would enable India to preserve her credit, and they did so without fear of being suspected of wanting to hold India back from her natural constitutional progress. In the same way they had urged the maintenance of efficiency in the Services, not for the purpose of withholding power from the new Governments but because they wanted those Governments to start with such weapons as would enable them to ensure to the land peace and tranquillity.

"We should much prefer," Sir Hubert Carr continued, "provincial autonomy instituted previously to any change in the Centre, or even before it is decided on at the Centre. We realize, however, while deploring it, that there is not sufficient confidence existing between India and Great Britain to-day for India to be content with merely provincial autonomy and a declared intention of development at the Centre. We are, therefore, united with our fellow-delegates in demanding that the whole framework of Federation and provincial autonomy shall be determined at the same time. ('Hear, hear.') We earnestly hope that provincial autonomy will be introduced Province by Province, the varying needs of each being recognized in its Constitution. In some Provinces—and here, in recognition of communal difficulties, I refer especially to Bengal and the Punjab, as well as to the United Provinces and Bihar—two Chambers appear to be desirable."

A HAPPY AUGURY

The demand to be allowed to take an equal share with their Indian fellow-subjects in the commercial and industrial development of India was vital to the Europeans. It did not imply any disadvantage to India, nor any handicap on her industrial development, and the generous spirit in which their demand had been received in almost every quarter was, he thought, a happy augury for the future.

The task, Sir Hubert Carr said, now lying ahead of all parties was to prepare the ground for the new Constitution. He wished to pay their sincere tribute to those of their fellow-delegates whose high sense of public service compelled them a year ago to face no inconsiderable opprobrium and take their place at the Conference. (Cheers.) He trusted that as a result of the contact between Indian politicians and his Majesty's Government all parties would feel compelled to throw their whole active influence into allaying the feeling of unrest in India, and preparing the calm conditions in which the peoples of India might rise from the present economic distress. Any continued encouragement, direct or indirect, to break the law, either violently or non-violently, could only prove in the long run a crime against the younger generation, a hindrance to the prosperity of the country, and a grave difficulty for future Indian statesmen and administrators.

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CENTRE AND PROVINCES

Mr. IYENGAR urged that reservations and safeguards should not be of such a character as to swallow responsibility, or in any way materially to reduce the substance of self-government or responsibility. They must start the Constitution straight away without waiting for everyone or even for a large number to come in before they started. He trusted that there would be no avoidable delay on the part of his Majesty's Government in going ahead with the work and assuring them that these safeguards would be satisfactorily agreed and that Federation would be complete.

SIR MANUBHAI MEHTA said he had received a message from the Maharajah of Bikaner urging that a request should be placed before the Plenary Session to enlarge the Federal Chamber.

Continuing, Sir Manubhai said they had heard certain disquieting rumours, and it would seem from three or four remarks made in the Conference that there was a tendency to think of starting with provincial autonomy, keeping Federation or responsibility at the Centre as a goal, a distant goal to be reached by stages—they might be rapid stages or they might be slow stages—and not as something to be immediately declared. To him the word "provincial autonomy," was a contradiction in terms. Provincial autonomy with centralized control had no meaning. As long as there was centralized control the provinces could not be autonomous, and if the provinces were to be autonomous then the Centre ought to transfer more and more departments to the provinces, more and more powers to the provinces. There could not be Federation unless there was responsibility at the Centre. They were prepared to federate only if there was a responsible Centre, and unless their financial rights were fully safeguarded they would not agree to any transfer of powers to the provinces, and the provinces could not become autonomous without their agreeing to such transfer. That was the dilemma in which they were placed, and he appealed to the statesmen of the Empire to find out a solution.

The Conference then adjourned until this morning.

"FAVOURITISM"

Hobart 23/10/32.

MAHASABHA CALLS AWARD DISGRACEFUL

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the session of the Moslem Conference the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met in Delhi and passed resolutions in glaring contrast with those of the other communal body.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha (state the resolutions) strongly condemns the Communal Award on the following grounds:—

It manifestly favours one party over the other.

The Prime Minister, in giving the Award, is mainly guided by the rule *Divide et Impera* and imposes an ingenious device to prevent India from ever rising to the status of a self-governing nation.

It creates fresh separate electoral constituencies for Depressed Classes, women, Christians and Anglo-Indians.

It introduces an unalterable communal ascendency in the Punjab and Bengal by granting reserved seats through separate electorates to the majority community of the Moslems.

It has increased the already liberal weightage of the Moslems in Bihar, Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces and Assam at the expense of the Depressed Classes, which should have got weightage according to the Raja-Moonje Pact.

It has, instead of protecting the rights of all minorities alike, robbed the Hindu minority in the Punjab and Bengal of its representation in proportion to its population whilst allowing the Moslems weightage in all provinces in which they are in a minority.

It has been unjust to the Sikhs of the Punjab who, in view of their importance in population, should have been given, if not more, at least the same weightage which Moslems have been given in provinces where they are in a minority.

The Working Committee strongly protest against the reference in the Award to the separation of Sind. That Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, which recommended separation, did not contain a single Sind Hindu representative and the recommendation of the Sub-Committee was strictly conditional on Sind being able to be financially independent. It expressly laid down that if Sind cannot pay its way, there will be no separation. Subsequent inquiries show that Sind cannot pay.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, have no alternative than strongly to urge on all Hindus to resist the imposition of this disgraceful and inequitable Award by every means in their power and to this end calls upon the Hindus to go through an ordeal of sacrifice for their just rights and principles.

Sunday, October 23,

MAHASABHA FOR COMPROMISE

DR. MOONJE STATES CONDITIONS

NO DISCRIMINATION

SIND SEPARATION ISSUE

Delhi, Saturday.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has issued the following statement to the Press:—

"I have carefully read the resolution adopted at the All-Parties Conference of the Muslims, held at Lucknow on the 15th and 16th October, 1932. I have also read the statements of the Moslem leaders thereon, which, I hope, do not really intend to convey that if the Hindus and the Sikhs were to discriminate between the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah they will not be prepared for any compromise. I have also had the benefit of a talk with Pandit Malaviyaji on the subject. The Hindu Mahasabha is now in a position, in order to leave no doubt about its attitude in the matter, to state as follows:

"1. That it heartily welcomes the attempt of the Moslem leaders to come to a compromise on the communal problem, and it assures them of its sincere co-operation, if the compromise is based on joint electorates and be on reasonable and national lines.

"2. That it is sanguine and strongly believes that it is possible to evolve a suitable formula of compromise, acceptable to all communities such as joint electorates with no reservation or joint electorates with reservation and also with or without weightages if there be an earnest and honest desire for real compromise within the constitutional limits as follows:

"(*a*) That there should be no reservation of seats for any majority community in any province with the object or result of securing majority by statute to the majority community.

"(*b*) That no minority community in any province should have its representation fixed below its proportion in the population of the province.

"(*c*) That if, as a matter of compromise, a system of weightages in representation to minority communities in the provinces be acceptable to majority and minority communities, the weightages should be fixed on a principle which should be equally and uniformally applicable to all minorities, and there should be no discrimination in the matter in favour of one minority in one province as against another minority in another province, similarly situated.

Separation of Sind

"3. That as regards the question of separation of Sind, it holds with Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto and others that it should not be included as an item in the settlement of the communal problem. It is of the opinion and hopes that the Moslem leaders will also agree that the matter should be regarded as closed for the following reasons:

"(*a*) That both the Nehru Report and the Sind Agreement at the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow, signed by Muslim leaders like Maulana Shaukat Ali and Sheikh Abdul Majid, made the separation of Sind conditional on Sind being in a position to meet its deficit out of its own resources.

"(*b*) That the acceptance of the principle of separation by the Round Table Conference was, with the full agreement of Moslem leaders, like Mr. Jinnah, H. H. the Aga Khan, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto and others, subject to the condition prescribed by the ruling of the President of the Sind Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, which is that—'If Sind cannot show that it can stand successfully on its own legs, the separation does not take place.

"(*c*) That it has been proved beyond doubt by Expert Committees of the Governmnet that Sind if separated, will be a province of heavy deficit and will have no financial means to carry on its administration at least as efficiently as at present.

"Besides I am not without hope that Muslims will not fail to appreciate the just contention of the Sind Hindus that the decision of the R.T.C. of accepting the principle of separation was *ex parte*."

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MR. JINNAH'S 14 POINTS

And All-Parties Muslim Conference Resolution

We reprint below Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points and also the All-Parties Muslim Conference resolution as they are subjects under discussion at the Unity Conference:—

Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points may be summariesd as follows:—

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces.

2. Uniform measures of autonomy should be granted to all provinces.

3. All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality.

4. In the Central Legislature the Mussalman representation should not be less than one-third.

5. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the N. W. F. Provinces.

6. Full religious liberty, that is liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.

ADVERSE LEGISLATION

7. No bill or resolution or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of the Hindu or Muslim communities in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community.

8. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

9. Reforms should be introduced in the N.-W. F. Provinces and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.

10. Provisions should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the State and in the self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

11. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of the Muslim religion, culture and personal laws and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language and charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.

MUSLIMS IN THE CABINET

12. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim ministers of at least one-third.

13. No change be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian federation.

14. That in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country and in other elected bodies through separate electorate is inevitable and further the Government being pledged not to deprive the Musalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent, and so long as the Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are adequately safeguarded in the manner specified above they will not consent to joint electorate with or without conditions.

All-Parties Muslim Conference Resolution

The resolution embodying their (Muslims) united demand runs as follows:—

Whereas, in view of India's vast extent and its ethnological, linguistic, administrative, and geographical or territorial divisions, the only form of government suitable to Indian conditions is a federal system with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent states, the Central Government having control only of such matters of common interest as may be specifically entrusted to it by the constitution; and whereas it is essential that no Bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters be moved, discussed or passed by any Legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either the Muslim community affected thereby in the Legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, resolution, motion or amendment; and whereas the right of Muslims to elect their representatives on the various Indian Legislatures through separate electorate is now the law of the land and Muslims cannot be deprived of that right without their consent; and whereas in the conditions existing at present in India and so long as those conditions continue to exist, representation in various Legislature and other statutory self-governing bodies of Muslims through their own separate electorates is essential in order to bring into existence a really representative democratic government; and whereas so long as Mussalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are adequately safeguarded in the constitution they will in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates whether with or without conditions; and whereas, for the purposes aforesaid it is essential that Mussalmans should have their due share in the central and provincial Cabinets; and whereas it is essential that representation of Mussalmans in the various Legislatures and other statutory self-governing bodies should be based on a plan whereby the Muslim majority in those provinces where Mussalmans constitute a minority they shall in no way be affected and in the provinces in which Mussalmans constitute a majority (minority) they shall have a representation in no case less than that enjoyed by them under the existing law; and whereas all provinces in India have unanimously resolved that with a view to provide adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim interests in India as a whole Mussalmans should have the right of 33-1-3 per cent. representation in the central Legislature and this conference entirely endorses that demand; and whereas on ethnological, linguistic, geographical, and administratve grounds the province of Sind has no affinity whatever with the rest of the Bombay Presidency and its unconditional constitution into a separate province, possessing its own separate legislative and administrative machinery on the same lines as in other provinces of India is essential in the interests of its people, the Hindu minority in Sind being given adequate and effective representation in excess of their proportion in the population, as may be given to Mussalmans in the provinces in which they constitute a minority of population, and whereas the introduction of constitutional reforms in the N.-W. F. Provinces and Baluchistan along such lines as may be adopted in other provinces of India is essential not only in the interests of those provinces but also of the constitutional advance of India as a whole, the Hindu minorities in those provinces being given adequate and effective representation in excess of their proportion in population, as is given to the Muslim community in provinces in which it constitutes a minority of the population; and whereas it is essential in the interests of Indian administration that provision should be made in the constitution giving Mussalmans their adequate share along with other Indians in all services of the State and on all statutory self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency; and whereas, having regard to the political conditions obtaining in India, it is essential that the Indan constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, languages, religion, personal law and Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid; and whereas it is essential that the constitution should provide that no change in the Indian constitution shall, after its inauguration, be made by the central Legislature except with the concurrence of all the states constituting the Indian federation;

'This conference emphatically declares that no constitution by whomsoever proposed or devised will be acceptable to Indian Mussalmans unless it conforms with the principles embodied in this resolution.'

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'UNHAPPY I DIA'

P. 119.

.....

"There has been developed in the United States a regular technique in matters of mob violence. Matters move somewhat as follows:-

"A crime is committed. The police hasten to accuse a Negro. This, of course, is popular because the white public readily believes in Negro crime. A Negro is arrested. If he is promptly lynched the police are vindicated and the guilty white persons saved from fear of detection. If lynching is delayed but threatened, a mob usually attacks the Negro district. This gives a chance for looting and stealing. If any Negroes defend themselves, immediately the police often assisted by the Militia, promptly disarm ~~any~~ all Negroes and charge a number with rioting. If any white people are arrested for rioting nearly all of them are discharged; but the Negroes are held and prosecuted. This serves to intimidate the Negro population and keeps it from attempting any self-defence, however innocent the defenders may be, and in no matter how grave danger to life, limb and property".

P. 129.

The above facts have, we presume, given the reader some idea of the magnitude of the problem of the Negro in the United States. Both the parties to the question, the whites and the blacks, are conscious of the gravity of the situation. The whites themselves are divided into three classes; first those who have nothing but condemnation for the prejudice against the Negro; second, those who condemn the prejudice and yet condone it- in its milder forms- on the ground that there is such a difference between the white man and the Negro that it is impossible for the former to treat the latter as an equal. These people would discriminate in favour of the better class of Negroes, the educated and the cultured among them. Last but not least, is the class which condemns the Negroes on racial grounds and would under no circumstances have any sort of social relations with them. This class believes that 'no amount of education of any kind, industrial, classical, or religious, can make out of a Negro a white man or bridge the chasm which separates him from the white man in the evolution of human history'.

The Negroes were brought to America as dejected and expatriated individuals. The imported slaves represented the conquered and subdued, the despised and outcast of their own country and race. In America, during the period of slavery, they were denied freedom of education, freedom of motion, means of intercommunication and the privilege of unrestrained assemblage. Generally speaking, everything which tends to civilize a man was

no law of morality in his treatment of the slave, man or woman, and to-day a large number of coloured men in America are the standing proof of the immoral lawlessness of their former white masters. Under the institution of slavery the Negro was suppressed below the level of self-respect. The black woman often felt a superior importance in becoming the mother of a tawny child. The white master or overseer felt no legal, social, or conscientious constraint in victimizing the female chattel. 'The Negro in this country,' says Dean Miller, 'is the sacrificial race. He is the burden bearer of the white and suffers the ills of that lowly place. He performs the rough work of society. He suffers the affliction and even commits the crimes which always fall to the lot of his status'.

In another place the same writer says:

"The Negro woman has been made to bear the brunt of the evil passions of all the races of men living or sojourning in this country. Within the veins of the so-called Negro race there course traces of the blood of every known ~~a~~ variety or sub-variety of the human family. Not only within the limits of the race itself, but even within the veins of the same individuals, the strains of blood are mingled and blended in inextricable confusion".

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Quotations from-

'UNHAPPY INDIA' by L. Lajpat Rai.

P. 113-114.

.....

Legal distinctions and discriminations are mostly confined to the South, but race prejudice is to be found practically throughout the United States. Negroes are excluded from hotels, from Y.M.C.A's and Y.W.C.A's, from theatres and saloons and are even refused interment in White cemeteries- in some cases in direct violation of local laws. Because of public sentiment Negroes attend separate churches and put up at separate hotels and get special seats in the theatres. They are segregated in cities and even in country places and kept apart from white people in all relations of life. The Negro in the United States is worse than a pariah.

The worst form taken by this race prejudice is the lynching of Negroes accused or suspected of crimes against white people, before they have been tried and adjudged guilty by any court of justice. The 'Ku Klux Klan' with its wide organisation shows American efficiency in this job. They have the methods of a secret revolutionary society, only they know they can defy 'law and order' with much greater impunity. Speaking of this mob violence against the Negros, the Author of America Comes of Age assures us that 'the best elements of the community often take part- society people, high officials, and even judges.... they have told me this themselves,..... The cordial, polished gentleman with whom you are talking is posibly a murderer who has gone into the wood at night to kill a man outnumbered a hundred to one; and thousands of others, your friends among them may have been his accomplices'.

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WRECKERS OF UNITY: A.

—:-o-:—

ALLAHABAD DECISIONS "UNACCEPTABLE"

Self-Contradictory Resolution

RELUCTANCE TO DISCUSS UNITY PROPOSALS

Muslim Leaders Walk Out

(From Our Corespondent)

An effort to wreck the Unity decisions of Allahabad was the main feature of the joint conference of the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem Conference, the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Cawnpore, held in Delhi on Sunday morning, when Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy presided.

The conveners of the conference rushed through a number of resolutions, including one deprecating the Allahabad Unity decisions. While a section of the reactionaries conceded that any opinion on the Allahabad decisions was at present premature inasmuch as they

that the resolutions passed was in order.

Resolutions relating to Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Madras, etc., were then passed.

Premature

About three hours were spent on discussing the main resolution regarding the Allahabad decisions. A small section of the House favoured that expression of opinion on Allahabad decisions was yet premature as the decisions were yet to be ratified at the open Conference. At first, it seemed that this resolution would be accepted as a compromise, but the reactionary group insisted on adding amendments to the effect that "Allahabad decisions are unacceptable." The resolution thus became self-contradictory.

Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Punjab Minister, Nawab Mohammad Yusuf, U.P. Minister, Mr. Nazim-ud-din, Bengal Minister, Maulvi Mohammad Yaqub, Sheikh Rahim Bakhsh, Haji Abdullah Haroon, Mr. Vilayatullah and others spoke against joint electorates.

Bitter Speeches

Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Maulvi Yaqub and Haji Abdullah Haroon made bitter speeches, attacking the Allahabad decisions. Malik Feroz Khan Noon said that the Allahabad mentality showed that the decisions would not be in their favour, and this was proved beyond doubt. The

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APPLICATION

Cawnpore, Nov. 19.

Two German rovers named George Spreik Mundin and Fraiz Wolf Fraulefort of Hochst West, arrived by the river in a rubber portable canoe, having left Germany a year and a half ago. They covered six thousand miles by river travelling in this canoe and another nine thousand travelling by steamer or train due to stormy weather. They are going from here to Calcutta by river and then they will proceed by sea to Burma, Australia, China, Japan and America. They are members of the first German Asian Folding

Germans Arrive in Rubber Canoe

FOLDING BOAT EXPEDITION

imprisonment yesterday.—A.P.I.

A volunteer who threw unauthorised Congress bulletins in the court of the Additional City Magistrate on Friday was sentenced to four months'

liaher the *Sansar Samachar*, a vernacular daily, were arrested last night, under the Ordinance. It will be remembered that the editor has been served with five notices by the District Magistrate in course of the last seven months asking him not to publish objectionable matter.

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Allahabad Decisions "Unacceptable"

(*Continued from page 5*)

Mohammad Hussain, Barrister. members of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference, had left the meeting earlier. The resolution was then passed.

The Resolutions

Delhi, Monday.

The following resolutions are stated to have been passed at the Joint Conference of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference, Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Cawnpore:—

Assam Legislature

"Having regard to the growing influx of immigrants predominantly Muslim to the province of Assam and need of securing effective weightage to the minority community, the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference and Jamiat-ul-Ulema endorse the legitimate demand of the Mussalmans of Assam to 40 per cent of seats in the local legislature.

Madras Muslims

"Having regard to the importance of the Muslims of Madras this joint meeting of the All-India Muslim League, All-India Muslim Conference and Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Cawnpore, deems it necessary that the Mussalmans of Madras should enjoy the same weightage as is allowed to N.-W.-F. Province and be treated in the matter of representation in the Cabinet and other services in the same way.

Delhi and Ajmer

"As no decision has yet been reached regarding the representation of the Delhi Province and the proceedings of the last two Round Table Conferences have made but very small mention of this important province this joint meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee of the Muslim Conference and Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Cawnpore, demands that one seat for the Muslims must be reserved by seperate election each for the Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara Provinces in the next Federal Assembly of India.

Bihar and Orissa

"That in view of the weightage given to non-Muslims in the N.-W..F. Province and the inadequate weightage given to the Muslim minority in Bihar and Orissa, which falls short of the Muslim demand, this Joint Conference of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference and Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Cawnpore, resolves that at least 27 per cent. representation be given to the Muslims in Behar and Orissa.

Unity Conference

"In view of the fact that some of the Muslim gentlemen who attended the Allahabad Conference, have stated that their proposals are not final, in fact the report of the Unity Committee was not yet even signed and one of the gentlemen has tabled and proposes to move some important amendments to the Allahadad proposals, this meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, the Working Committee of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema of Cawnpore and the All-India Muslim Conference considers any opinion regarding the Allahabad proposals as premature, but in order to to remove all possible misrepresentation or misapprehension this meeting wishes to make it quite clear that no communal settlement by whomsoever arrived at or agreed to shall be acceptable to the Muslim community at large unless and until all the demands embodied in the Muslim Conference resolution of 1st January, 1929, as amplified by the resolution of April, 1931, are fully conceded. This meeting further puts on record its considered opinion that the Allahabad proposals, as published hitherto, fall short of the Muslim demand and are therefore unacceptable. This meeting authorises the secretaries of the three bodies to issue a statement embodying the substance of the speaches in support of the resolution."

"The joint conference of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference, the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and the Jamaiat-ul Ulema-i-Hind (Cawnpore) has carefully considered the text of the draft resolutions recently passed by the Committee of the Allahabad Conference, and while registering appreciation of the endeavours made by a wing of the Mussalmans to arrive once again at some settlement with the Congress and Mahasabha Hindus, and with the Sikhs on the communal problem, desires to place on record its opinion that the propossd basis of agreement is injurious to Muslim interests, impractical and unacceptable.

"Misapprehensions"

"As those responsible for conducting the proceedings at Allahabad did not publish the full texts of the resolutions they had passed until the latest possible moment, and then immediately proceeded to proclaim far and wide that complete unity amongst the chief communities of India had been achieved as a result of them, we consider it of importance that popular misapprehensions about the scope and status of the Allahabad Conference and the meaning of the resolutions passed by it should be promptly corrected. We note with surprise that one of the chief Hindu participants in the negotiations has at this early stage actually telegraphed to London to say that the Conference has settled the communal problem.

Premier's Award

"The communal decision issued by His Majesty's Government last August was only necessary because of the regrettable failure of the communities, despite the most strenuous and repeated endeavours made over a period of many years to reach an agreement regarding their respective political positions in a self-governing India. In our view this failure was due to the persistent refusal of the majority community to meet the minorities' just and reasonable claims. Owing to the complete deadlock thus created, a position arose in which had no award on the subject been given by His Majesty's Government it would have been impossible for India to progress any further towards the management of her own affairs. As was emphatically recorded by the vast majority of accredited Muslim organizations and leaders at the time, the award was very far from satisfying in full the legitimate Muslim political demands which had been formulated and generally agreed upon in the past. Nonetheless, the majority of responsible Muslims were after a while reluctantly forced to the conclusion that, since the majority community were obstinately and from all appearances irrevocably opposed to granting of the

JSTAN TIMES

ND A PRO

"INJURIOUS TO MUSLIM INTERESTS"

Allahabad Unity Resolutions Criticised

Delhi, Monday.

The following is the full text of the statement issued by Sir Mohammad Yaqub, Maulvi Shafi Daudi and Maulvi Mazhar-ud-din after the walk-out of Nawab Mohammad Ismail (formerly President of the A-I. Muslim Conference), Mr. Zakir Ali, a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference, Maulana Abdul Majid, M.L.C., President of the Khilafat Conference; and Syed Mohammad Hussain, Barrister, Member of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference and the Council of the All-India muslim League, in the name of the Joint Conference of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference, Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Cawnpore:—

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"INJURIOUS TO MUSLIM INTERESTS"

(*Continued from page* 5)

the award, it was advisable, despite its obvious defects from the Muslim point of view, to accept it.

Past Failures

"How in the circumstances it can possibly be imagined that the Muslim community as a whole will willingly accept a political position materially worse than that provided for them even by so admittedly defective a device as the communal decision we utterly fail to understand. Yet after the most careful examination of the resolutions passed at Allahabad, the only conclusion we can reach is that this is what the Committee of the Conference proposes. It will be remembered that when towards the end of September certain Muslim and Hindu leaders, in their individual capacity, made proposals for a revival of Hindu-Muslim negotiations about communal representation, a large body of Muslim spokesmen were of the opinion that no good purpose would be served by further discussions at this stage, in view of the innumerable failures recorded in the past. Indeed, many of us feared that a re-opening of the problem now would only end by embittering communal relations, as it had done several times before. Others, however, thought the attempt might [illegible] definitely worse than it would be under the admittedly unsatisfactory provisions of the communal decision.

"(*a*) *The Punjab.*—Under the Government's decision, the Muslims in the Punjab are guaranteed 86 seats in a House of 175 by separate electorates. In addition they are almost certain to secure one *tumandar* seat and two landholders' seats. There is also a good chance of their getting one labour seat. The total probable number of their seats is thus 90. Under the Allahabad arrangements, they are deprived entirely of the safeguard of separate electorates, to which, on good ground, so much importance has been attached, and are in addition required to give up sufficient seats to the Sikhs to bring their total representation down to a maximum of 51 per cent. of the whole House. As the Muslims amount to 56 per cent. of the population of the Punjab, any further surrenders than those required under the communal decision are manifestly impossible.

"(b) *Bengal.*—The Muslims have always considered themselves entitled to a majority in Bengal, and this the communal decision did not give them. ference, for the device of separate electorates. But in point of fact what is proposed is radically different from what the late Maulana suggested. The principle underlying Mohammad Ali's formula was that the second best Muslim, if he secured a minimum of 40 per cent. of the votes of his own community, would be deemed elected, instead of the best Muslim, if he got a majority of non-Muslim votes. But the Allahabad "modification" of the formula completely undermines the entire principle, since it provides that a Muslim getting less than 33 per cent. of the votes of his own people could be elected if he secured the most non-Muslim votes, which evidently means that the fourth best Muslim could be elected instead of the best one if he were supported by members of the other communities. This in effect gives separate electorates to the Hindus and joint electorates to the Muslim voters if he enjoyed the confidence of his own people, whereas the unfortunate Muslim candidate would always have to consider the Hindu voters first and the Muslim afterwards. The poopsal is obviously ridiculous

"(*e*) *Representation in the cabinets.*—As regards this, the Muslim demand was that in every cabinet the Muslim representation should be adequate and, as amplified by Mr. Jinnah, not less than one-third of the total. The Allahabad Committee remarks that the claims of the important minorities to portfolios in the provincial cabinets shall be recognised "by convention." What this may mean is completely obscure. At the Centre, they propose one seat for the Sikhs, but make no remark regarding provision for the Muslims.

"(*f*) *Representation in the Services.*—The Muslims demanded that they should get a share in representation in the Services proportionate to their representation in the legislatures. The Allahabad Committee has resolved that a committee should be responsible for deciding about appointments.

"(*g*) *Baluchistan.*—The Muslims demanded that reforms should be introduced in Baluchistan in the

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same way as in other provinces. The Allahabad Committee has decided that the method of achieving this object should be considered hereafter.

"(*h*) *Provision of equivalent safeguards to Muslims and Hindu minorities.*—It is remarkable that whereas safeguards have been laid down under the Allahabad scheme for Hindus in the Punjab, Bengal and Sind, no corresponding arrangements appear to have been made for the Muslims in such provinces as the Central Provinces and Madras, where, being in a greatly inferior numerical position, they certainly need them.

"(*i*) *Provision of safeguards for minorities in the Central Legislature.*—Safeguards corresponding to those provided for Hindus in the Punjab, Bengal and Sind do not seem to have been secured for the minority communities in the Central Legislature where the Hindus will be in an overwhelming majority. Further, the right to decision on controversial matters is apparently to be given to the Central Legislature, thus striking a blow at the fundamental Muslim demand that residuary powers shall remain with the provinces.

Unacceptable

"The above analysis, which, as we have explained, is not exhaustive but sufficient to demonstrate that the Allahabad 'solution' of the communal problem is, so far as the Muslims are concerned, manifestly unfair and unacceptable. The minorities in India have very real cause for apprehensions as to what may befall them from the majority under a democratic regime; and if the Hindus had a greater capacity for realistic statesmanship, they would have recognised the validity of our claims for adequate protection years ago.

Let the Hindu community give up their pose, of working in the sacred cause of nationalism, and all the inhabitants of this great country will then be able to go forward in peace and security to the splendid future that awaits us.

OMPT EXPOSURE

"DETERMINED DECISION TO WRECK UNITY"

Why They Walked Out

NAWAB MOHAMED ISMAIL KHAN'S SCATHING EXPOSURE

"Unconstitutional and Unfair"

Delhi, Sunday.

Soon after leaving the meeting, Maulana Abdul Majid, President of the Khilafat Conference, interviewed by the *Hindustan Times* representative, said:—

"It is regrettable that the joint meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference Council of the Muslim League and the Working Committee of the Jamait-ul-Ulema, Cawnpore, was not in a mood to consider the decisions of the Unity Committee of Allahabad dispassionately. These bodies have missed a golden opportunity to do the greatest service possible to the noble cause of achieving unity. If the above organisations had suggested any amendments to the decisions of the Unity Conference consistent with the resolution of the All-India Muslim Conference, they would have been perfectly justified, but what they have done amounts to repudiation of the Allahabad decisions, without thinking that almost all their main demands are embodied in those decisions.

No Going Back

"They have exploited my statement, which I made before the meeting, that the Allahabad decisions were yet to be considered, first, by the Unity Committee and subsequently by the Conference before they can be declared as finally agreed upon by the various communities. But they have completely ignor-

in the deliberations of the Conference."

Wreckers of Unity

"I am leaving this meeting because I see no use remaining present at a meeting where people have come with a determined decision to wreck the decisions arrived at Allahabad," said Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, a former President of the All-India Muslim Conference, while leaving the meeting, before it passed the resolution.

He told our representative that there was no other course left open to them than going to the country and seeking the verdict of the masses. He reserved a detailed statement on the subject.

Syed Mahammad Hussain, Barrister, Allahabad, who is a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of an interview with the *Hindustan Times* representative, said: "I have left the meeting before the resolution was passed, because I felt the attitude of the majority uncompromising, unfair and unconstitutional. Conveners of the meeting had prepared a statement which was never read before the meeting but has been issued in the name of three organisations. We had desired that decisions of the Unity Conference would be discussed on their merits, but that was denied and a vague resolution was proposed, which necessitated

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"Determined Decision to Wreck Unity"

(Continued from page 5)

by our representative, said: "We came to Delhi to request the meeting not to pass any hasty resolution and injure the cause of emancipation of this unfortunate country, but we found many unknown faces, seldom seen before, assembled in the meeting, and determined to pass certain resolutions previously prepared. We tried our best to explain the implications of resolutions passed at Allahabad, but because of the pre-determined attitude of those who specially assembled for the purpose, we found no other alternative but to leave the meeting. I hope the forthcoming Lucknow Conference, which will be a representative Conference of Muslims of India, will decide whether the Mussalmans of India endorse the agreement arrived at Allahabad, or not."

It is understood that the All-India Majlis-i-Arhar, Jamaiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the Central Khilafat Committee, the Muslim League, the Shia Political Conference, the All-Ind Muslim Youth League, the Muslim onference, and the Volunteers' Conference are among the bodies invited to the forthcoming Lucknow Conference which will meet on December 1 and 2.

UNITY COMMITTEE.

Tribune 20/11.

Text of Resolutions.

Allahabad, Nov. 18.

The full text of the resolutions passed by the Unity Conference Committee has just been released by the General Secretary. They are the same as already wired but are slightly modified.

RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

(1) This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the Government at the Centre, fully responsible to the people and possessing full rights of national Government, will alone satisfy the needs of India and ensure the welfare of her people. The conference, therefore, demands that control over the Government of India should be transferred to the Indian people with only such safeguards, for a short period, fixed by Statute, as may be shown demonstrably necessary in the interests of India.

PROTECTION OF RELIGION AND CULTURE.

(2) (A) Articles in the constitution relating to fundamental rights shall include guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection of their culture, language, script, education, practice of religion and endowments.

(See page 2)

UNITY COMMITTEE.

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS.

(Continued from page 1.)

age, script, education, practice of religion and endowments.

(b) Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution (c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in various provinces shall be the concern and should be within the jurisdiction of the Central Government.

(d) Personal laws of the community shall not be modified except at the desire of the community expressed through its representatives in the Legislature or otherwise with the support of public opinion of the community concerned.

(e) No change shall be made in the personal laws of Musalmans as it is in force in British India except in accordance with the Islamic principles.

(f) This sub-clause describes the precedure to be adopted if any objection is made to any bill passed which affects any particular community.

ARMY & JUDICIARY.

3. It is agreed that army and judiciary all over India shall be open to all sections of the Indian people. Recruitments to both shall be made on the basis of merit alone and they shall be kept free from all communalism provincialism or party politics.

CABINETS.

4. (a) In the formation of the Cabinet of the Central Government, as far as possible, the members belonging to Musalman, Sikh and other minorities communities of considerable members forming the Indian nation shall be included by convention. Further during the first ten years in

CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

7. (1) In the absence of definite information as to the proportion of powers and functions of the members returned by the Indian States to the All-India Federal Legislature that may come into existence, this agreement as to reservation of seats in Central Legislature is entered into with reference only to representation of British India.

(2) It is agreed that in Central Legislature out of the total elected seats allotted to British India 32 per cent shall be reserved for Muslims and 4 2|3 per cent or 14 seats out of 300 for Sikhs.

JOINT ELECTORATES.

(8) The form of electorate will be joint but for the next ten years the following modified form of Mohamed Ali Formula will be adopted. Out of the candidates who have secured at least 30 per cent of votes polled of their own community, the candidates who receive the highest number of votes polled on joint-electoral roll shall be declared elected. In case there is no candidate who has secured 30 per cent votes of his own community then out of the two candidates who secured the highest number of votes of their own community that candidate shall be declared elected who secures the highest number of votes of the total votes polled. This rule of 30 per cent shall remain in force for ten years only. It will be open also to any community in any province to give up the system in favour of joint electorate, pure and simple.

WEIGHTAGE FOR MUSLIMS.

9. It is agreed that weightage

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measure or the policy to be of such a character a reference shall be made by the Ministry to a Special Tribunal appointed for the purpose by the Central Government, consisting of three Indian judges, two of whom shall belong to the same community and one shall belong to the aggrieved community and their opinion, which shall be given within a month of reference, shall decide the question and will be binding on the Provincial Government. In case the Ministry refuses to abide by it, it shall be bound to resign. *Mutates Mutandis*, Any legislative measure of the same character, as described above, initiated by non-official members, if objected to as above, shall subject to same procedure, as above?

It is agreed that safeguards mentioned above shall apply to Behar and Orissa and Bombay

(4) The seats in the Legislative Council, including those for special constituencies, shall be reserved as follows: Muslims 51 percent. Sikhs 20 per cent. Hindus 27 per cent. Indian Christians. Anglo-Indians and Europeans 2 per cent. It is proposed that seats for the Council should be raised to 200 from 175 as fixed by the Premier's decision but whatever the number that may be finally fixed the percentage of seats of different communities shall be maintained as has been stated above. (5) All the above clauses shall be interdependent.

SIND SETTLEMENT.

12. It is agreed that Sind will be constituted into a separate province, enjoying the same measure of autonomy as other major provinces in British India, with safeguards for minorities similar to those agreed to in the case of some other provinces; namely,

(1) That the Ministry of the province would be jointly responsible to the Legislature and shall include at least one Hindu Minister;

(2) Measures of a character described in paragraph 3 of the Punjab formula shall be subject to the procedure prescribed therein;

(3) (a) That there shall be equality of franchise qualifications for both Hindus and Muslims in rural as well as urban constituencies;

(b) That after 10 years, consistently with the principle embodied in (1) efforts should be made to reflect the population of the two communities in the electorate as far as possible:

(c) That there shall be joint electorates, with reservation, of 37 per cent of the total seats, including special constituencies, for Hindus, in the local legislature, provided after 10 years, if the Hindus so desire, reservation of seats for Hindus shall be on a population basis, but they shall have in addition the right to contest further seats;

(d) That there shall be joint electorates in the local bodies or any representative bodies constituted by statute and no reservation in favour of the majority community, except as a result of any demand from the minority community, reservation on a population basis of the minority community and the majority in each local area according to population;

(e) That recruitment to the public services shall be made by an impartial Public Services Commission, of which at least one-third shall be Hindus and 60 per cent. of posts shall be filled by open competition on basis of merit alone, 40 per cent being reserved for redressing communal inequalities, and in filling up appointments the Public Services Commission shall give preference to Sindis and domiciled Sindis;

(f) That there shall be no discriminatory legislation or taxation and none shall be prejudiced merely by reason of his caste, creed or tribe in acquiring or enjoying civic and economic rights, including the right to own, purchase or

(*See page* 15.)

(*Continued from page* 1.)

dispose of landed estates in the open market and freedom of choice of any profession or calling. This will, however, affect no existing law in force in Sind.

(g) That the judiciary shall be independent of the executive by separating the executive from the judiciary;

(h) That there shall be a Chief Court or a High Court in Sind.

This agreement on the separation of Sind is an integral part of the communal settlement concerning the whole of India and shall be deemed imperative in case for any reason a settlement, as a whole, does not come into operation.

It is also agreed that a conference of leaders of Sind will be conveened before the end of this month to consider the question of the appointment of a committee to investigate ways and means for making good the deficit, as disclosed in the Brayne Committee's report, and to consider the question of placing the report of the Committee before the people as suggested by Professor Chablani.

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est, for all tastes and all ages. I
SARAS

EXTENSION OF DELHI PROVINCE

A Case for the All-Parties Conference

(By L. Deshbandhu Gupta)

The demand for the extension of Delhi Province so as to include Ambala, Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand Divisions has been before the country for a long time, but it is a pity that it has not yet received the consideration that it deserved. My regret becomes greater still when I find that wholly extraneous causes and considerations have stood in its way.

When the proposal came in a slightly different form before the last R.T.C. as Sir Geoffrey Corbett's scheme, strong hopes were aroused that it would receive a calm consideration at the hands of the representatives of all the three communities, but unfortunately opposition came from Dr. Moonje and the Sikh leaders at that time, with the result that in spite of the valuable support of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah and others, the idea had to be dropped for the time being.

Time to Reconsider

Now that the question of appointing a boundaries commission is likely to come before the R. T. C. again and the leaders of different communities are meeting at Allahabad next week to find out an agreed solution of the communal differences, may I once more draw their attention to consider this question also in its proper perspective.

My special reason for asking the participants of the Allahabad Conference to do so is that the proposal also incidentally helps in the amicable settlement of the communal tangle of the Punjab. May I, therefore, make a personal appeal to Dr. Moonje, and the Hindus and Sikh leaders of the Punjab to look at the question from a different angle of the vision and, by giving their support to it, earn the gratitude of the 20 millions of people belonging to different communities, whose interests are very vitally concerned in this behalf.

I give below briefly the principles and reasons on which the said demand is based, for their careful consideration:—

Principles

1. Provincial units enjoying full autonomy should comprise, as far as possible, a homogeneous population bound by ties of common language, customs and social life, history and tradition, and common economic interests.

2. The area constituting a province should form a natural geographical unit, and as far as possible, be self-contained, enjoying full [illegible] and com-

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munication for purpose of trade, electoral constituencies and other purposes of life, and be in possession of means of rural development, such as water courses.

3. Subject to these principles, people should be free to exercise the right of self-determination in respect to their re-distribution in different provinces, and should not be compelled to live with others who differ from them in respect of characteristics mentioned in para one, because their re-distribution would not suit the convenience or policy of others.

Reasons

1. The Ambala Division, excluding Simla district, has never been a part of the Punjab throughout Indian history, and is in all respects distinct from the Punjab. Tacked to the Punjab by the accident of haphazard growth of that province, it has been a misfit, and owing to wide differences of language, culture, history, traditions and mode of life, no less than tethnical distinction, the population of the Ambala Division has remained an unassimilable constituent of the province, and has consequently suffered in a variety of ways. As an outlying part of the province, while it has been subject to exploitation by the more advanced sections of the population of the province, it has failed to receive that attention from the Provincial Government, which it deserved on account of its importance as the home of agriculturists and soldiers, and its development has been neglected. Furthermore, the agricultural population of Hariana or roughly Ambala Division, has much closer affinities with the population on the other side of the Jumna, with whom, besides having ties of blood, language, social and economical life, they share common agrarian industrial interests. For these reasons and for reasons of securing re-union with their brethren across Jumna, they have been clamouring for the re-distribution of the Ambala, the Agra, the Meerut, and the Rohilkhand divisions along with the Delhi Province.

Part of Hindustan

(2) More or less the same is the case of the Agra, the Meerut and the Rohilkhand divisions of U. P. Their direct connection with Delhi ceased comparatively recently, otherwise in the past they were a part of *Hindustan* proper with Delhi or Agra as the seat of Government and in all respects, the population of these divisions is akin to the population of Delhi Province and Ambala Division.

(3) A homogeneous population of nearly 2 crores of Hindus and Muslims, Jats, Tagas, Ahirs, Gujars, Lalkhari, Pathans, Mussalmans, Rajputs and Rohillas, who in the past were used to a common government, and who in other respects have close affinities and a common culture and language, are now scattered in three provinces. Their re-union would secure them the benefits of a common government, fully autonomous within a province, and released from the cramping influences of dissimilar factors in other provinces, would find it possible to rebuild a common culture, and a prosperous province.

THE NEW DELHI PROVINCE

Dr. Moonje Withdraws His Opposition

New Delhi, Friday.

In the course of an interview, which Lala Deshbandhu had with Dr. Moonje, the following conversation took place: —

Q. You have been opposed to the scheme of creation of a Delhi Province by adding to it Ambala, Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand divisions. It was mainly because of your opposition that the Corbett Scheme which was somewhat similar to the scheme proposed by the Delhi people was not considered favourably at the last R.T.C. Do you still maintain your opposition, in view of the changes in the situation that have arisen owing to the acceptance by the Sikhs of the resolutions of the Allahabad Unity Conference?

A. I have always held out for the integrity of the Punjab Province merely out of sentiment and my regard for the great soldier empire builder, Maharaja Ranjit Singh. I was on the same ground stoutly opposed to the idea of any division of the Punjab when the Sikhs themselves began to propose a division of the Punjab by separating Rawalpindi and Multan divisions from it. But now that they have gone further and are accepting statutory majority against all constitutional principles for the majority community of the Punjab, I have no other alternative but to revise my opinion painfully. In the present changed circumstances, I have begun to think, as you suggest, that if Ambala division is separated from the Punjab, the Moslem proportion will rise so high that they will not stand in need of an

Bombay, Dec. 9.

A scare was created this no[on] in the mill area by stone-thro[wing] of one *bhaiya* on ot[her]

Bhaiyas Indulge in Stone-Throwing

SCARE CREATED IN MILL AREA

[accepted the appeal of one accus]

ALLAHABAD AGREEMENT

DISCUSSION AMONG ROUND TABLERS

AWAITING DETAILS

SHAFAAT AHMED PREFERS PREMIER'S AWARD

London, Nov. 19.

Pandit Malaviya's cable from Allahabad is the principal topic of conversation in the Round Table and other Indian circles, and further details, particularly of the prospects of its acceptance in India, are eagerly sought. Comment, therefore, is at present generally reserved.

Dr. Ansari, whose health is immensely improved, told *Reuter* that he rejoiced at the communal agreement reached, but was unable to comment further at present, as he required time to study the details. A similar attitude was taken by a number of other leaders.

DR. SHAFAAT AHMED

Decision Not Helpful

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan opined that the agreement was hedged with so many stipulations that it was not helpful, and the Government's decision was preferable. He pointed out with reference to Bengal that the alteration in Hindu and Muslim percentages was made at the expense of other interests, and their acceptance was essential in order to secure a modification of the Government's award, while the Punjab position was much worse because even under the Government's award Muslims were able to secure much more.

The resolution regarding Sind was illusory and separation was dependent upon the acceptance of the settlement *in toto*, whereas he was convinced that separation would be inevitable very soon, as he had no doubt whatsoever that the Muslim case before the Brayne Committee was overwhelmingly strong, and made out a very cogent plea for immediate separation. He was of opinion that the settlement for Muslims on the whole was illusory

Central Legislature

Allahabad, Nov. 18.

In the absence of definite information as to the proportion of the powers and function of members returned by the Indian States to the All India Federal legislature which may come into existence, this agreement as to the reservation of seats in central legislature is entered into with reference only to representation of British India. It is agreed that in central legislature, out of the total seats allotted to British India, 32 per cent shall be reserved for Muslims and $4\frac{2}{3}$ per cent for the Sikhs.

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"FINANCE AND DE ENCE) F INDIA" F

Self-Dependent Nation

Dr. MOONJE'S ADVICE TO STUDENTS

Delhi, Monday.

Under the auspices of the Commercial College Literary Association, Dr. B. S. Moonje delivered an interesting lecture on "Finance and Defence of India" in the Commercial College, Delhi, before a crowded audience on Saturday, the 26th November, 1932. Lala Shri Ram presided.

Dr. Moonje emphasised the importance of the problem of defence in a self-governing India. He pointed out that things have changed considerably during the last 50 years. The paraphernalia of modern warfare which extends to land, air, and water includes innumerable items like battleships, cruisers, submarines, various kinds of aeroplanes, machine-guns, tanks, armed cars, chemical equipments, etc. He, therefore, concluded that, if India wants to be self-dependent, she must be able to produce all the commodities within the country.

Further, he said that for all this we require finance, both productive and unproductive. Productive finance would develop the key industries of the country as sugar, engines, chemicals, etc. Unproductive finance would create the capital which can be placed at the disposal of the nation at the time of a crisis. Factories for the key industries should be capable of being converted into factories for the manufacture of arms and ammunition in a short time. The education of the boys and girls must also keep this in view.

Service And Discipline

He further said that the real secret of the success in empire-building among Englishmen is their spirit of service and discipline which is sadly lacking in India. He, therefore, concluded that the object of education should be to develop the spirit of discipline and capacity for organisation among the students. This is of fundamental importance, if India wants to be self-dependent. Our students should develop the virtues of all the four castes representing the pen, the sword, the scale and ungrudging service.

Lala Shri Ram in his presidential address emphasized the need of discipline and service which, he said, will not only help us to attain Swaraj, but will make us good citizens of our Motherland and would be of immense value to students in every sphere of life.

In the end, Principal Sen proposed a vote of thanks to the chair and the speaker. He also thanked Sir J. Vijayaraghavachariar, and other honoured guests who had graced the occasion with their presence.

HINDUS REJECT ALLAHABAD "UNITY PLANS"

MAHASABHA VIEW

PACT THAT WAS NOT RATIFIED

PANDIT CRITICIZED

ON the heels of the Moslem rejection of the Allahabad communal agreement comes a slashing Hindu attack on the proposals by Mr. Gauri Shankar Misra, Secretary of the All-India Mahasabha.

"Hindu minorities have been stabbed from behind to feed fat the Moslem majority and other minorities," declares Mr. Misra in a statement issued at Allahabad yesterday.

Mr. Misra condemns the joint electorate formula as perpetuating the evils of a separate electorate and criticizes Pandit Malaviya for cabling to London that a communal settlement had been reached before the agreement had been ratified even by the full sub-committee of the Unity Conference.

NO AGREEMENT

"STABBED IN BACK TO FEED MOSLEMS"

Mr. Misra criticizes Pandit Malaviya for cabling to the Round Table Conference delegates that a communal settlement had been reached before the Allahabad proposals had been ratified by the Unity Conference itself or even by the full sub-committee of the Conference. He adds:—"Mr. Rajagopalachariar and his friends, instead of protecting the Hindu minorities of the Punjab and Bengal, have deprived them even of the rights on population basis. What canons of democracy and nationalism impelled Mr. Rajagopalachariar and his like to grant reservation of seats to a majority community? What type of democracy and nationalism goaded him to consent to the separation of Sind when the only ground for its separation could be the aspirations of the Moslems for creating as many Moslem majority provinces as possible, and the ambitions of the few educated Hindus to win for themselves high positions at the cost of the dumb Hindu masses of Sind?

ELECTORATE PLANS

"Further, Mr. Rajagopalachariar is overjoyed at the kind of joint electorates he has achieved for India. What a fall, my countrymen! Complete independence-*wallas* to descend to such a kind of joint electorates is a misfortune to nationalism and insult to the very independence which they claim to attain. A person who gets 30 per cent votes of his community and even one vote of another community will be declared elected in preference to another candidate who secures 29 per cent votes of his community and one thousand votes of the other community. That is to say, the vote of the whole joint electorate does not in this case decide the contest. This arrangement clearly encourages in our system all the poison of separate electorates."

"STATUS QUO ANTE"

DR- MOONJE'S STATEMENT ON UNITY CONFERENCE

Doctor Moonje, in a Press statement, says: "Mr. Rajagopalachariar's statement, particularly that part of it which deals with the Mahasabha and the part that I took in the discussions at the Allahabad Conference, has caused a misunderstanding. The Mahasabha and I have fundamental objections in the principle of a statutory majority for the majority community in a province and to separate electorates. The Mahasabha has also objected to the separation of Sind for reasons which are known to all and need not be recapitulated here.

"At the Allahabad Conference the Sikhs and Hindus invited from the Punjab and Bengal, the only two provinces where the objection of the Mahasabha held good in respect of a statutory majority for Moslems, eventually waived their opposition and agreed to a statutory majority. Then followed the Hindus from Sind, who made a statement agreeing to the separation subject to certain safeguards and conditions. Thus the three great objections of the Mahasabha were disposed of by the consent of the persons invited from those provinces. There has not been so far any protest from the people of those provinces against the consent given by those who attended the conference from those provinces. Next we secured a reduction of the Moslem demand of 33⅓ per cent reservation for them in the Central Legislature to 32 per cent. Such is the situation in a nutshell.

The agreement will have to be ratified by the communities concerned. The Moslems, in a joint meeting of the Working Committees of the Moslem League, the Muslim All-Parties' Conference and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema (Cawnpore) have already rejected the agreement. It is yet to be known what the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab, the Hindus of Bengal and of Sind decide in the matter. But it is as clear that if the Moslems will not accept it, then the status *quo ante* is resumed."—*A.P.I.*

INVITATION REFUSED

MOSLEM LEAGUE UNWILLING TO JOIN 'UNITY' TALKS

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League under the presidentship of Mr. Rahimtoola Chinoy the following resolution was passed:—

"Whereas the Lucknow and Allahabad Conferences have adopted proposals mostly in variance with the Moslem Conference held at Lucknow in October last, and whereas the Council of the All-India Moslem League held on November 27, 1932, has resolved not to accept the Allahabad proposals which have undergone no alteration and addition as yet, and also considering the attitude of Hindu and Sikh representative bodies in India and Hindu and Sikh representatives at the Round Table Conference, the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League resolves that no useful purpose will be served by League representatives attending the forthcoming conferences at Lucknow and Allahabad.

"It is further resolved that the secretary of the All-India Moslem League be authorized to send replies to invitations received from Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the terms of this resolution."—*A.P.I.*

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"POSITION SAME AS BEFORE"

DR. MOONJE ON MUSLIM ATTITUDE

NEW DELHI, November 22.

Dr. Moonje in a statement says: "Mr. Rajagopalachariar's statement particularly that part of it which deals with the Mahasabha and the part that I took in discussions in the Allahabad Conference, has caused a misunderstanding. I have received several protests from earnest workers and well wishers of the Hindu Mahasabha. The whole position in its essence must be clearly comprehended.

"The Mahasabha and I have fundamental objection in principle to a statutory majority for a community in a Province and to separate electorates. The Mahasabha has also objections to the separation of Sind for reasons which are known to all, and need not be recapitulated here. I attended the conference in my anxiety to explore all possible means for honourable settlement of communal problem ourselves.

"At the Allahabad Conference Sikhs and Hindus invited from the Punjab and Bengal, the only two Provinces where the objection of the Mahasabha held good in respect of a statutory majority for Moslems eventually waived their opposition and agreed to a statutory majority. Then followed Hindus from Sind who made a statement agreeing to separation subject to certain safeguards and conditions.

"Thus three great objections of the Mahasabha were disposed of by the consent of the persons invited from those Provinces. There has not been so far any protest from the people of those Provinces against the consent given by those who attended the conference from those Provinces.

"Next we secured a reduction of the Muslim demand of 33 1|3 per cent. reservation for them in the Central Legislature to 32 per cent. The formula of the form of joint electorates is before the public for interpretation. Such is the situation in a nutshell.

"The agreement will have to be ratified by the communities concerned. Moslems in a conjoint meeting of the working committees of the Muslim League, Muslim All-Parties Conference and the Jamiat-Ul-Ulema (Cawnpore) have already rejected the agreement. It is yet to be known what the Sikhs decide in the matter. But it is as clear as daylight that if the Moslems will not accept it then the *status quo ante* is resumed."

LIMIT TO CUTS

Statesman 16.11.'32

WAR SECRETARY AND ARMY STRENGTH

LONDON, Nov. 15.

THE British Army is now little more than an Imperial Police Force, according to Viscount Hailsham (Secretary for War). Speaking at a recent mansion House dinner he said that Britain had reduced her Army to the limit consistent with safety.

They might be asked how they had been able to come down to so low a figure. The first answer would have to be that it was owing to financial considerations, and in the hope of giving a lead to disarmament. Britain had taken risks which perhaps a less enthusiastic and more prudent Government would have thought unwise.



Lord Hailsham.

The second reason was the efficiency of president-day organization. During his 12 months in office he had been impressed by the high standard reached in arranging the various branches so that everyone fitted in the proper place. The time was approaching when Field-Marshal Sir George Milne, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, would take a well-earned rest after seven years of high office. The country was under an immense debt of gratitude to him for the skill with which he had handled the Army in a difficult period.

Thirdly, Britain had made intelligent use of mechanization. It was a British invention which brought the tank into being. Some people regarded the tank as an offensive weapon but it was the only means by which we could save an untold number of lives in our infantry against the modern quick-firing rifle.

Fourthly, Britain realized that the Territorial Army was an essential and integral part of our system of defence. He had heard it suggested that the Territorial Army was not sufficiently appreciated by the War Office. Lord Hailsham added: "I can contradict that here and now. Speaking for the whole Army Council we regard it as an essential part of the country's defensive force, in the absence of which the whole scheme of defence would have to be reorganized."—*Reuter.*

FULLY REPRESENTATIVE

Hindusthan Times Nov. 23, 1932

Allahabad Unity Conference

Allahabad, Nov. 21.

Pandit Govind Malaviya and Dr. Mahmud, General Secretaries of the Unity Conference, have issued the following to the Press: —

Under instructions of the Committee appointed by the Unity Conference, we have published the full text of the agreement arrived at by the Committee.

We wish to point out that this Committee was fully represented and the Conference was of a representative character, which in turn will be apparent from the fact that 121 representatives attended it, 63 of them being Hindus, 39 Muslim, 11 Sikhs and 8 Indian Christians.

These included members of the following organisations: Hindu Mahasabha, Rashtriya Hindu Sabha, Punjab Indian National Congress, Liberals, Nationalists, Trade and Commerce, Landholders, Sind Hindus, All-India Khilafat Committee, All-India Muslim Conference, All-India Muslim Nationalist Party, All-India Muslim League and All Parties' Conference, Muslim Youth Leauge, Jamiat-ul ulema-i-Hind, Punjab Arhar Party, All-India Shia Conference, N.W.F.P Sikh League, Sikh Khalsa Darbar, Sikh Nationalists, representatives of Sikhs outside the Punjab and Indian Christians.

The resolutions adopted by the Committee were the result of prolonged deliberations and the agreement between the representatives of the organisations named above. Every resolution was agreed to when the representatives of the parties concerned felt satisfied and the interests which they represented had been adequately safeguarded. They promised before they left Allahabad to place the agreed conclusions before their respective organisations and to represent their considered opinion at the Conference on the 4th December, 1932.

The Conference will arrive at a decision after full consideration of the view so presented to it.—A.P.I.

UNITY CONFERENCE

Nov. 18/32 — Times.

JOINT ELECTORATES FORMULA

ALLAHABAD, November 17.

After protracted discussion for two days, it is understood, that the Unity Conference has agreed to Maulana Mahomed Ali's formula with modification.

The following is the text of the formula of joint electorates adopted to-day:—It has been agreed that all elections in the next ten years should be on the following method which is a modified form of the Mohamed Ali Formula: "Out of candidates who have secured at least 30 per cent of votes polled in his own community, the candidate who secures the highest number of votes polled in joint electoral polls shall be declared elected. In case there is no candidate who has secured 30 per cent. of votes polled in his own community, then out of two candidates who secure the highest number of votes in their community that candidate shall be declared elected who secures the highest number of votes polled. At the end of ten years this rule of 30 per cent. shall cease automatically. It will be open, however, to any community in any Province to give up this system in favour of joint electorates pure and simple earlier."

In the Central Legislature 32 per cent. of seats of the whole House has been conceded to Muslims. The question of Sikh representation in the Central Legislature will be taken up to-morrow and thereafter the sittings will conclude.

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Sunday, November 20

MAHASABHA'S SCEPTICISM

PREMATURE EXPRESSION OF OPINION

"C.R. 'S" VIEWS

ESSENCE OF UNITY AGREEMENT

Poona, Nov. 19.

The following statement is issued to the Press by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar:—

"No one should be perturbed by the premature expression of opinion by the Mahasabha Committee that met in Delhi while yet the proccedings at Allahabad had not terminated. It was most unfortunate that without full examination and in the absence of both Pandit Malaviyaji and Dr. Moonje, the Committee proceeded to record their scepticism.

"Dr. Moonje's attitude throughout the Allahabad proceedings and his endorsement of the final settlement leave no doubt in my mind that the considered decision of the Mahasabha will be whole-hearted acceptance of the national settlement.

Common Roll

"The essence and the most valuable part of the settlement is that the Hindus, Mussalmans and Sikhs will everywhere be on the joint electoral roll and vote together at all elections. To be elected to reserved seats, the candidates should command at least thirty per cent. votes of the community for safeguarding whose interests or allaying whose apprehensions reservation has been made. This does not take away the character of the election which is joint. Every variety of political thought among the community, for whom seats are reserved, will have a fair chance under the 30 per cent. rule and it is the vote of the whole joint electorate that decides the contest. There is nothing undemocratic in this. Democracy does not consist in old fashioned suppression of minorities.

The Punjab Formula

"The first duty of nationalism is to ensure protection of interests of minorities. The Allahabad settlement provides good machinery for this protection without making government difficult. 'The Punjab safeguard formula' should not be looked upon as applicable to any but discriminatory measures, or measures intended to injure special interests of particular communities. There need be no fear of deadlocks on that score. The settlement is just a document, of which we may be proud. The parts are all interdependent and any attempt to amend it here or there will endanger its acceptance by all concerned.

'It is hoped that all communal organizations concerned will treat the result of Allahabad labours with patriotic respect and endorse it without suggestions for any sort of modification.

"This is the greatest achievement of a fortnight and is a matter for universal rejoicings all over India."—A P.I.

"COMPLETE REACHED AT ...

Hussain Khan

Panditji Repli... Cri...

Allahabad Nov. 22.

On receipt of news from London that Pandit Malaviya's statement regarding the agreement reached by the Committee of the Unity Conference, cabled to the *India Review* had been challenged in England. Pandit Malaviya cabled this midnight to London the following statement:

"My cablegram saying that the Committee of the Conference, composed of representatives of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, had arrived at unanimous settlement on the communal problem, was wholly correct. Agreement on all outstanding problems which have been made public, were unanimously reached and their publication authorised by the Committee. The adjourned meeting of the Committee takes place on 3rd December to consider some minor questions and adopt its report to the Conference which meets on December 4 to consider it. Meanwhile, wherever necessary members of the Committee will place the agreement before their organisations or communities for approval and acceptance and will place the opinions so elicited before the Conference on December 4, when these decisions will be finally adopted.

Dr. Moonje, working President of the Hindu Mahasabha is a party to the agreement and will stand honourably by it. I feel sure that the Sikhs also will do so. There is the greatest reason to think that the Muslim community will honour it.

Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, former president of the All-India Muslim Conference, Sheikh Abdul Majid, President of the All-India Khilafat Conference, and other Muslim leaders agreed to give up separate electorates after Hindus had virtually conceded 13 points upon which the Muslims had been insisting for years as a condition precedent to their agreeing to joint electorates.

There is, therefore, no reason left for any Mussalman to withhold the consent to the agreement and I feel certain that the somewhat hasty decision passed by a section of Mussalmans at Delhi will be revised and from the points of view of both honour and interest the community will adopt the agreement and uphold it in its entirety."

AGREEMENT ALLAHABAD"

23/11/32

...es to British ...tics

KUNWAR MAHARAJ SINGH'S PROTEST

13-12-32

KUNWAR MAHARAJ SINGH delivered a remarkable speech recently at Durban drawing attention to the grievances of the Indian community who are labouring under the acutest disabilities in South Africa, thanks to the anti-Indian policy of the white dominion. Addressing the Durban Christian Service Council, Kunwar Maharaj Singh said:—

The Indian people who have come here suffer under marked disabilities. They have no vote; they do not have the privilege of sending their children to European schools with the European youngsters; nothing is given by the provincial Council towards the education of Indians. There is almost complete segregation. The European and Indian communities do not meet except for business. 'On trains, trams, etc., there is complete separation. These disabilities are going to be a serious problem. They are the cause of the ill-feeling that exists in India towards South Africa.

Strong exception has been taken to these remarks of the agent-general's by the white community, which is unable to appreciate the demand of the Indian as a fellow-citizen for equality of treatment. A cor-

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respondent of the *Natal Mercury*, whose letter has been reproduced by *Indian Opinion*, writes, for instance, 'I am afraid 'that the Kunwar is steering 'into very stormy waters with 'his lectures and will not always 'get the polite hearing which up 'to the present, has been given 'him'. The writer adds: 'Our 'attitude, as the Kunwar has 'pointed out, has caused ill-feel-'ing in India towards us South 'Africans. This, of course, is 'deplorable, but after all East is 'East, and West is West, etc., 'and I am afraid South Africa 'and India can never see eye to 'eye on this subject. . .'

We never had any doubt that if Kunwar Maharaj Singh was sent to South Africa, the Indian community could safely rely on him to identify himself completely with their interests and wishes and to lose no opportunity of drawing attention to their grievances and seeking their redress. And we are very glad indeed that our expectations are being fulfilled. As regards the angry protests of the white community, we are unable to understand why they should lash themselves into such fury. Which part of Kunwar Maharaj Singh's statement is incorrect? Are the Indians not labouring under marked disabilities for no other reason than that their skin is dark? Are they not deprived of the vote? Is it not true that their children cannot study in the same schools as the Europeans? To which of these or other charges made by the agent can the white community plead not guilty? We are being told that 'East is East, and West is 'West, etc.', but the spokesmen of this doctrine will recollect that one of the charges against the Boers when war was declared against them, was their ill-treatment of the Indian resident community. During the last thirty years, however, the anti-Indian laws have become much more numerous and stringent. There was in the pre-Boer war period no emigration scheme in order to rid the country of as many Indians as possible. There was no Asiatic Land Tenure Act. The Law 3 of 1885 whose object was to prevent Indians from acquiring fixed property in certain areas was never enforced rigidly. Besides, it was a very mild measure compared to the present one which compels the community to trade and live in segregated areas and seeks to ruin their trade and prosperity. There were none of the other so many anti-Indian laws which disfigure the Statute Book at the present time. And India's agent would not be worthy of the trust reposed in him if he failed to draw attention to these deplorable conditions. Kunwar Maharaj Singh, therefore, deserves the thanks of all Indians



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and that he is very much alive. He appears to have administered severe punishment to the malcontents.

MELBOURNE DEBACLE

The M.C.C. were all out for 60 in their second innings against the Australian XI who now require 124 to win. This transformation was mainly effected by Nagel, the Australian bowler, who emerged with the amazing analysis of eight wickets for 32 runs. Full details of the M.C.C. innings appear on page 11.

Another story was that Inayatullah Khan had reached Afghanistan, but the fact appears to be that he is living quietly in Teheran. There is apparently great activity at present on the part of the agents or partisans of ex-King Amanullah in the fabrication of rumours. Clearly there has been unrest in the southern province, but the stern measure taken are believed to have had the desired effect.

NO UNITY YET

CONFERENCE DECISIONS REJECTED

(From Our Special Representative.)

NEW DELHI, Nov. 21.

THE prospects of the results of the Allahabad Unity Conference being accepted are rapidly fading away. The Moslem Committees in Delhi yesterday did not confine themselves to saying no. They said it with funeral flowers and they have taken care to let their views be known to the Round Table Conference delegates in London, and have also telegraphed to the Secretary of State. Moreover, the Sind Conference has turned down the Allahabad arrangements. With the Mahasabha also in revolt, it looks as if the possibility of getting any authoritative plenary conference to ratify the Allahabad resolutions is not great. Even the committees left with the task of putting these decisions into shape for a future conference are, I am told, finding much difficulty.

TROTSKY'S FEARS

REVOLVER IN EACH POCKET & OWN BODYGUARD

MARSEILLES, Nov. 21.

LEON Trotsky gave the slip to numerous French and foreign journalists, who awaited his arrival by the steamer *Praga* by transferring to a police launch ten miles out at sea, which landed him at a quiet spot, where a *Reuter* correspondent found him.

Trotsky had his own bodyguard from fear of Ogpu agents and is alleged to be uncomfortably loaded with a revolver in each pocket. He said he was not on a propaganda tour, but was going to Copenhagen to give scientific lectures.

A DAIMLER built in 1894 won the annual London-Brighton "Old Crocks" race with an average speed of 23 m.p.h.

and bringing peace in the Far East. The Government have always been ready to supply the League Council with such information regarding current events as was possible. Japan will not accept disguised international control of Manchuria and considers that the Commission's plan is not adapted to the realities of the Far East. It does not consider it practical to demilitarize Manchuria or maintain order by an international *gendarmerie* and is apprehensive of any scheme tending to destroy the condition of order now in process of restoration.

While appreciating the Commission's endeavours and their many just conclusions, they think that the shortness of time available has enabled the acquisition of only a superficial impression. If they had visited other parts of China their optimism regarding the Chinese situation would have been modified. Bitterness towards the Chinese people, suggested in the report, is disclaimed and it is pointed out that the report discloses that China is in a condition bordering on anarchy and it is entirely impossible to tell when she will obtain a permanent Central Government.

Japan's intimate relation with Manchuria has no parallel in other parts of the world and encroachment of her rights by Manchurian authorities led to a state of tension which led up to the explosion on September 18. The measures taken by the Japanese army then and since have not exceeded the limits of the rights of self-defence.

"The little cloud which appeared on the Far Eastern horizon in September last year has grown into the threatening storm," said Lord Lytton, broadcasting. It reminded him of his experience seven or eight years ago when he sat in Government House at Calcutta awaiting the arrival of a cyclone reported to be approaching the city. The present moment was an anxious one for the world. The issue at stake was much larger than whether China and Japan would control the future destinies of Manchuria. It was whether the principle of collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace and justice between nations should be preserved or sacrificed. The choice lay between continuous organization of peace by co-operation or a return to anarchy and competitive forces. The present situation in Manchuria could not be regarded as consistent with existing treaties. The solution recommended by the Commission would ultimately be to the advantage of Japan as maintenance of the present régime in the face of Chinese hostility and the disapproval of the rest of the world would prove immensely costly.

COUNCIL MEETS

MR. DE VALERA THANKS LORD LYTTON

(BRITISH OFFICIAL WIRELESS.)

LONDON, Nov. 21.

WHEN the League of Nations Council met, Mr. de Valera, the President, emphasized that the Lytton Report was unanimously agreed to by all five members of the Commission. He expressed his warm thanks to Lord Lytton for the manner in which the work of the Commission had been done and proposed

(*Continued on page 10 column 2.*)

LIMITATIONS on space prevent our publishing more than a fraction of the daily accumulation of news items on the subject of Untouchability, but those we do are sufficient indication that Mr. Gandhi's campaign is meeting with a success that might without exaggeration be described as representing a revolutionary change in social outlook. From all parts of the country come reports of the throwing open without discrimination of schools, courts, temples and wells, and the rulers of four Indian States, including Kashmir and Baroda, have pledged themselves to the removal of social disabilities to which untouchables have hitherto been subjected. Further, in Travancore, for centuries a citadel of Hindu orthodoxy, the Maharaja has appointed a committee to test public feeling on the subject. These facts are convincing proof that the movement is real and not merely lip-service.

LINK WITH VICEROY UPHELD

4/12/30

MAHARAJA'S WISH

STRIKING PROGRESS IN JAIPUR STATE

JAIPUR, DEC. 3.

"I AM particularly anxious that the personal relations that now exist between the Viceroy and my State should in no way be impaired or curtailed under the new Constitution," declared H. H. the Maharaja of Jaipur in his speech at the State banquet to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon tonight.

After warmly welcoming Their Excellencies, His Highness said:—

"The future federal constitution for India is a subject which is at present uppermost in all our minds, and I wish those delegates who are now in London every success; and I hope that as a result of their efforts Jaipur and other States will find that the constitution presented to them for acceptance will meet their wishes and enable them to enter Federation. I should like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to His Excellency and His Majesty's Government for permitting Udaipur, Jaipur and Jodhpur to send a joint delegate to the Conference so that the three most important States in Rajputana may make their views known more clearly and exercise their influence at such an important juncture in the history of India.



Maharaja of Jaipur.

CROWN AND THE STATE

"This seems a fitting occasion for me to emphasize that I am particularly anxious that the personal relations that now exist between the Viceroy, who is the Crown's representative in India, and my State should in no way be impaired or curtailed under the new constitution. I also consider it essential that the relationship that now exists between the Crown in England and my State should remain unaltered and that this should definitely be provided for in the constitution, and in the Convention that will have to be entered into between my State and the Crown.

"The many improvements that were made in my State during the minority were mentioned in the speeches that were delivered when Lord Irwin visited Jaipur to invest me with Ruling Powers. It has been my constant aim to see that these efforts were not relaxed; and I may mention among other works of the last 18 months, the opening of the Zenana Hospital in the City, the reconstruction of the Maharaja's College on an entirely new site, with large play-fields, the moving of the Nobles' School for sons of Jagirdars, who cannot afford the Mayo College, to another building outside the City where they will receive an education which will fit them for their future responsibilities, the completion of the road from Jaipur to Sawai Madhopur which forms a very important link in the communications from north to south in my State, and connects up with the main trunk road from Delhi to Bombay, and the inception of a scheme for the reconstruction of the General Hospital on a new site.

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BIG DONATIONS

In this connexion I may mention that I considered it desirable to give my Tazimi sardars, the leading merchants whose homes are in Jaipur, and others, the very great privilege of being brought into close association with a charitable institution which will be of lasting benefit to all classes of my subjects. I, therefore, issued an appeal for donations to the new hospital fund, and I have very great pleasure in announcing to-night that during Their Excellencies' stay in Jaipur the following donations have been made: Raja Baldeo Das Birla, Rs. 1,00,000; Bishwambarlal Mahswari, Rs. 7,500; and Thakur Narendra Singh of Jobner has also given a handsome donation. And in honour of Their Excellencies' visit I have decided to donate Rs. 1,50,000 from my own personal income.

IRRIGATION IMPROVEMENTS

"Unfortunately owing to the very poor rains we have had this year and the general financial stringency, works and improvements must be slowed down. But I feel that it is important to proceed, as far as facilities permit, with irrigation works and any steps that can be taken to encourage the construction of new wells so as to improve the condition of my cultivators and as a protection against years of scanty rainfall. I have been able to allot two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees during the current financial year for the completion of the Tori-Sagar canal system, and the remodelling of the Chhaperwara supply cut and canals and the Ramgarh and Buchara canals. I fully realize that the prosperity and contentment of my cultivators should be my constant aim and endeavour.

"Every encouragement is being given to those who will set up new industries in my State."

THE VICEROY'S REPLY

Replying to the toast, His Excellency the Viceroy expressed his pleasure at being able to visit Jaipur, "there has been a tendency," said the Viceroy, "to regard the States as picturesque survivals of a feudal past rather than as living entities ready and willing to play an important part in the new era that is coming over India; no greater mistake could be made. The proceedings of the last Conference of Princes showed that the three premier States of Rajputana were ready with constructive proposals of their own. It has given me great pleasure to be able to arrange for their joint representation at the next meeting of the Round Table Conferenc.

"At the same time, I welcome Your Highness's recognition of the benefits that have ensued from the existing relation between the Durbar and the Crown and I have the fullest sympathy

(Continued in next column.)

(Continued from previous column.)

with your desire that these should not be impaired.

"Another idea which dies hard is that the ruler of an Indian State lives a life of gilded case, devoting himself only to athletic pursuits or to pleasure of various kinds, and pre-eminence on the part of a ruler in any form of sport is, I regret to say, too often used by the ill-disposed as the basis of allegations that this is his only interest in life. May I, as one who has for many years taken a keen interest in all kinds of sports and games, assert that the old saying *mens sana in corpore sano* is none the less true for being somewhat hackneyed, and the brief summary which Your Highness has given of the public works undertaken in Jaipur since you received full powers—a list of which in these hard times is enough to fill most provinces in British India with consuming envy—is sufficient to show that a long handicap at polo is no bar to a real and active interest in administration. I hear, moreover, stories of readiness to listen patiently to applicants of every walk in life, which show that Your Highness is fully aware of the importance of the personal touch and of treating all classes and creeds of your subjects alike, while this continues I think there should have little to fear from within or without the State.

"I congratulate you most warmly upon the excellent generous donation which Your Highness has personally made to the new hospital fund and I feel sure that the opportunity which you have given to your Tazimi sardars and other leading citizens of the State to be brought into close association with such a worthy project, will be eagerly seized upon and that the example set by Your Highness, by Raja Baldeo Das Birla, Bishawambarlal Kasheshwari and Thakur Narendra Singh of Jobner will be promptly followed by liberal donations from many others."

His Excellency then proposed the toast of H.H. the Maharaja of Jaipur.

MORE OPPOSITION TO UNITY TALKS

MOSLEM ATTITUDE

(From Our Correspondent.)

Allahabad, Dec. 7.

While the stage is being set for the holding of the open session of the Unity Conference here, the majority of Moslems remains unreconciled to the resolutions passed by the conference committee in November at Allahabad.

After the Delhi meeting of Moslem leaders a number of local organizations here and elsewhere have condemned the November conferences both in Allahabad and in Lucknow. The Provincial Urdu papers also have been extremely critical of the Allahabad agreement and have warned Moslems against its acceptance.

Mr. Mohammed Hussain, a Member of the All-India Moslem Conference and of the Moslem League and one of the delegates attending the Unity Conference, has issued an appeal asking Moslems to be present at the Lucknow Conference so that judgment might not be passed against them by default. Counter-appeals have also been issued by other Moslem groups.

It is reliably understood that the chief object of Pandit M. M. Malaviya's visit to Benares is to win over the opposition of the Mahasabhaites to the unity resolution. Pandit Gobind Malaviya has arrived here to proceed with the conference preliminaries. A meeting was held to-day at the house of Dr. K. N. Katju to make necessary arrangements for the reception of delegates.

SIND DEADLOCK

RECONCILIATION EFFORTS RESUMED

Karachi, Dec. 7.

It has been decided to convene a meeting of the leaders of Moslems and Hindus of Sind with a view to arrive at an amicable settlement of the Sind question. Sir Shahnawaz Khan Butto and Mr. Hatim Alavi wired to-day to prominent Moslem leaders, including Khan Bahadur Khurro, M.L.C., Larkana, and Syed Miran Mahomed Shah, Hyderabad (Sind), inviting them to a meeting with Sind Hindu leaders on Friday morning.

Dr. Hingorani, President of the Karachi Hindu Mahasabha, and Seth Issar Das Virandmal have telegraphed to prominent Hindu leaders all over Sind, including Mr. Mukhi Gobindram and Mr. Dialmal, the Sind Hindu representatives at the Allahabad Unity Conference, inviting them to attend the Karachi Conference on Friday.—*A.P.I.*

"USELESS FORMULA"

MOSLEMS OF LEGISLATURE REJECT "UNITY PACT"

It is understood that the Moslem members of the Assembly and the Council of State held a meeting yesterday, when the Allahabad unity formula was discussed. The majority were of opinion that no purpose would be served by examining the subject as Moslem opinion stood definitely for separate electorates.

The annual session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind of Cawnpore will be held in Calcutta on December 25 and 26, when the Allahabad decisions, Alwar and the question of Kazi courts will form part of the agenda.—*A.P.I.*

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MBER 14, 1932.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE IN ALWAR

EDUCATION PLAN

EMIGRANTS ASKED TO RETURN TO STATE

REVENUE SUSPENSION

(From Our Delhi Office.)

MONDAY.

THE *Statesman* is able to-day to publish the details of the agreement reached between the representatives of the Alwar Durbar and the representatives of the Moslem *mahajrin* (emigrants), providing fcr the return of the later to the State.

In regard to the economic complaints of the Alwar subjects a committee of Moslem representatives is understood to have pressed for an inquiry by an independent and competent agency. They were given to understand that an inquiry by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Revenue Minister, into these grievances would be completed by the third week of December and its results, as well as the action to be taken by the State, would be published immediately afterwards, and that the amount of land revenue to be remitted or suspended would be announced by His Highness the Maharaja on December 12.

It was agreed that the *Mahajrin* should be advised to return to their homes on the following terms:—

It was agreed that Urdu should be taught as an optional subject in State schools (primary, middle and high) and that girls' schools should not be required to teach Hindi as a compulsory subject. In the list of classical languages which are taught as optional subjects in middle and high schools and colleges, provision should be made for the teaching of Persian, along with other classical lauguages.

UNAIDED SCHOOLS

Unrecognized and unaided schools will need no previous or subsequent official sanction. They will be free to employ teachers from outside the State and to receive financial help from outside the State. The schools may, however, be called upon to send periodical statistics, on forms to be prescribed by the Education Department, and should be open to inspection by the State officials, subject to Moslem religious scruples being duly respected. The rules now in force about unaided and unrecognized schools shall be, accordingly, altered.

There should be a fair proportion of Mussalmans among the teachers and inspectors of the State schools.

The number of schools in the rural areas is very small and more schools should be opened.

A Moslem inspector of schools should be appointed as soon as possible.

His Highness will be graciously pleased to exercise his prerogative of mercy in the case of all the accused sentenced to any term of imprisonment in connexion with the disturbance of May 29, including Syed Shabbir Husain, and other accused involved in the Ram Dyal murder case. It is understood that all pending or unheard criminal cases and warrants of arrest issued against persons in connexion with these disturbances of May 29 have already been withdrawn.

AN AMNESTY

His Highness will be graciously pleased to order that all Mussalmans who migrated from Alwar territory after July 22, will be granted a complete amnesty in regard to both person and property. The following five persons will, however, submit apologies to His Highness's Government for their past conduct, within ten days of their return to Alwar, upon which His Highness will be graciously pleased to extend the same complete amnesty as to others:—Hafiz Mohammad Ayub Khan, Mohammad Ramzan, Hafiz Muqbul Ahmad, Saiyid Ali and Nazir Ahmad.

His Highness will be moved to grant a subsistence allowance for the widows of the dependents, if any, of three persons—one Hindu (Ram Dyal) and two Moslems (Bashir and Mohammad Khan) who lost their lives during the disturbances.

His Highness's Government will appoint one of their responsible officers to inquire into the circumstances in which Nawaz Khan of Thos lost his life, as also into the facts of the incident at Dhomokar, which took place on or about November 14.

In regard to mosques, the settlement provides that the Shahi Mosque at Alwar will not be used for any secular purpose, will be protected from desecration and will be under the charge of the Archaeological Department. The mosques at Bhadurpur, Mubarakpur and Mogawn are to be handed over to the Mussalmans forthwith. The old records of the Bharor Mosque will be re-examined and the claims of the Moslems decided accordingly.

If applications are submitted for the repairs of the Takya Baddu Shah and Khushal Bas Mosques they will be sanctioned forthwith.

The principle is recognized in Alwar that a change of religion involves no offence.

The Anjuman Khadim-ul-Islam will be permitted to carry on its religious, social and educational work, and the present bans, if any, on the Anjuman will be withdrawn.

The recent trouble in Alwar has recalled to a research student that Mewat has always been a troublesome part to administer. It was once the domain of that valiant adventurer George Thomas. It was given by Shah Alam to Begum Somru as a reward for getting him with the aid of Thomas out of a tight place. It was a left-handed gift, for Shah Alam had never been able to get anything out of it. For the same reason the Begum, with great generosity, presented it to Thomas in military tenure. On the very first night after he had entered Mewat, certain Meos crept into Thomas's camp and stole his horses. This so angered Thomas that he immediately sallied torth with his retainers and being attacked by the whole community of Meos fought a tough battle which lasted for three days. In the end he won and so impressed the Meos with his personality and courage that they became his best soldiers and subjects.

"PAPER UNITY" USELESS

MOSLEM OPINION ON THE ALLAHABAD TALKS

Statesman 22/12/32

LONDON, DEC. 20.

THE opinion that the reopening of the communal decision was detrimental both to India and to the Moslem community was expressed by Sir Mohammed Iqbal in a statement on the Allahabad Conference. He said that the damage to India was due to the inevitable ensuing communal wrangle and to the Moslems because of the breaking up of the solidarity which was essential in order to preserve Islam as a moral and religious force.

Sir Mohammed Iqbal referred to the address of the Maharaja of Alwar and said that paper unity was worse than paper safeguards, while, granted that joint electorates were good,—which Sir Mohammed Iqbal doubted,—they should result from the growth of goodwill between the communities.

With regard to the Maharaja's statement that he wanted to see the peoples of India govern themselves, Sir Mohammed Iqbal declared that the Maharaja's co-religionists at the Round Table Conference were working against the grant of full provincial autonomy and supporting greater authority at the Centre.—*Reuter.*

'NO REAL IMPORTANCE'

MOSLEM LEADER'S VIEW OF UNITY TALKS

Statesman 27/12/32

LONDON, DEC. 24.

MR. A. H. GHUZNAVI, in the course of a letter to *The Times*, says that the presence of the Maharaja of Alwar at the Allahabad Conference should not mislead people to thinking that "these gatherings have any real importance on the subject of electorates. Moslem India with the exception of a few non-representative Congressites remains solid and undivided."

The Award that His Majesty's Government had given, had been generally accepted and the question of joint *versus* separate electorates was not open to consideration.—*Reuter.*

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FAILURE OF UNITY CONFERENCE

Times — 18/1/33

DR. MOONJE'S REPLY

NAGPUR, January 14.

Dr. Moonje, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has issued the following statement to the press:—

"I have read the statement of Mr. Allah Baksh Yusufi, Secretary of the All-India Khilafat Committee, on what he is pleased to call failure of the unity talks. He explains the Muslim position and blames the Hindus for the failure. I should have likec my friend Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, the President of the Khilafat Committee, to have come out with a statement of his own instead of allowing his secretary to issue the statement, if the request of Pandit Malaviya for not publishing the statement was to be ignored. I would, therefore, await the statement of my friend, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, for offering an explanation from the Hindu side on the merits of the controversy.

"But I cannot refrain from taking notice of one point which is very vital to the issue. Mr. Yusufi states that the Muslims started the unity negotiations on the understanding that they would be given statutory majority in the Punjab and Bengal and that the responsible Hindu leaders appear to have forgotten their promises. These are serious allegations against the Hindus, if true.

VAGUE HINTS

"I know that twice or thrice vague hints were thrown out to the above effect in the speeches of prominent Muslim leaders during the discussions in the Committee, particularly in its second session. I had at once to challenge those statements on the spot but the matter was not allowed to be clinched and was passed over as not very pertinent to the point in issue. But now that these allegations have been made openly, the matter requires to be cleared up authoritatively once for all in the interest of the very same unity that we are all seeking.

"If these allegations be true, then it seems the conference itself was conceived and based on those understanding and promises of which the Hindu Mahasabha knew nothing until these vague accusations were made in the course of speeches of Muslim leaders. The point, therefore, is:—

"Who gave the understanding and the promises and to whom were they given and when? And what were those promises? How was it that during the first session of the Conference at Allahabad, the Muslim leaders were satisfied with tne position of the Bengal Hindus which was to the effect that if the Bengal Hindus were guaranteed 44.7 per cent. representation, they would waive their objection to 51 per cent. of representation for the Muslims in the Bengal Legislature?

AFTER LUCKNOW CONFERENCE

"The Moslem leaders took this agreed settlement to their Lucknow Conference for ratification and it was only when they returned from their conference that they made an open proposal that the Bengal Hindus should agree to surrender at least two seats from their already inadequate quota under the communal Award of the British Government.

"By the bye, however, it was eventually found in Calcutta that it was not a question of merely two seats but of 6 or 7 seats, without which Moslems could not be guaranteed 51 per cent. of representation in Bengal.

"May I hope that Mr. Yusufi will publicly withdraw these accusations against the Hindus, if he ultimately finds, as I am sure he will, that it is he who is labouring under some kind of misunderstanding?"

Sunday, Jan. 8, 1933.

Dr. Moonje On Alwar Situation

PSYCHOLOGY OF REVOLT

(*)

Appeal To Hindus To Observe 'Alwar Day'

(Associated Press of India.)

NEW DELHI, Jan. 6.

After the Unity Conference in Calcutta Dr. B. S. Moonje, working president of Hindu Maha Sabha, hearing the Alwar trouble crewing up went to Alwar and after three days' stay, studying situation at first hand, arrived to-day at Delhi.

Ere leaving for Nagpur to-day Dr. Moonje has issued the following statement to the press:—

The Hindu-Moslem quarrel at Alwar is rapidly coming to a head and it will be no surprise if the history of Kashmere may repeat itself in India. Alwar Muslims are fully backed by their Moslem brethren in British India from the highest to the lowest. Even the so-called nationalist Moslem are keeping discredit silence, and do not repudiate the doings either of Alwar Muslims or of those from British India who are egging that on with their moral and material support Hindus generally do not appear yet to be alive to the peril. The psyshology under lying Muslim revolt at Alwar appears to be to establish their predominance in Hindu States as they have done sufficiently for the present in British India by insisting on their fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah which have now been granted to them by the kind and obliging British Government.

The Government of Alwar if left to themselves are quite competent to deal effectively with the local Muslim revolt and to enforce law and order but the Government of India also must do its duty of giving on the one hand their moral support to the Maharaja and of taking effective steps on the other to check Muslim agitators of British India who instigate Alwar Muslims in their mad course of lawlessness.

The Maha Sabha appeals to all Hindus to be prepared to meet the situation in every way as it may develop and to observe "Alwar Day" on the 15th January. This day mass meetings of Hindus should be held in every town and village to bring home to Hindus the true nature of the peril of Muslim revolt in Alwar and to adopt a resolution protesting against the attitude of indifference of the Government of India and calling on the Government to take immediate steps to check British India agitation in support of revolt of Alwar Muslims and offering support to the Maharaja.

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NO ALWAR DAY

Times — 13-1-33

DR. ZIA-UD-DIN AHMED'S APPEAL TO DR. MOONJE

Dr. Zia-Ud-din Ahmed, M.L.A., writes:—I read with great surprise the statement issued by Dr. Moonje inviting the Hindu community to observe January 15 as Alwar Day, and preparing the Hindu community for civil war on a non-communal issue. I can convince Dr. Moonje and everybody else that the present agitation in Alwar is not a communal question. It is a question whether the people of Alwar have a right to enjoy elementary rights, not the rights which Liberals are now demanding, but the rights which people of British India enjoyed during the Minto-Morley reforms. No one ever demanded the establishment of an elected council vested with responsibility in Alwar State. No one ever questioned the authority of the Maharaja. The people demand only two things: (1) the proprietary rights of the people in villages should not be taken away from them without paying compensation: (2) the tenants should not be asked to pay an amount in land revenue which is impossible for them to do.

MAIN GRIEVANCES

The main grievance of the Alwar Muslims may be summed up as follows:—

(1) The Mussalmans should be permitted to open their "maktubs". The State has a right to satisfy itself that no sedition is taught against His Highness or British Government. But this should not be used as an excuse for imposing unnecessary restrictions and closing "maktubs" altogether.

(2) Muslim boys should be permitted to read Urdu, if their parents desire them to do so.

(3) Mussalmans should be at liberty to repair the existing mosques and erect new ones in places which may not disturb public peace.

(4) The shaving of the beard should not be considered a necessary qualification for service. (Dr. Moonje will join hands with me, as his beard is bigger than mine.)

It is also necessary on this occasion to recall that a conference of the Mahomedan community was held at Firozpore Jhirka (District Gurgaon) on the 3rd or 4th December. I attended this conference with Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan, Shah Mahsood Ahmed and Fazal Haq Piracha, Members of the Legislative Assembly, and we convened the conference, which was attended by 10,000 Meos, so that their agrarian grievances would be redressed by peaceful negotiations and that they should refrain from action. A committee was appointed and it discussed 'in camera' all the points with the Alwar Ministers. I am asking the Secretary of the Committee to convene a meeting at an early date and issue a full statement of facts. I appeal to Dr. Moonje again not further to widen the relations between Hindus and Mussalmans on a very narrow issue. We should meet together and discuss whether the demands of the Alwar people are just and reasonable.

HINDU ALWAR DAY

DR. MOONJE'S APPEAL FOR POSTPONEMENT

Times 14/1/33

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

NAGPUR, January 13.

In the course of a statement to the press Dr. Moonje says that in compliance of the appeal of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad he has announced the postponement of the observance of the Alwar Day by Hindus. Dr. Moonje says: "I have always willingly co-operated in movements for bringing about unity between Hindus and Moslems consistently with my duties as the Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the Hindus. I hope and trust that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad will issue a similar appeal to Moslem leaders and organisations to desist from activities and agitation concerning the Moslem rebellion in Alwar. Let both the communities leave the matter to be decided by the Alwar Durbar and the Government of India acting within their respective constitutional spheres without encroachments on the internal sovereignty of the Maharaja of Alwar.

"The question of fundamental rights raised by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad is a large one which applies equally to the subjects of all the Indian States, large or small, and cannot be confined to Alwar alone. If a Committee, as he suggests, of Hindu and Moslem leaders for friendly discussion is appointed, I should be pleased to offer my hearty co-operation. I dequest Hindus not to observe Alwar Day on January 15."

Universal Islamic Association

Y. M. C. A. MODEL

HELP TO MUSLIMS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

SECUNDERABAD, Feb. 21.

Last evening Nawab Sir Nizamat Jung and Mr. Kursheed Ali, Director of the Department of State Archives, Hyderabad, entertained Mr. Osmani Hami Bey, a Turkish visitor to Hyderabad, at an At Home which was held at the Nizam Club. Nawab Sir Nizamet Jung introduced the visitor to the guests present and explained that it was the intention of Mr. Hami to form an association for Muslims on the lines of the Y.M.C.A., and appealed to all present to lend their support to the scheme.

Mr. Hami then addressed the gathering and unfolded his scheme, the main object of which, he said, was to form a Muslim Association like the Y.M.C.A. They proposed to establish branches in all important towns in the Islamic world with a Centre in Europe. But they did not desire that their central organisation should be under any local influence. They wished to avoid giving preference in this respect to any particular Islamic country.

AIMS OF ASSOCIATION

The aims of the new Association were to give facilities to Moslems during their stay in Europe and afford them access to social and intellectual circles in order to promote the existing friendly relations between the East and the West. On the other hand Europeans wishing to visit Moslem countries will be furnished with any particulars required and with introductions. The Association would assist Moslem students in Europe and spread the knowledge of Islamic religion, art and culture in Europe. It will also give moral and material assistance to deserving Moslems.

Another important object was the achievement of friendly, intellectual and economic co-operation between Oriental and occidental civilizations.

The speaker then described the method of the Association's work and said that their central organization in Paris had already come into being. After his return to Europe, the Aga Khan and himself proposed to establish a similar centre in London. In the meantime it was their earnest desire to see similar centre established in different Islamic countries. This was exactly what they wanted to do in Hyderabad.

"REAL HOMES" FOR MUSLIMS.

The centres in Paris and London would serve as real "homes" for all Moslems residing there as well as travellers and students. Every Moslem whether he be a member of the Association or not, would be entitled to receive all possible facilities and help from the Central Associations. Information concerning industrial and commercial matters would be readily supplied.

They would make it a point to watch the activities of their young and inexperienced brethren in the big centres of Europe, where they might easily get lost or isolated for want of necessary guidance. Endeavours will be made to keep them away from undesirable company. They also proposed to issue different publications from the Central Organisation for the enlightenment of Moslems as well as non-Moslems.

A Committee has been formed in Hyderabad with Nawab Salar Jung as the Chairman, Nawab Sir Nizamat Jung as the Vice-President to promote the interests of the Association.

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IMPORTANCE OF RIFLES

Army Chief On Future Battles

(Associated Press of India.)

MEERUT, Feb. 25.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief addressing Army Rifle Association meeting said he felt certain that in the battles of future means would be found by smoke and other devices to minimise the power of machine gun and the soldier would find that his rifle was again all important to him and all important to the cause he fought for.

They had instituted a new course for trained soldiers which would include practices at ranges up to 800 yards.

Sequel To Murder Of A Moslem

ALLEGED RIOTING

—(*)—

How Sukdevi Was Dragged Out of Her Hut

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

DACCA, Feb 25.

Mr. S. N. Bhattacharya, Deputy Magistrate of Dacca has commenced the hearing of the rioting case following the murder of a young Mahomedan who had entered the house of a Hindu widow named Sukdevi Sutradhar of Kantahati under Sadar sub-division at night when the woman was asleep. Fifteen Mahomedans including three Chowkidars of the locality were arrested by the Police and sent up for trial.

When the case was still in the file of Mr. Sadeq Khan, Sub-divisional Officer of Dacca, a petition was moved before him by the Pleader on behalf of the accused stating that it was a communal case and prayed that the case be not tried by a Hindu Magistrate or a Mahomedan Magistrate and asked the Sub-divisional Officer to transfer the case to the file of a Christian Magistrate. Accordingly the Sub-Divisional Officer transferred the case to the file of Mr. S. N. Bhattacharya.

Sukdevi Sutradhar on being examined by Court Sub-Inspector Ananta Kumar Das Gupta said that she struck a man when he had entered her hut at night. She then fainted. After regaining consciousness she narrated the story to the neighbours who had come to her house having heard her cry. She then went to one of her neighbour's house and slept there. Next day at about one and a half 'Prahar' of the day about 200 to 300 Mahomedans came to her house armed with bainboos and lathis. At this Sukdevi entered Srimanta's hut. Kandu Doctor, Jehar Munshi, Naimuddi, Sahebdi and others gave orders to the Mahomedans to beat the inmates of Sukdevi's house and to bind them. At this Kanai Chowkidar caught Sukdevi by her hair and dragged her out. She was beaten with a cane as she was being dragged out. Kandu Doctor, Jehar Munshi, Sahebdi and Naimuddi also assaulted her with kicks and blows. There were others also whom she did not know. Sukdevi was dragged under a mango tree quite naked and she caught hold of the feet of a Chowkidar but he gave her kicks. Under the mango tree she was kept with her hands tied absolutely naked. Sukdevi found Srimanta tied there. Mati, Abhoy, Judhistir, Kanai and Mukunda Bewa were dragged out and tied and beaten under the mango tree. Suvarna, a girl of about 16 years was also dragged out of Srimanta's hut where she had hid herself. She was also made almost naked. She was also brought under the mango tree. When she was about to be tied, President of the local Union Board came and released her. At this Daragali [illegible] marry her in 'Nika' form." Sukdevi with others were detained under the mango tree and then they were taken to the thana. During the whole day Sukdevi and others could not move at all as they were tied and the accused persons kept guard over them. Naimuddi accompanied Sukdevi and others to the thana where they narrated to the Munshi of the thana the occurrence. Next morning the 'Daroga' came and released all except Sukdevi. She was subsequently committed to the Court of Sessions and was acquitted.

Suvarna said that Srimanta was her maternal uncle and Mukunda Bewa her mother. She was with her mother on the date of occurrence. At about one and a half 'Prahar' of the day about 200 Mahomedans came to her house armed with lathis. Kandu doctor, Sahebdi and others gave orders. Witness entered the northern hut of Srimanto and closed the door when accused Daragali Chowkidar broke open the door of the hut and entered therein and caught hold of the hairs of the witness and dragged her out in a naked condition and assaulted her with lathis and fists. When she was dragged out in the courtyard she was beaten by other Mahomedans. She was then dragged under a mango tree with only a small portion of her wearing cloth round her waist. Witness found there the mango tree Srimanta, Abhoy, Kanai, Judhistir, Sukhdevi and the mother of the witness. They were all tied there. Accused Daragali said that he would marry the witness in 'Nika' form. President of the Union Board released the witness and she ran away to a neighbour's house out of fear and remained there for the day. Witness then identified the accused persons on the dock who were among the rioters.

Charubala said that Srimanta was her uncle-in-law and Judhistir was her husband. On the 17th Aswin last at about one and a half 'Prahar' of the day 200 to 300 Mahomedans attacked her house with lathis. Kandu Doctor, Sahebdi and others gave orders to the mob asking them to drag out the women of the house and to secure the male members. Srimanta, Sukhdevi, Kanai, Mukunda Bewa, Abhoy and Judhistir were secured by the Mahomedans. Suvarna was dragged out and tied. Witness was at that time in the western hut belonging to Kanai. Suvarna and Sukhdevi were made almost naked. Three of the Mahomedans broke open the door of her hut and having entered therein assaulted the witness. Accused Debu was identified by the witness as the man who had assaulted her with two others who were not present in the dock. Witness then identified some of the accused who raided the house.

Some more witnesses were then examined who corroborated the previous witnesses and identified the accused persons on the dock as those among the rioters.

Court Sub-Inspector Ananta Kumar Das Gupta and Nirmoy Banerjee M.A. B.L. appeared for the prosecution.

DR. MOONJE'S VIEWS ON CONGRESS POLICY

Capturing the Legislatures

The following questions were asked and answers given:—

QUESTION: It is understood that Mr. Aney, the present Working President of the Congress interviewed you and had a consultation with you in respect of change of programme which is being pressed on the Congress on all sides. Don't you think it would be wise to call off the movement of Civil Disobedience?

DR. MOONJE: I sought Mr. Aney's interview. My grateful thanks are due to him for sparing some time at great personal inconvenience. I was anxious to place my suggestions before him for his consideration in connection with the session of the Congress that is to be held in Calcutta at the end of this month.

QUESTION: What are your suggestions? Can you let us know of them?

DR. MOONJE: My suggestion in brief was that the policies and activities of the Congress should be organised on a broad basis; so that a bold and constructive lead be given by bringing about political unity on a much wider scale in the country on a common ideal which is variously defined as Dominion Status or "Substance of Independence" as Mahatmaji prefers to do. My suggestion was that a statement be issued recommending to the Congress to organise its policy and activities on a broader basis, comprising:

1. Movements for exercising direct pressure on the Government as and when needed, such as that of, say, Civil Disobedience, so as to impel the Government to remove whatever deficiencies may be remaining in the new constitution from our point of view;

2. Capture of Legislatures, so that whatever power that may be transferred be used in a way as to strengthen our hands so as to intensify the pressure to be exerted on the Government;

3. Removal of Untouchability;

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years to establish their political predominance in Europe.

QUESTION: Does it imply that the movement of Civil Disobedience should be called off?

DR. MOONJE: No. We cannot dispense with the need of a weapon of some kind of direct action to exert pressure on Government until it concedes our demand. It will be seen that there is no suggestion to give it up though it may or may not be carried on with vigour and push or there may be even suspension or its methods be modified as may be found advisable later on.

At the same time I believe it will not be wise for the Congress to let the power under the new constitutiou go into undesirable hands. Thus, it will be seen that this suggestion of mine does not involve any humiliation or loss of prestige to the Congress but on the other hand if accepted and given effect to, it will increase its usefulness and bring about political unity in the country and the Congress will again be a menace to the present arrogance of the Government.

QUESTION:— Will not Government ban such a Congress? Will not people be again sent to jail?

DR. MOONJE:— Let the Government do its duty as it thinks fit in its own interest. We have to do ours, whatever the risk, but going to jail is a risk not worth much as a price to pay if the policy and politics of the Congress could be organised on a broader basis. Mr. Aney knows it well.

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4. Any other movement that may be considered necessary, such as that of the Military regeneration of those classes that are known as non-martial with a view to give effect to the fundamental dictum of the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference that "with the development of the new political structure in India, the defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people and not of the British Government alone."

This will serve, I believe, to make it easy to bring about a coalition of all the prominent political parties that count at present in the political life of the country, such as the Congress, the Responsivists and the Liberals.

QUESTION: Does it imply that the movement of Civil Disobedience has proved a failure?

DR. MOONJE: No. This is a struggle for attaining our goal of freedom; so that we may be as free in our country as the Britishers are in theirs. This struggle will not finish in a year or two. We have to learn of politics in this respect from those who have the proud tradition behind them of having successfully waged wars as long as of seven and of hundred

Times of India
20.3.33

The Congress and Legislatures

WILL SUGGESTION OF DR. MOONJE BE ACCEPTED?

RANGOON. March 17.

Referring to Dr. Moonje's suggestions to Congressmen, Mr. A. K. Pillai, formerly a member of the All-India Congress Committee, has issued the following statement.

"The acceptance of Dr. Moonje's suggestions will undoubtedly make the Congress by far the most influential political party in the Indian Legislature. Congressmen could easily capture and retain whatever power the reforms will grant to the ministry and have manifold avenues to reformist activities. The prospect indeed is alluring but will the Congress for good leave the nation's political leadership in its struggle for freedom and play the role of a leading political party within the given constitution in working for what it is worth? Therein lay the crux of the whole matter and the answer to this question verily depends on the ultimate acceptance or rejection of Dr. Moonje's significant suggestions but Congressmen must fully deliberate on all its implications in making the decisions on this paramount issue.

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"WOULD NOT SATISFY INDIANS"

DR. MONJE'S OPINION

NAGPUR, March 18.

Dr. Moonje in an interview on the White Paper said that he had no hesitation in saying that the constitution would not satisfy the people or allay discontent. To him the constitution as foreshadowed by the White Paper appeared to maintain the future Government of India as a Crown colony and not a Dominion of the British Commonwealth. The present Government of India Act would be repealed and all powers pertaining to the Government of British India would be again vested in the Crown. "Thus there is no advance whatsoever in the legal and constitutional status of the people."

Referring to the provinces, Dr. Moonje pointed out that Ministers would comprise merely the advisory council to the Governor, whose word alone would prevail, supported or unsupported by the ministers and the legislatures. The Governor's powers had been made more extensive to enable him to refuse to abide by the advice of ministers and the legislatures in case of emergency. In his view there was not much advance except central responsibility.

FEDERATION

On the question of Federation, Doctor Moonje said that none knew when it would come, as it depended on the will of the Princes to federate and on world economic conditions favouring the establishment of the Reserve Bank. In any case, the Central Federal Government would not be responsible Government approaching Self-Government or Dominion Status. "In a word it will not be much beside the truth if it is said that what is given at the Centre is nothing more than lifting Provincial dyarchy and transplanting, it at the Centre. There is no question of a big gesture or magic show of Central responsibility and Provincial autonomy made; but the substance has been swallowed outright by the provision of 'special responsibility' of the Governor-General and the Governors.

"The special powers of the Governor-General to enact measures without reference to the legislature and practically similar powers of the Governors are a positive retrogression. No attempt has been made to fix the period of transition by statute. The discretion left to the Governor-General to appoint counsellors for defence and external affairs has not been limited for choice from elected Indian members and the period for complete Indianisation of the Army has not been fixed."

Dr. Moonje urged the country to unite for the purpose of compelling Government to reconsider the proposals and appealed to the Congress to abandon sectarian politics.

As regards his Province, Doctor Moonje said that the people would heave a sigh of relief to know that Berar would not be separated.

SANATAN DHARMA IS ETERNAL

Maharaja of Alwar's Faith

DELHI, Monday.

"I have taken a vow while standing in the water of the sacred Ganges to use the rest of my life in the good cause of Sanatan Dharma," announced his Highness the Maharaja of Alwar while presiding over today's programme of the 9th anniversary of Sanatan Dharma Sabha New Delhi. He wondered at people saying that Sanatan Dharma is fading and is going down day by day. He opined that a Dharma which is Sanatan could neither fade nor vanish.

Addressing the women he said that it was their foremost duty to see that their children become such as to keep the flag of Sanatan Dharma flying. He said that if monkeys and bears could conquer "Lanka" with the help of Shri Ram it was not impossible for your children, being human beings, to conquer India, for Shri Ram is always with his "Bhaktas."

There was also an impressive discourse by Goswami Ganesh Dutt.

also, and have requested the Government of India for the loan of the services of a British R. E. officer to be appointed as Adjutant and Quarter-master-General in place of Lieut.-Colonel Lane who took over charge as Chief of Staff in February this year on Lieut.-Colonel Beresford's reversion to duty in British India. A special grant has been placed at the disposal of the Commander for carrying out immediate minor repairs.

The proposed change in the terms of service has been agreed to in principle and the details will be considered after the receipt of certain statistics from British India bearing on the financial aspect of the proposal. The Commander observes that the custom of allowing men to serve to 55 years of age has bred a military caste, which is deteriorating rapidly and therefore it is necessary to turn to the districts for recruits and to employ men as soldiers in their prime only, sending them back to the land with a gratuity or small pension while yet able to work. He urges that it is imperative to weed out yearly by a Medical Board such men as are manifestly incapable of marching and fighting.

OFFICERS' PAY

The Pay Equalization Scheme for officers of the Regular Force has also been sanctioned by the Government and all officers have been placed on the same scale as regards rates of pay from the commencement of the year. Up to 1932 officers of Imperial Service units received a higher rate of pay than those in other units. Under the Pay Equalization Scheme officers whether serving in cavalry, infantry or artillery will receive the same rates of pay and command allowance and it has been laid down by the Government that officers will have to accept a liability to serve anywhere in any unit of the Regular Force. The financial effect of the scheme is an additional cost to the State of approximately Rs. 66,000 annually.

The Army Cadets Scheme put up by the Commander has also been approved and cadets will be selected by a Board consisting of the Army Member, the Army Secretary, the Commander and his Chief of Staff. Reorganization has necessitated the increase of the officer cadre by some 40 officers and to meet this the intake of cadets has increased. Cadet training has been centred in one unit, the "A" Class Infantry Battalion, and the initial training will be divided into two periods of six months, at the end of which each cadet will be required to pass, examination "A" and examination "B". A second failure in examination "A" involves removal from the Regular Force.

On passing the examination cadets will be recommended forthwith for commission as second lieutenant and in the event of there being no officer vacancies, those who have passed will be styled Cadet graduates, and will be

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ORGANIZATION OF THE NIZAM'S ARMY

Hindu 9-4-33
4-33

GRADING OF UNITS

EXTENSIVE HOUSING PLAN FOR TROOPS

HYDERABAD, (DECCAN), APRIL 9.

The report on H. E. H. the Nizam's Regular Force for the year 1341 Fasli, which has been prepared by the Commander for presentation to the Government makes very interesting reading and, as observed by the Army Secretary in the Government review of the report, indicates that remarkable progress has been made.

The question of the units to be maintained by the Nizam's Government in future, which was the subject of correspondence with the Government of India, has now been definitely settled. The 1st and 2nd Hyderabad Imperial Service Lancers have been placed in Class "A" together with the 1st Hyderabad Infantry Battalion, the Cavalry Training Squadron and the Infantry Training Company. The 3rd Golconda Lancers, the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the Hyderabad Infantry, the 15 Pounder "A" Battery Horse Artillery and the Animal Transport Section are in Class "B," while the "B" Battery, the 4th Golconda Infantry, the Nizam Mahboob Arab Battalion and the African Bodyguard Squadron are in Class "C" units.

Class "A" troops have been defined as those which follow in principle the organization of the Indian Army, irrespective of whether they are destined for offer to the Indian Government in an emergency or for internal security in the State. Troops which do not follow in principle the organization of the Indian Army and which are purely internal security troops and may or may not be offered to the Government of India for internal security duties in British India in emergencies are Class "B." All other troops which do not reach the standard required for Classes "A" and "B" are in Class "C." The Nizam's Government have however accepted the recommendation of the Commander and his Chief of Staff that the officers establishment of "A" and "B" Class units should be exactly the same. The uniform scale of establishment came into force at the commencement of this year.

HOUSING OF TROOPS

Rearmament is being completed gradually and the newly organized battery armed with 15-pounder guns fired its first practice at camp in January, 1933. The Nizam's Government realize the importance of the building programme connected with reorganization. The 1st Lancers Lines have been rebuilt at a cost of over 14 lakhs of rupees. The lines of the 2nd Lancers and the "A" Class Cavalry Training Squadron are in course of construction at an estimated cost of over 11 lakhs, and 5¼ lakhs, respectively. Since it is not easy to provide modern lines for 7,207 men of the Regular Force on the assumption that each man is married (the cost works out at about Rs. 1,100 per man for married quarters without considering the question of administrative buildings), the Finance Department have agreed to 50 per cent married quarters being buil for N.C.O.'s and men in all newly constructed lines.

The Government are paying attention to the housing of the other units

given Rs. 150 a month until vacancies occur for them. An outfit allowance of Rs. 300 will be given to each cadet. The training of officers is being carried out to the fullest possible extent and the system of having a training grant has been introduced. Every opportunity is being taken to send officers and men on courses of instructions to British India and to British units in Secunderabad, and the State recently undertook to supply an equitation instructor at the Equitation School, Saugor, to impart instruction to Indian States Force students. The Government have sanctioned proposals for a flat rate of allowance for officers on course of instructions. They have also approved of the Indian Army time scale of promotion being adopted for officers of the Regular Force. The proposal for a Brigade Signalling Officer has been sanctioned and an Indian officer from the Indian Army has been appointed as Educational Officer. A new post of Brigadier, Cavalry Brigade has been created and a Brigade Major's appointment has been sanctioned.

CLOTHING AND RATIONS

Sanction has also been accorded to the institution of a clothing fund for mounted units which will effect considerable economy and a Line Contingent Fund which provides funds for numerous articles required in mounted units is also in operation. Up till 1931 two rates of ration allowance were in force and there was a distinction between the Imperial Service Troops and the rest of the units of the Regular Force. It has been decided to adopt the same scheme which has proved satisfactory in British India and a style of free rations plus messing allowance has been introduced.

A scheme for raising of territorial battalions has been drawn up by the Commander and is now under the consideration of the Nizam's Government Under this scheme it is proposed to recruit an entirely new force of yeomen and keep them only for a limited period so that each man will go back to his land. The formation of a University Training Corps is mooted by the Commander who observes that the first essential is that it shall be run by some keen volunteer officer connected with one of the various colleges. He adds that it is worth while considering whether those who join the corps will serve merely for the novelty of the thing or because they hope that it may help them to gain employment or whether they join because of the conviction that they need military training to fit themselves to meet an emergency. He refers to the experience gained in British India which, he says, points to the conclusion that those who join such corps do so with the idea of gaining some immediate benefit and having left their university they give up all idea of further military training. The Commander has reduced all superfluous guards and observes that units which only find guards cannot possibly become efficient. The question of the withdrawal of superfluous guards has been submitted to the Government for orders.

Owing to the need for revision of the annual budget of the Regular Force it has been necessary in the past to meet recurring expenditure from the savings of the department and the process involved great delays, and the revision of the budget fulfils an urgent need. How keen the Nizam's Government are on the reorganization of the Army, and how well the Finance Department have responded to the various demands is obvious from the fact that the various sanctions accorded during the

reorganization reserve total over 35 lakhs of Rupees (O.S.) and nearly three lakhs (B.G.). The revised budget for the Regular Force indicates an excess of about 16 lakhs of rupees over the figures for the previous year.

NO GOING BACK ON PACT

25/4/33

ONLY CHANGE IN FORM OF ELECTION WANTED

"Even if Mr. Gandhi does not accept my suggestion regarding the elimination of the panel system of election for the depressed classes to the reformed legislatures, I am confident that it will be accepted both by the Prime Minister and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, "declared Dr. B. R. Ambedkar' a leader of the depressed classes to a representative of *The Times of India*, shortly after his return from Poona where he had been to see Mr. Gandhi in connection with the proposed alterations in the Poona Pact.

He added that if Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. N. C. Kelkar and other signatories to the Pact agreed to do away with the present costly system of election, then there ought to be no difficulty at all. He would convince the Prime Minister of the desirability of adopting his proposal in the interests of the depressed classes.

"Why should there be so much fuss over this question if everybody is convinced that my suggestion, after all, involves nothing more than a mere change of form in the provisions of the Poona Pact?" asked Dr. Ambedkar, "Conflict can arise only when the alterations suggestions affect the fundamentals. When I went to see Mr. Gandhi I was handed a telegram addressed to me by the depressed classes of Madras in which they supported my suggestion."

Dr. Ambedkar made it perfectly clear that he did not wish to go back on the Poona Pact but that he merely wanted a change in the form of election.

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Col. Moonje's Call To Hindus

Crying Need for Physical Culture

FITNESS FOR INDIA DEFENCE

Address at Karachi Conference

The following is the Presidential speech of Dr. B. S. Moonje, at the Sindh Hindu Physical Culture Conference, held at Kar achi, yesterday :—

I am thankful to you for having done me the honour of electing me as President of this Conference.

The subject of physical culture of our boys has always been a subject dear to my heart. In my own way, I have done all that I could for its progress amongst our boys. It has two aspects like anything alse in this world. One is personal and the other is social.

In its personal aspect, it enables boys who have undergone training in physical culture in their youth to enjoy life in a manly and [illegible] for Swaraj which connotes capacity to undertake the responsibilities of national defence from foreign aggression in which the weapons of offence will not be mere lathies and knives but the elaborate scientific paraphernalia of modern warfare, such as machine guns, heavy artillery, aeroplanes etc. Thus they argue that this state of Hindu weakness is the greatest obstacle in the way of Swaraj. The same thing is meant, though indirectly, when in his report on the Indian Sandhurst Committee, General Skeen says that the present educational system is such that it cannot provide a steady flow of first class material and also for imparting elementary knowledge in the case of males, in the science and art of warfare and in the case of females, in different other arts required for complementing the gigantic efforts of the nation for self-defence.

Looking at the present condition of the Hindus from this point of view, it cannot be denied that the physical development of our boys is at a low ebb and the martial instinct is dormant if not practically extinct in most of them. All our efforts should, therefore, be concentrated in reviving the martial instinct particularly of those who are called non-martial classes and making them fit both physically and mentally for self-defence. The Hindus form a large majority of the population of India and being caste-ridden require to be trained with special care and attention to fit them to take their due share in accordance with their numbers in the defence of the country, as compared with other communities who are more favourably situated in this respect, being unencumbered with the too well-known handicaps of the caste-system to require mention here.

Every able-bodied youth of these communities therefore is [illegible]

Read Sind Observer with Morning Coffee.

"MY FOUNTAIN PEN."

How useful you are to me. Can I live without you? Never. Whatever I like I can write with your help. Were you not in my hand, with what would I have written your praise on this paper? I write about you just to remember how I like you!

You are my old, old pen. So many examinations have been finished. You have always accompanied me to the examination hall, and every time helped me in passing my examinations. Had you not been there with me, I would have surely secured very few marks, for I cannot write so nicely with a steel pen.

You are so obedient to me. How useful you are to me. Can I live without you? Never. Whatever I like I can write with your help. Were you not in my hand, with what would I have written your praise on this paper? I write about you just to remember how I like you!

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"MY FOUNTAIN PEN."

How useful you are to me. Can I live without you? Never. Whatever I like I can write with your help. Were you not in my hand, with what would I have written your praise on this paper? I write about you just to remember how I like you!

—but also such a surprise!

* * * * * *

I regret very much that a pretty good essay has had to remain without seeing the light of the day for such a long time. It had sufficient imprisonment in the file, and so without any further delay, let me release it, and give you the pleasure of its company. The essay is written on the thing, with which even just now I am writing.

"MY FOUNTAIN PEN."

(Miss Pushpa R. Motwani)

Of course, [illegible] greater for me than to be with children. And on this occasion, we were not less than 175 at any rate; It was therefore such a jolly thing

nice sea-bath and a nice picnic.

MY FAITHFUL FRIEND.

I have a friend, a faithful friend,
To whom I have given my heart,
Sir,
For in my life I'm sure he fills
A most important part, Sir!
He helps to pay what'er I owe,
My bills! my rent! and taxes!
I scarce could do without this friend

You are so obedient to me.

PRIZES.

* * * * * *

This one is a good attempt and therefore we are sending a prize to the writer. Likewise we shall be glad to give away prizes to all those who send in to us some nice little attempts. As a matter of fact, I have been given the following names to announce as prize-winners in our Puzzles and Jokes Section. Brothers :—

1. Gobind K. Mirchandani
2. Chanderbhan M. Wadhwa
3. Hardas M. Dodlani
4. Fatechchand M. Tahiramani
5. Gobind S. Bachani
6. Hardayal Lalchand

To all of them, the prize books, will be despatched in due course of time. But, very just now, I am reminded of another nice poem on "Pen," so let me give it to you along with this.

* * * * * *

A GOOD CATCH!

And now, at the end, I shall give you a neat little catch to work off on a friend. Go up to him and say: "I will make you answer 'No,' to the first question I ask you." This is where the catch comes in. As if you wish to make it clear to him, you continue: "Now, if you answer 'No,' I have won, and if you do not answer 'No' then you have won. But perhaps you know the trick?"

"No," promptly replies your friend.

"Thanks," you laugh, "I've won, You see!"

All Good Wishes from—
Your loving,
Dada—
"GULISTAN,"
Karachi.

And those who cannot come and part in the prize competitions, a list of which and other details about the "Gathering" could be had from Mr. Tirith G. Sabhani, B.A., General Secretary, the First All-Sind Children's Gathering, Larkana (Sind.)

* * * * * *

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Physical Regeneration of Hindus.

EXAMPLES OF JAPAN AND GERMANY.

DR. MOONJE'S INSISTENCE ON BODY BUILDING.

Mahasabha's Scheme for Elementary Military Training.

The following is the remaining portion of Dr. Moonje's address at the Sind Physical Culture Conference, Karachi, held on Saturday, April 15.

Japan may be taken as our guide in the matter. Japan up to 70 years ago had practically the same caste system as we Hindus have in India. There too only one caste, called the Samurai, which may be likened to our Kshatriya caste, had the privilege of bearing arms and going in for the military profession. The common folkknown as the civilian side not as formerly, in the technical skill of the individual which machinery is gradually superseding but in the power of continuous collective effort of organised bodies and that physical health and power of mental concentration are the principal qualities required by the unity of such bodies. Now these are the two essential factors which modern methods of military training aim at developing and these methods in turn are evolved naturally from the conditions of service which compulsion introduced. The men

Continued from Page 7

from foreign aggression as well as internal commotions, in short, to quicken the latent martial instinct.

(*e*) To provide a steady flow of really first class material for recruitment as army officers and also for the public services of the country, such as the Civil Service, the Police Service and the Forest Service, etc.,

(*f*) To includcate the idea of common brotherhood between people of different castes form the Brahmin down to the so-called Chandal, *i. e.*, the untouchable, based on perfectly equal, social and religious rights and privileges for all.

(*g*) To evolve patriotism, inculcate the habit of subordinating self-interest to national interest and inspire the boys to be ever ready to fight and to lay down their lives for their country, culture, religion and the honour of their woman folk.

Such is the comprehensive scheme of the Hindu Mahasabha for the physical and military regeneration of the so-called non-martial classes of the Hindu generally. I hope and trust the Hindus will rise to the occasion and supply the Mahasabha with finances to enable it to give effect to its scheme of physical and military regeneration of the Hindus.

Now I have finished. I thank you again or doing me the honour of electing me as the President of this conference and of giving me a patient hearing.

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NO MATERIAL CHANGE POSSIBLE

Dr. Moonje on Joint Committee Prospects

MUSLIM ATTITUDE LAMENTED

Interviewed by a representative of the *Sind Observer* to express his views on current political situation in the country, Dr. Moonje, the renowned Hindu leader, who arrived in Karachi this morning to preside over the sessions of the Sind Hindu Physical Culture Conference, thought that the future constitution when it emerged from the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the Parliament, might be worse than even the one contained in the White Paper.

JOINT COMMITTEE.

He added: "The Indian delegates who have been invited to sit with the Committee in an advisory capacity will, of course, place their views before the Committee but I cannot hope that they will be able to make any material change in the constitution. On the other hand, it is likely that the question of responsibility at the centre may be interfered with by the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

25/4/33.

Dr. Ambedkar's Move

It is unfortunate for his project that Dr. Ambedkar should have waited till the eve of his departure for England to raise an issue affecting the Poona Pact, which now forms part of the communal award made by His Majesty's Government. What Dr. Ambedkar and his friends desire is to abolish the system of primary elections whereby panels of four depressed classes' candidates are returned to contest each reserved seat in the general constituency. As was foreseen at the time the Pona Pact was signed, this system imposes a double electioneering campaign on all candidates belonging to the depressed classes, involving them in additional expenditure. Dr. Ambedkar regards the system as unfair to the community for whom he speaks, and seems to suggest that if he did not press this view last September when the pact was signed, it was because of his anxiety to save Mr. Gandhi's life. But it is possible that other reasons besides those of expense enter into Dr. Ambedkar's move. It is well-known that depressed classes' leaders fear that the general constituency may return the weakest member of the panel, that is, the candidate who has secured only fourth place in the primary election and who may not be supported by even ten per cent. of the depressed classes' voters. In this way, it is claimed, the staunchest representatives of the depressed classes might be unable to secure a seat. To avoid this danger and simultaneously to do away with the expensive system of double election, it is suggested that the panel method should be scrapped, subject to the condition that no candidate standing for a depressed classes seat in the general constituency should be declared elected unless he secures at least 25 per cent. of the depressed classes' votes.

There is a good deal to be said in favour of the suggestion, but its acceptance is dependent on the consent of all those who were parties to the Poona Pact. Dr. Ambedkar is to appeal to the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee to recognise his point of view, but we do not see that the Joint Committee can legitimately interfere in the matter. The communal award, of which the Poona Pact is a part, can only be modified by prior agreement between the parties affected. That was how the Poona Pact was substituted in place of the original communal award made by His Majesty's Government in so far as it related to the depressed classes. Moreover, even the modification proposed might lead to a demand, particularly by the Bengal Hindus, to have the whole provisions of the Pact reopened. It is quite true that Dr. Ambedkar's proposal does not interfere with the fundamental basis of the Poona Pact, since it does not seek to alter the strength of the depressed classes' representation. It would, on the other hand, do away with the system of primary elections which are really separate electorates in another form; to that extent the scheme should commend itself to the Hindu community as a whole. Whether the Hindu representatives on the Joint Select Committee can answer for the general body of their co-religionists we do not know; that is a matter for Hindus themselves to settle. It is, however, obvious that the Prime Minister cannot alter his decision unless he is satisfied that the proposed change is generally acceptable to both sides. The whole affair illustrates afresh the dangers and difficulties attendant upon attempts to settle thorny problems by extreme measures of the kind adopted by Mr. Gandhi six months ago.

Gokhale once remarked: "Why should this songbird of India have a broken wing?" It is a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi's extraordinary grip on us that Sarojini Devi should have spurned the primrose path of the Taj and the ice-cream and have braved the rigours of jail life twice.

It is a tragedy of modern India that everybody has to be a politician. Had she been born in the West, she would have dominated the realm of arts and letters and would have been a legend like Shaw or Wells. A girl who could write poetry which won the euconiums of Arthur Symons and Edmund Gosse in her sixteenth year had certainly the makings of a genius

* * * * *

"Why do you allow Padmaja to write political prose under the garb of poetry", I asked. A broad smile lit her

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T TO ALTER
ACT

s to See Mr.
to England

EXPENSIVE"

ndon of the Joint Select
r. B. R. Ambedkar, a
delegate to the Committee,
seeks a revision of the
erwise known as the panel
t.

on Saturday to interview
matter this morning.

nsult Mr. Gandhi, having
n were the principal parties

write to him at London my opi-
which I shall try to do."
sked why Dr. Ambedkar wanted
change. Mr. Gandhi replied, that
Ambedkar said that so far as he
concerned, he was quite, satis-
with panel system and he would
go back on the Poona Pact. But
ssure was being brought to bear
n him for securing the above
nge.

HARMLESS SYSTEM

sked for his views on the panel
tem, Mr. Gandhi replied, "Perso-
ly my own opinion is that the
nel system is perfectly harmless
long as Harijans have (?) dis-
ist of caste Hindus.

Q. "Will you accept the alteration
others also agreed?"

Ans: "I would not easily accept a
ange: I have not considered and
cause everybody agrees, it does not
llow that I should accept it. I
ould examine every such proposal
lely from the Harijan, viewpoint,
ecause it never crossed my mind
hat there can ever be conflict of in-
erest between Harijans and caste
lindus.

"My confirmed opinion is that
vhatever is in real interest of Hari-
ans must necessarily be in interest
f caste Hindus, and as I believe
hat I have the capacity for the exa-
nination of such questions from the
Harijan viewpoint, I should not mind
standing alone and defending
my position if unfortunately things
ame to such a pass that for my
pinion I could not secure a single
supporter".

Interview with Dr. Ambedkar was
specially arranged as Mr. Gandhi
does not see visitors on Sunday. He
commenced his weekly silence day
at eleven.

BOMBAY.
Times of India No. 19

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MOVE BY DEPRESSED TO AMEND POONA PACT

SINGLE ELECTION PREFERRED TO PANEL SYSTEM

23/4/33

MR. GANDHI TO BE CONSULTED

JOINT COMMITTEE DELEGATES SAIL FOR LONDON

DR Ambedkar is to interview Mr. Gandhi to-day for the purpose of securing his assent to a change in the Poona Pact.

The Depressed Classes have decided that the panel system is too complicated and now favour a single election, each Depressed Class candidate having to poll a certain percentage of the votes of his community. The question is likely to be raised by Dr. Ambedkar before the Joint Select Committee.

Seven motions, three of which are in favour of separation, will be debated in the special session of the Legislative Council called at Rangoon on Tuesday to decide the future constitution of Burma. The separationists' proposal (reported in the adjoining column) is that a Delegation should be sent to London to negotiate a constitution for a separate Burma with the Joint Select Committee.

The Liberal Federation has decided not to respond to the general invitation regarding the tendering of evidence before the Joint Select Committee—it is of course strongly represented among the delegates. The Hindu Mahasabha's attitude remains undecided, but Dr. Moonje is in favour of leading evidence before the Committee.

The largest group of the delegates sailed from Bombay for London yesterday.

MAHASABHA UNDECIDED

BOMBAY, APRIL 22.

DR. Ambedkar proposes to interview Mr. Gandhi on Sunday and if he converts Mr. Gandhi to his views he may raise the issue in the Joint Select Committee and get the Poona Pact revised.

"The reason why we do not want a panel system of election for the Depresesd Classes is that it involves a double election with all its concomitants and that is too much for the average candidate of the Depressed Classes," said Dr. Ambedkar in an interview with the *Associated Press*. Asked what he, after consultations with his community, had decided to ask Mr. Gandhi he said that there should only



Dr. Ambedkar.

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Punjab Commu

DRAFT FORMULA PROVISIONALLY SIGNED.

Tribune April 30, 1933.

Joint Electorate with Reservation of Seats Provided.

COMPOSITION OF PROVINCIAL CABINET.

FIFTY PERCENT REPRESENTATION FOR NON-MUSLIMS.

Simla, April 28.

Further progress has been made in connection with the settlement of the communal pr oblem in the Punjab.

It is understoed that Sir Jogindra Singh, Minister of Agriculture, Punjab, who is here in connection with the Rail-Road Conference, has held consultations with Sir Fazl-i-Hussain whose guidance and help in these negotiations have proved most helpful.

DRAFT SIGNED.

It is stated that signatures of the parties concerned have already been obtained provisionally to the proposed settlement, and that the final touches are now being given to the language in which the formula is to be couched.

It has been arranged that the settlement, when finally signed, will be cabled to the Premier in London for incorporation in the White Paper Sc heme.

THE FORMULA.

Briefly the formula is as follows: There will be a general electorate register of vote rs reflecting more or less the population proportion of the co mmunities concerned. Seats will be reserved for the vario us communities on the basis of the Premier's Communal Award. There will be no time-limit to reservation, as the hands of fu ture legislators cannot be tied in this respect. Arrangements will be made whereby areas having the largest population of any community will return most of the members of that community under the reserved seat system.

COMPOSITION OF CABINET.

As regards the composition of the Cabinet, an attempt will be made as far as possible to establish a Convention whereby half the Ministers will be Muslims and the other half Hindus and Sikhs combined.

A Public Service Commiss ion will be constituted and will be asked to direct future recr uitment in the proportion of 50 per cent. for Muslims, 30 for Hindus and 20 for Sikhs excluding, of course, Europ ean and other small minorities' share).

It is calcuated that under the settlement Hindus and Sikhs will be able, through the general voting, to influence about a hundred seats in the Punjab Council, while the fear of Muslims in the Central Dis tricts of the Punjab against being overweighted by Muslim members from the Western Punjab will be also met.

On the whole the settleme nt is likely to appeal to a large majority of public men in the Punjab belonging to all communities and dissent will be co nfined to a small number of extremists. Every quarter int erested in the smooth working of the reforms has lent help wi th a view to enabling the Punjab to find a solution of the pr oblem.

It is understood that as so on as the Punjab Formula is settled conversation will be started to find a similar solution for Bengal.—A. P. I.

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ATTEMPT TO CREATE A NEW MUSLIM STATE.

Tribune. May 1, 1933.

Separatists' Dream of "Pakstan."

SUPPORT FOR SIR M IQBAL.

Sinister Propaganda by Communal Fanatics.

(*Special to the "Tribune."*)

Lahore, April 30.

A number of Muslims of the Pan-Islamic school of thought are making vigorous secret propaganda in pursuance of their desire to carve out an independent Muslim State, to be known as "Pakstan", in the north of India, comprising the Punjab, the N. W. F. P., Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan. This "inexorable demand" is very similar to the suggestion put forward by Sir Mohammad Iqbal in his Presidential Address at the All-India Muslim League in 1930.

It is believed that a few prominent Muslim communal leaders, under the inspiration of certain British die-hards, are at the back of this propaganda; but, before openly identifying themselves with it, they desire to ascertain whether this fantastic proposal will have the support of any appreciable section of the people of India.

We publish below extracts from a manifesto entitled "**Now or Never—Are We to Live or Perish for Ever.**", which has been issued from England, and has been circulated among the educated Muslims of northern India, including Government servants:—

At this solemn hour in the history of India, when British and Indian statesmen are laying the foundations of a Federal Constitu-

[illegible]

very souls; and men of conscience never accept such self-annihilating Mandates, if given—much less exe-

living in these Provinces to m[illegible] the highest sacrifices are fund[illegible] mentally different from those whi[illegible] inspire the Hindus.

THE "PAKSTAN."

If we, the Muslims of *Paksta*[illegible] with our distinct marks of natio[illegible] ality, are deluded into the propos[illegible] ed Indian Federation by friends or foes, we are reduced to a minority of one to four. It is this

[illegible] murder and loot of the [illegible] reports are alarming [illegible] Turkistan:—

[illegible] attack on the Hindus in [illegible] sure the Viceroy about the [illegible] sent by Dr. Moonje to His [illegible] he following telegram has

Delhi, April 28.

Dr. Moonje's Telegram to Viceroy.

CIVIL WAR IN CHINESE TURKISTAN.

[illegible] e tomorrow.

[illegible] ion. Rauf Bey is going to [illegible] d the necessity of female [illegible] ilia of Delhi. He also [illegible] e Aligarh University and [illegible] neglect the institutions [illegible] ealed the Muslims of India

Bombay, April 28.

Referring to the "Bombay Chronicle's" publication of the letter alleged to have been written by Gandhiji to the Viceroy Mr. Subhas Bose writes from Vienna to say that he read about it in the London "Times". Mr. Bose adds: "I hope the news is not correct". Mr. Bose's letter was written before the alleged Gandhiji's letter was contradicted.—Free Press.

ARRESTS AT BENARES.

Benares, April 28.

The police arrested three persons Messrs. Krishnaswami Jagannath and Bhagwandas, prominent Congress workers of

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SEPARATISTS' DREAM OF "PAKSTAN."

(*Continued from page* 1.)

est in India, including the British and the Hindu.

SEPARATE INDEPENDENT FEDERATION.

This is more especially true when there is a just and reasonable alternative to the proposed settlement, which will lay the foundations of a peaceful future for this great sub-continent; and should certainly allow of the highest development of each of these two peoples without one being subject to another. This alternative is a separate Federation of these five predominantly Muslim units—Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. The Muslim Federation of North-West India would provide the bulwark of a buffer state against any invasion either of ideas or of arms from outside. The creation of such a Federation would not materially disturb the ratio of the Muslim and Hindu population in the rest of India. It is wholly to the interest of British and Hindu statesmanship to have as an ally a free, powerful and contented Muslim nation having a similar but separate Constitution to that which is being enacted for the rest of India. Nothing but a separate Federation of our homelands would satisfy us. This demand is basically different from the suggestion put forward by Doctor Sir Mohammed Iqbal in his Presidential address to the All-India Muslim League in 1930. While he proposed the amalgamation of these Provinces into a single state forming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that these Provinces should have a separate Federation of their own. There can be no peace and tranquillity in the land if we, the Muslims, are duped into into a Hindu-dominated Federation where we cannot be the masters of our own destiny and captains of our own souls.

MAN;

SELECT COMMITTEE

REQUEST FOR WITNESSES FROM INDIA

EVIDENCE NEED

LORD LINLITHGOW AS CHAIRMAN

FIRST MEETING

AN invitation to them to give evidence before it has been issued by the Joint Select Committee, which met for the first time on Wednesday, to authoritative organizations in British India and rulers of States not directly represented among those invited to confer with the Committee.

Applications must be made not later than April 27, after which date the Committee will intimate whether it will be possible to hear their evidence and if so the date by which the witnesses should reach London.

The Committee has chosen the Marquess of Linlithgow, Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture 1926-1928, as its chairman. It will meet again on April 25.

PROCEDURE PLANNED

RIGHT TO DETERMINE AMOUNT OF EVIDENCE

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, APRIL 12.

THE Marquess of Linlithgow was chosen as Chairman of the Select Committee on India when the Committee met for the first time to-day in the House of Lords' Committee Room.

The meeting was private and concerned with the selection of a chairman and with procedure and Indian representation. Later the following announcement was issued on behalf of Joint Select



(*Continued from page* 9, *col.* 7.)

DEHRA DUN CADETS

At a general meeting of the Aligarh Kayasthas, held to make necessary arrangements for the 38th session of the All-India Kayastha Conference to be held at Aligarh, Rai Bahadur B. Sohan Lal and Babu Mohan Lal Tingal were elected chairman and secretary respectively of the Reception Committee.

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GANDHIJI SPRINGS A SURPRISE

MOVEMENT TO BE SUSPENDED

6/5/33

POONA, May 9.

Mahatma Gandhi advises Mr. Aney, Acting President of the Congress to suspend the civil disobedience movement for one month or six weeks in view of the fast. He disapproves the secrecy to which civil disobedience has degenerated and appeals to Government, if they want peace to take advantage of the suspension and release politicals.

If Government willed, I have no doubt the "modus vivendi" can be found. I am absolutely certain that disobedience will not be withdrawn till political prisoners like Vallabhai, Jawharlal, and Gaffar Khan are not released. The withdrawal of the movement lies in the hands of the original Working Committee. Gandhiji expresses willingness to take up the thread where it was interrupted when he returned from London.

The Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore has donated to the Aligarh Muslim University a sum of Rs. 5,000 for the erection of an open air gymnasium for the students and the money has been duly received by Dr. S. R. Masood, vice-Chancellor, Muslim University.

YOGI IN LONDON

New cults always receive a certain amount of support in large cities, and London is by no means the least susceptible to such movements. The Hindu monk and philosopher, Shri Purohit Swami is reported to have brought the teachings of Yogi to England and to have already attracted many hundreds of disciples, particularly women. In the latter months of last year this same Shri Purohit Swami published an autobiography—*An Indian Monk*—with an introduction by W. B. Yeats, who made rather extravagant claims as to its merits. The book however gave unusual enlightenment into the mysteries and influences of the Yogi system.

Daily News Nagpur 23-11-33

DR. MOONJE'S REJOINDER

The Spoilt Child of Mahatma

The following statement has been issued to the Press by Dr. Moonje :—

The young Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his juvenile exhuberance of communism has condemned the Hindu Mahasabha ; but if the sequence of events that happened immediately preceding his attack is to be borne in mind, it appears that it is a command performance at the dictation of the big brother Moulana Shaukat Ali and is indicative of his defeatist mentality in respect of the Moslems.

On the eve of his departure from Bombay to attend the Moslem Leader's Conference at Lucknow Mr. Shaukat Ali had announced to the Press in respect of Bhai Parmanand's propaganda against the Communal Award that he does not propose to enter into wordy warfare with the Mahasabha, but leaves the task of checkmating its activities to Congressman and the Nationalist Hindus. I congratulate Pandit Jawaharlal for having faithfully responded to the dictation. A spoilt child of Mahatma Gandhi, if he were to consult the mature and saintly judgment of the Mahatma, he will know that there is nothing in the policy and programme of work of the Hindu Mahasabha which could give the remotest excuse for his most irresponsible utterence.

In his fondness for his Persian culture, Pandit Jawaharlal may take pride in forsaking his forefather's religion for his new love of communism, but he must understand that there is a limit to the patience of even the proverbially mild and docile Hindu who is still capable of rising in defence of his world-old religion and culture. The wonder, however, is that Pandit Malviyaji did not pull his ears more briskly.

Mr. Ganapatrai, the Secretary of Hindu Mahasabha, has already challenged the facts of Pandit Jawaharlal. I therefore appeal to the Hindu generally not to pay any serious thought to the wild fulminations of Pandit Jawaharlal, but to go on organizing quietly the work of Hindu Mahasabha with vigour and determination throughout the length and breath of India.

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"MAHASABHA'S ACTIVITIES DEGRADING AND ANTI-NATIONAL"

Pandit Jawaharlal's Speech at Benares Meeting

Daily News 14th Nov 33

(Associatec Press)

Benares, Nov. 13.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing last night a crowded meeting of the Hindu University students, condemned strongly the recent activities of the Hindu Mahasabha. He said that he had long been of opinion that the Hindu Mahasabha was a small reactionary group pretending to speak on behalf of the Hindus of India whom it was very far from representing. Nonetheless misapprehensions were created by their high sounding title and resounding phrases and it was time that these misapprehensions were removed utterly. Nothing in recent months pained him quiet so much as the activities of the Mahasabha group culminating in the resolutions passed at Ajmer. Going a few steps further the Aryakumar Sahbha which presumably is an off-shoot of the Hindu Mahasabha had proclaimed its policy to be one of elimination of Muslims and Christians from India and the establishment of Hindu Raj. This statement makes clear what the pretensions of the Mahasabha about Indian Nationalism amount to. Under the cover of nationalism the Mahasabha not only hides the rankest and the narrowest communalism but also desires to preserve the vested interests of a group of big Hindu landlord provident policy.

The Mahasabha as was declared by its responsible leaders is one that cooperates with the foreign Government so that their favouring of and abusing themselves before it might result in a few crumbs coming their way. This is betrayal of freedom's struggle, denial of every vestige of nationalism and suppression of every manly instinct in the Hindus. The Mahasabha showed its attachment to vested interests by openly condemning every form of socialism and social change. Anything more degrading, reactionary, anti-national, anti-progressive and harmful than the present policy of Hindu Mahasabha, it was difficult to imagine. The leaders of the Mahasabha must realise that the inevitable consequence of this policy of their living up with the enemies of Indian freedom and most reactionary elements in the country is for the rest of India Hindu, and non-Hindu to face them squarely and oppose them and treat them as enemies of freedom and all that we are striving for is not a mere matter for condemnation and disassociation though of course there must be both these, but one of active and persistent opposition to the most opportunist and and stupid of policies.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who presided, said that it was wrong of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arykumar Sabha to pass the resolutions they did, from which he disassociated himself. He, however, said that Pandit Jawaharlal's condemnation of the Mahasabha was rather too strong. The Mahasabha was after all not as bad as was depicted by him.

ESTABLISHMENT OF QAZI COURTS

Times of India 28-11-33

CAWNPORE CONFERENCE PLEA

NEW DELHI, November 24.

The Qazi Conference, (Motamar Tahaffuz Huquq Sharia) was held in Cawnpore recently under the presidentship of Hazrat Maulana Abdul Qadeer Badauni. Ulemas of all shades of opinion from all over India attended the session.

At the outset Hazrat Maulana Mazharuddin, General Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind, Sirkiwalan, Delhi, explained the purpose of convening the Motamar. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat, C.I.E., emphasised the imperative necessity of protecting the personal laws of Muslims and the establishment of Qazi courts.

A resolution was passed, requesting the Government to take steps for the purpose of (1) making a clear provision in the new constitution for the protection of the personal laws of Muslims, (2) to create in each High Court and District Court at least one seat for Qazis in order to administer justice to Muslims in cases of a religious nature according to the Islamic law, only those elected by the Muslim Ulemas being eligible for the appointment to these posts by the Government, and (3) to institute a Board of Muslim Ulemas, without whose approval no bill touching Muslim religion and personal laws be submitted in the Assembly or the provincial Councils.

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INSTRUCTION IN SWIMMING

London Times 19.8.33

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—I shall be obliged if you will allow me to correct, so far as London is concerned, an impression which might be created by a letter in your issue of the 10th instant from Dr. G. H. R. Holden, chairman of the Reading Public Health Committee.

In this letter he states that "in elementary schools there is no adequate instruction in swimming." During the year 1930-31, the last year for which complete figures are available, the number of pupils in London's elementary schools who received instruction in swimming was 147,983. Of this number 40 per cent. were actually taught to swim in that year.

It is well to remember that swimming is not a compulsory subject in the curriculum of the elementary schools, but the London County Council regards it as a very desirable form of physical exercise and fully appreciates the value of an early knowledge of the art. Every opportunity is taken to extend such knowledge among the pupils attending the elementary schools and, for the purpose, an annual sum (in the current year £21,425) has been voted for many years past.

It may be of interest to your readers to know of the existence of the London Schools Swimming Association, a voluntary body which was founded in the days of the late School Board for London. This association in its latest report shows that during the year 1932 proficiency certificates were gained by 36,812 pupils, 7,649 pupils received awards in the life-saving class, and 16 children, whose ages range from 10 to 14 years, received the parchment for rescuing or attempting to rescue their fellows from drowning.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

EDWARD COBB, Chairman of the London County Council Education Committee.

The County Hall, S.E.1, Aug. 16.

SWIMMING WITH THE LORD MAYOR.

BRISTOL LOOKS FORWARD TO TO-MORROW.

"Are you swimming with the Lord Mayor on Monday?" This was the general question in Bristol yesterday, and it concerned the novel civic reception in the City, to be held at Bristol South Baths, and to which Colonel H. C. Woodcock has invited several hundred citizens to meet the Lord Mayor, Councillor T. J. Wise—and has asked them to bring their bathing costumes.

The Lord Mayor will be presented with the elementary certificate, intermediate certificate, and bronze medallion of the Royal Life Saving Society, for whose examinations he has "worked" at the baths in the early morning before his daily duties.

During the last six years 12,000 Bristol schoolchildren have gained certificates for swimming 100 yards. This year a new mile certificate is being issued, and already nearly 600 boys and girls have qualified for it. "Every scholar a swimmer!" is the motto of the Baths and Education Committees.

PHYSICAL TRAINING IN SCHOOLS

Lond Times 24.10.33

SIR GEORGE NEWMAN ON ITS VALUE

Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of Health to the Board of Education, has written a prefatory memorandum to a revised syllabus of physical training for schools, which was issued by the Board of Education yesterday.

He points out that the Board of Education published in 1905 a book emphasizing the value of physical training as an integral part of education, and adds that the past 25 or 30 years have been marked by the progressive recognition of vital interests of the State in securing the physical wellbeing of children and young persons. The place, scope, and conception of physical education have broadened, and it is now recognized that an efficient system should encourage the concurrent development of a healthy physique, alert intelligence, and sound character.

The first official syllabus was issued in 1904. This new edition of the syllabus again shows a notable advance on its predecessors, writes Sir George Newman. The progress made has been sufficient to justify a handbook which leaves far more scope for the initiative and intelligence of the individual teacher, and calls for a higher standard of gymnastic performance on the part of the children, although the exercises taught have in many cases been simplified.

A VITAL MATTER

Sir George Newman points out that the Board of Education wish to record their conviction that the development of good physique is a matter of national importance, vital to the welfare and even the survival of the race. At the same time it is realized that before physical training can have its full effect upon the human body the following conditions must be presupposed:—(1) The child must be of good stock; (2) he must have been carefully nurtured; (3) the laws of hygiene must be observed; (4) nutrition must be adequate; and (5) environment should be satisfactory. Without these five conditions much can undoubtedly be done, but unless and until they are present the final goal will not be reached.

Stress is laid in the syllabus on the importance of good posture. Correct posture, it is stated, is necessary for good health and for complete physical development. It makes the body more useful, skilful, and beautiful. It helps to produce self-respect and therefore self-confidence, and thus even from the narrow utilitarian point of view it has a definite value. The child who has learnt to stand straight and hold his head up has, other things being equal, a better chance of making his way in life than his stooping weak-kneed brother.

Nov 25

BACK TO THE ROUND TABLE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—In a letter published in *The Times* of November 22, Mr. Jayakar says that the apprehensions of certain sections of Indian political opinion must be banished by the "attitude of the British people towards Indian questions" and by the British Government "adhering to their former commitments." But there are other sections than those for whom Mr. Jayakar is speaking, whose apprehensions are of a different sort. These sections fear that Parliament may undertake too extensive reforms under the pressure of vocal interests in India, reforms which will not be in the true interests of the country.

Among these sections are numbered caste Hindus, as is shown by the message from India in the same number of *The Times*, stating that the "All-India Varnashrama Swarajya" have memorialized the Viceroy in terms of doubt about the introduction of Western democracy in India, and laying stress upon the necessity of safeguards for order in British India. It should be explained that the "Varnashrama Swarajya" is a very influential body in the South of India, composed of orthodox Hindus of high caste, some of whose principal leaders were recently prominent in the Congress Party, and have now discovered the true nature of the goal to which the unbridled agitation of the Congress Party is hurrying their country.

Some of us live in Provinces notorious for anarchical crime. We have not forgotten the tale of slaughtered innocents at Cawnpore, and we are at one with the mass of non-vocal Indian opinion of all classes and creeds in demanding that all "commitments" on the part of his Majesty's Government shall be subject to the paramount necessity of preserving the lives, liberties, and property of all subjects of the Crown in India.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

A. H. GHUZNAVI.

Georgian House, Bury Street, St. James's, S.W.1, Nov. 24.

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Nov 25

INDIAN ROUND TABLE

CENTRE AND THE PROVINCES

DIVISION OF POWERS

After four days of steady work the Indian Round-Table Conference yesterday evening adjourned until Monday afternoon to enable a small committee to consider and report on the subject discussed throughout the day—that of the legislative relations between the Centre and the Provinces. The differences of Indian opinion which were revealed in the Federal Structure Committee last year on this issue were shown by the proceedings of the Conference to have undergone very little modification in the interval.

Some of the undoubted difficulties were indicated authoritatively at the outset of yesterday's debate, including those peculiar to the case of Indian federation.

It was pointed out that they were starting at the end opposite to that from which other federations started, in that they were bringing in not independent or semi-independent units, but, to some extent, breaking up a unitary system of government. It was difficult, indeed impossible, to secure a perfect solution. The discussion would demand certain pretty definite assumptions—namely, that they were going to give the Provinces the fullest possible opportunity to develop on their own lines; that in certain fields, *e.g.*, the Civil and Criminal Codes, it would be a calamity if the existing uniformity were not secured, subject to local variation to suit special local needs. Out of these broad assumptions two or three questions arose. Assuming the kind of federation hitherto discussed, was it essential that the present system should be brought to an end under which there were no exclusive fields of activity assigned to the Centre and the Provinces, a system under which there were concurrent powers held by both Centre and Provinces, with the Governor-General exercising co-ordinating authority through the device of prior sanction? Ought there to be two separate defined fields of activities, one Federal, the other Provincial? Or might it be better to have only one list, say a Federal list, leaving the rest Provincial? Or might it be necessary to have three lists, a Federal list, a Provincial list, and a list providing a field of concurrent powers? There was also the question of residuary powers—whether these should be with the Centre or the Provinces. Then it had to be considered how far in future it was to be possible to vary the lists—should there be a Statutory Act or some other means whereby a subject could be transferred from one list to another?

CONFLICTING VIEWS

The discussion brought out the familiar lines of cleavage.

Spokesmen for the States and for the Moslems favoured vesting residual powers in the units. On the other hand, those who in the Conference speak for Nationalist Hindu opinion held that there should be three classes of subjects—(1) Central for British India, (2) Federal for British India and the States, and (3) Provincial only; and that the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Provinces should be enumerated. It was argued that when lists of powers had been drawn up and the spheres defined the question of residual powers would present little practical difficulty. It would be better to vest them in the Centre.

The Conference decided to set up a small committee with the following terms of reference:—

(i) To test the general principles under Head B (*a*)—*i.e.*, legislative relations between Centre and Provinces—by applying them to the list of subjects suggested by the Federal Structure Committee in the Appendix to its Second Report.

(2) To re-examine in the light of the general discussion of principles the definition of those subjects and the effects of the recommendations made by the Federal Structure Committee in respect of them and to make suggestions.

The members of the committee are:—Indians.—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Zafrullah Khan, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sir Annepu P. Patro, and Sir Nripendra N. Sircar. British.—Lord Sankey (chairman), Lord Reading, Sir Samuel Hoare, and Mr. Butler.

The committee will meet to-day and on Monday morning, and the Conference will reassemble on Monday afternoon.

REVOLUTIONARY PLOT IN INDIA

SIX PERSONS ARRESTED

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, Nov. 24

What is alleged to be a revolutionary plot to commit murders and dacoities throughout India has been discovered by the crime branch of the Bombay C.I.D. In addition to committing murders and dacoities with the object of furthering revolutionary activity and acquiring funds, it is alleged that the party planned to import arms and ammunition into India for the purpose of committing these crimes.

Six persons said to be members of the party are at present in the custody of the police, who are now bringing to a close prolonged inquiries which have extended to three Provinces and one Indian State. Of those in custody one was arrested in Bombay, two in Gwalior, two in Delhi, and one in Allahabad. The police discovered the plot following the arrest of a young Goan in Bombay, who on his arrival in the city from Goa was found to be in possession of four revolvers and a large quantity of ammunition. Inquiries led the police to suspect that the Goan was a member of a revolutionary party chiefly operating in Northern India. Investigation confirmed this suspicion.

The prisoners are alleged to have assumed different names and addresses from time to time. The police claim that they have recovered a quantity of stolen property in Gwalior State. Charges of conspiracy to commit dacoity, housebreaking, theft, and illegal possession of arms will be made against the prisoners.

TERRORISM IN BENGAL

Lond. Times 10.12.31

NEW ORDINANCE APPROVED BY MOSLEM LEADER

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, a representative of Bengal in the Legislative Assembly, leaves London to-day with other delegates to the Round-Table Conference. In a statement to *The Times* last evening, he said:—

The Bengal Ordinance is a necessity. Terrorism in the Presidency is an ever-imminent peril overshadowing our lives and disturbing the peace of India as a whole. The Government cannot afford to trifle with this menace. I notice that Mr. Vallabhai Patel, President of the Congress, has intimated that "Providence has selected Bengal for deciding the nation's fate." If he wishes to embark on a campaign of lawlessness there, we Moslems accept the challenge. We will never give up the fight. Let Mr. Gandhi realize this important fact. A new spirit is abroad among the Indian Moslems and other minorities. They are united and determined in opposing subversive activities. They now know what they want, and nothing will deflect them from their purpose. To use a phrase employed by Mr. Gandhi when he left this country a few days ago, I would urge him and his followers to "beware."

Throughout I have held with my fellow-Moslems that the best way to achieve the end we all desire (that of a federated India) is by a beginning with provincial autonomy. In the Provinces we can create and work stable government and gain the experience and bring about the conditions which are essential preliminaries to the more complex and difficult scheme of a Federated Government for all India.

Dec 16

INDIAN CREDIT

SAFEGUARDS UNDER FEDERATION

THE CITY AND ROUND-TABLE DELEGATES

The Committee of the Round-Table Conference on Financial Safeguards held its first meeting yesterday morning at the House of Lords. In the afternoon the Indian members of the Committee paid a visit to the Bank of England and had an informal talk. The Committee will resume its discussions this morning.

The foregoing official information may be supplemented. It has been recognized from the first that the question of the financial safeguards would be one of the most difficult for the Round-Table Conference to settle. In view of the strong feeling on the subject in some Indian quarters, the proceedings at the first meeting of the Committee were more satisfactory than might have been expected.

The visit of Indian members of the Committee to the City was planned some time ago, but the preoccupations of the Bank of England with questions connected with the American debt caused two or three postponements. Sir Hubert Carr was present as a British Indian delegate, but no British official or British Parliamentary delegate attended. The visitors, who were received by the Governor (Mr. Montagu Norman), met representatives of City interests who have taken no part whatever in past negotiations relating to Indian finance. It is understood that the long and friendly conversations were elucidatory and that the delegates had the opportunity of hearing independent views of expert authorities on the minimum requirements for the maintenance of Indian credit in the money markets of the world. The conversations should be helpful in securing mutual understanding of the realities to be faced in settling questions of financial control.

FEDERAL FINANCE

The informal discussions on the apportionment of the cost of Federation between Provinces and States on an equitable basis were continued yesterday, and it is understood that the differences were further narrowed. It is possible the Committee may meet to-morrow. A not unnatural impatience is felt by some members of the Committee who have not been included in the informal discussions.

Although hope of closing the session of the Conference with a speech from the Prime Minister not later than a week hence is still generally entertained, in some Nationalistic quarters the view is held that the ending of the Conference by Christmas may have to be subordinated to the desirability of Indian delegates returning to India with much more definite accomplishments to the credit of the Conference than may be registered within the compass of a week. It is fully recognized, however, how prejudicially an extension of the Conference beyond Christmas would affect the provisional time table for Parliamentary legislation.

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dec 16

A DISTINCTIVE CULTURE

THE AGA KHAN ON THE MOSLEMS OF INDIA

Members of both Houses of Parliament assembled in Committee Room No. 10 at the House of Commons last evening to meet members of the Moslem delegation to the Round-Table Conference. The meeting was arranged by the National League and Lord Lamington presided.

The AGA KHAN said they were fast approaching the time when definite proposals for a new Constitution for India would be submitted to Parliament by his Majesty's Government. The occasion was appropriate for a brief indication of the attitude of the Moslems of India to the far-reaching changes now in contemplation. He could give them the confident assurance that the Moslems of India were not going to interpose in any way between this country and India's national aspirations. Far from it; they were anxious that the ordered progress of India towards equality within the commonwealth of nations should be assured. They were not one whit less jealous for the fair name and prestige of their native land than were their Hindu brethren. They took pride in the many contributions India had made both in ancient days and in modern times to the thought and culture of the world, irrespective of the religion or race of the leaders in such contributions.

This recognition did not lessen the determination of the Moslems of India to cherish and preserve their distinct culture and traditions. They asked that the special provisions made for them in constitutional development so far should be adapted to changed circumstances in the forthcoming Constitution, in no spirit of hostility toward, or jealousy of, other Indian communities. They recognized most readily that those fellow-citizens also possessed distinctive cultures and cherished traditions.

The Moslems were deeply attached to their personal law, founded on Islamic teaching, since this governed all their family relationships, such as marriage and succession, and their social customs. This personal law (like that of the Hindus) had been recognized in the administration of justice from the beginnings of British rule. Thereby India throughout the British connexion had been *dar-ul-Islam*—namely, a country where Moslems might live in the full enjoyment of religious liberty. No system of government could be acceptable to them which did not provide specifically for the safeguarding of those cherished rights. They asked for nothing that they were not ready to give in their turn to other sections of the Commonwealth.

A FORCE FOR DEMOCRACY

Some of those who professed a keen desire for the spread of democracy in India made this desire a ground for opposing the Moslem claims. He thought they could not realize that Islam was the greatest single force for democracy in India to-day.

All they asked in regard to the new Constitution of India was that they should continue to exercise to the full, and with adjustments to changed conditions, the rights they now possessed, and that their ability to render service to Federal India in the various fields of political and administrative activity should be secured on lines corresponding to the contributions of other main sections of Indian society.

DR. SIR MUHAMMED IQBAL, NAWAB SIR AKBAR HYDARI (the Finance Minister of Hyderabad), Mr. ZAFRULLAH KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR HAFEZ HIDAYAT HUSSEIN, and DR. SHAFAAT AHMAD also addressed the meeting, and COLONEL APPLIN, M.P., expressed the thanks of those present to the speakers.

KASHMIR AND BRITISH INDIA

Dec. 19

SIR SAMUEL HOARE ON THE FEDERATION SCHEME

The Secretary of State for India (who was accompanied by Lady Maud Hoare) made cordial reference to the emergence of the State of Jammu and Kashmir from its recent serious troubles at a dinner given by its representative at the Round-Table Conference, Mr. Wajahat Hussain, and Mrs. Hussain at the May Fair Hotel on Saturday night. Mr. Hussain's services have been lent to Kasmir as Home Member of the Executive Council.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE, proposing the health of the Maharajah, described Kashmir as one of the most picturesque and historic States of India. There was no part of India which more impressed itself upon British imagination. Kashmir, like every other country in the world, had been through some difficult times in the last 18 months. So far as we could judge, however, its political difficulties had been surmounted, and the State had now embarked upon a new chapter of, they hoped, continued happiness.

The Round-Table Conference was considering plans of Federation under which British India would help the States and the States would help British India. In the last 12 months British India had been able to help Kashmir in her difficulties. The outward and visible sign of that help was the presence in the chair of Mr. Husain, a member of the I.C.S. in the United Provinces, where he had been working under that very distinguished and successful administrator, Sir Malcolm Hailey. He desired to take the opportunity to pay tribute to the very remarkable achievement of Sir Malcolm Hailey in the U.P. during the difficult months of last year. He had stilled discontent by abatements and remissions of land revenue—a measure which required a very strong and able Government. They believed that the combination of the great Indian State of Kashmir with all the traditions of its hereditary administration on the one hand and the help of British India on the other was going to make the kind of success in Kashmir that they believed they would make in India generally by the scheme of all-India Federation on which they were engaged.

MOSLEM AND HINDU

In *The Times* of November 28 you state that the Moslems, along with the Hindus, prefer to postpone any beginning of self-government in India till the whole is in sight. The Moslem position is to-day what it has always been, that till such time as their demands for safeguards are conceded both by his Majesty's Government and by the other communities of India, no Constitution, whether it gives provincial autonomy or withholds authority at the Centre, will be acceptable to them. As I stated at the Plenary Session of the Conference, the federating units must evolve and adjust themselves before the Centre, which should follow the Provinces and not precede them, but the course of succession must be latent in the Constitution itself. You cannot, however, possibly achieve any Constitution without a Hindu-Moslem settlement.—Mr. HAFIZ HIDAYET HOSAIN, 155, St. James's-court, S.W.1. Lond Times 2.12.31

dec 16

INDIA AND OTTAWA

TARIFF BILL PASSED BY THE ASSEMBLY

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

DELHI, DEC. 15

The Legislative Assembly to-day passed the Ottawa Tariff Bill without a division after all amendments had been rejected. The passing of the Bill was received with cheers.

Two members urged lower duties on motor-cars, but Sir Joseph Bhore, the Commerce Member, replied that it was no time for a general lowering of duties. Mr. B. S. Raju, one of the strongest opponents of the Agreement, declared, "We have been beaten badly, not by Mr. Chetty [a delegate to Ottawa] or Sir Joseph Bhore, but by our misguided countrymen who boycotted the Legislature."

Chronicle 18.12.31 BOMBAY MC

IGNORE R.T.C. & "W.P." SCHEMES

Settlement Of National Issues Through Constituent Assembly

JAWAHAR EXPLAINS

Legislatures Can't Take Its Place As They Don't Represent Any Section Of Opinion

ALLAHABAD, December 16.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of a statement says:

"I am glad that Sir Mohamed Yakub has appreciated the suggestion made by me in my reply to Sir Mohamed Iqbal about deciding political and communal problems by means of a constituent assembly. But he is labouring under a misapprehension if he thinks that the present or the intended legislatures can take the place of the constituent assembly. That is far from my meaning and I do not think that these legislatures can be really representative of any section of opinion.

UNDERLYING IDEAS.

"The ideas underlying a constituent assembly are:—

(1) full self-determination for the people of India without the imposition of the will of any outside authority, and

(2) decision by the mass of people through their representatives elected on adult franchise.

To facilitate a decision of the communal problem and to remove all suspicion from the minds of the minorities I have suggested that such minorities as desire it might elect their representatives through separate electorates. The only busines of the constituent assembly will be to draw up a constitution and then dissolve itself, new elections taking place under the new constitution so drawn up.

NOTHING TO DO WITH "W.P."

It is clear that the White Paper and the Round Table Conference scheme have nothing to do with all this and they must be ignored till the time comes for a constituent assembly to be summoned."

—A.P.

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THE ELECTORATE CONTROVERSY

Times of India — 19.12.33

SIR M. YAQUB'S SOLUTION

NEW DELHI, December (By Mail).

Sir M. Yaqub, M.L.A. has issued the following statement to the press on the question of separate electorates:—

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in reply to Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's statement is clear. cogent and important.

"During the period 1917 to 1920, the Indian National Congress accepted separate electorates for Muslims in the scheme of reforms leading to the establishment of representative and responsible Government in the provinces of India and at the centre.

"This agreement was actually accepted by the British Government and it now constitutes a part of the present constitution. Since 1923, the Hindus have been attacking separate electorates for Muslims, and this controversy has led to a great deal of bitterness and estrangement.

VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS MADE

"Various suggestions have been made for solving it. Mr. Gandhi's suggestion was that if all the Muslims agreed that they should have separate electorates, he would accept them. He further pointed out that the Nationalist Muslims did not want separate electorates, and, therefore, he and the congress cannot recognise them.

"Others suggested that the matter be left to an arbitrator, and at London there was more or less an agreement that as the two communities could not agree on the subject, the matter had better be left to His Majesty's Government His Majesty's Government took them at their words and gave their decision, continuing the separate electorates which are a feature of the existing constitution and which came into the constitution at the joint request of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League.

VIOLENT ATTACKS

"Since then, the Hindu press and some Hindu leaders have been violently attacking this institution, and one did not know how to solve the problem. Pandit Jawaharlal's latest contribution to the controversy is—let the Muslims themselves make up their minds.

"To be precise, he says when there are legislatures elected on the basis of adult franchise, by separate electorates they will be truly representative of the Muslim community, and any decision arrived at, presumably, by a majority, will be treated as a decision of the Muslim community, and he will be prepared to accept it as such and the controversy will be treated as closed.

"This is a fair and just position to take. What is, however, to happen, pending the creation of legislatures elected on adult franchise basis? Is there any one in India knowing something about the Muslim mind and Muslim politics who doubts that to-day the Muslim masses and the Muslim intelligentsia and the Muslim politicians are, if not entirely, almost entirely, and certainly by a very, very large majority indeed, in favour of separate electorates?

CLOSE THE CONTROVERSY

"Therefore, the position really amounts to this—Let both Hindus and Muslims close the controversy on the clear understanding that as soon as legislatures in the country are constituted on the basis of adult [illegible] the matter will be re-

INDIAN "UNITY" CONFERENCE

OPENING DELAYED BY DISCORD

RESTIVE DELEGATES

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ALLAHABAD, DEC. 15

For the third successive day the "Unity" Conference and the All-Parties Conference have been compelled to postpone their joint inaugural meeting. The Maharajah of Alwar, who is here with a retinue of over 80 persons, has intimated to the committee that he will be obliged to leave Allahabad to-morrow. A strenuous attempt is therefore being made to give him an opportunity to deliver his presidential address before he leaves.

For all intents and purposes the two conferences are one, the idea being that when the "Unity" Conference ratifies the draft proposals on the communal question the All-Parties Conference will then meet and solemnly approve them. The membership of the two conferences is identical.

The delay in holding the inaugural meeting is due to the inability of the subcommittees to agree on the form in which amendments to the Prime Minister's Communal Award are to be placed before the delegates. The Hindus bitterly complain that the Moslems and the Sikhs have not so much altered the clauses adopted at the first conference as entirely reopened the matters then dealt with.

The delegates themselves are growing restive. The inaugural meeting had been definitely announced for late yesterday afternoon, and delegates who attended Mayo Hall and waited nearly an hour were scarcely mollified when Mr. Zafar Ali Khan appeared and counselled them to have patience with the sub-committees, who "were sweeping the filth of all the ages from the national stable." Even Pandit Malaviya says that if no progress is made by to-morrow afternoon he will not remain. It is understood that he is anxious to proceed to Poona to consult Mr. Gandhi, but it is difficult to see what useful purpose is likely to be served.

COMMUNAL PEACE IN THE PUNJAB

Pandit Nanak Chand, the Hindu representative from the Punjab at the Round-Table Conference, has made a statement to *The Times* on the communal problem in that Province. As is well known, the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the province are dissatisfied with the Communal Award of H.M. Government.

"The proper maintenance of law and order," the Pandit said, "should be specially safeguarded. I suggest the appointment by the Governor of a committee, consisting of a Hindu, a Moslem, and a Sikh, to assist the Minister in maintaining tranquillity, the Governor to have the deciding voice in case of disagreement. The objection raised by a British delegate that the committee would be communal in character does not bear investigation. The Minister will be subject to communal influence, as he will have to depend upon the votes of the communal majority. But the members of the committee, appointed on their personal merits, will not be subject in the same way to communal influence.

"This seems to me the only way of maintaining such conditions in the Punjab as will give a fair opportunity to make the introduction of the Constitution a moderate success."

LORD WILLINGDON'S SPEECH

Lord Times — 2.9.33

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—It is a wholesome rule that permanent officials of the Government should be exempt from criticism, but this rule, of course, presupposes that these officials are discreet. I have a great admiration for much of the work of Lord Willingdon as Viceroy in difficult circumstances, but may I respectfully suggest to him that he should refer to the White Paper with reserve?

Who would suppose from his utterances as reported in the last few days that the White Paper both in principle and in detail is *sub judice*? Had the Government intended otherwise they would have produced a Bill and obtained a second reading for it before it was submitted to a Select Committee, but they took a different course, and Parliament was assured that in adopting this unusual procedure and in referring the proposals in the first instance to a Committee this Committee and Parliament itself remained absolutely free to come to whatever conclusion upon the merits they might deem fit.

I cannot believe that it is the intention either of the Viceroy or of the Secretary of State to force the hands of Parliament. I am much more inclined to think that this is another example of the hoary and rather doubtful device of the powder and the jam. The Viceroy may be anxious to smooth any roughness which his vigorous administration of the law has caused by dwelling on the sweet prospect of unlimited constitutional reform. Or it may be that he wishes to forestall Indian criticism of the White Paper by painting the future in an unconditional phrase about "Dominion status and absolute equality with the other Dominions."

But whatever his motive I deprecate his action. We have learned by sad experience that whenever a Prime Minister or a Viceroy makes a speech about India we are held to be guilty of a breach of faith if we do not implement it. I, of course, pronounce no opinion on the merits of the White Paper. I am on the Committee. But I would beg Lord Willingdon to remember that it is the members of the Committee and Parliament that are the judges and no representative of the Crown, however distinguished.

I am your obedient servant,

SALISBURY.

Cranborne, Salisbury, Aug. 31.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—We beg to express our satisfaction with the speech delivered yesterday to a meeting of the two Houses of the Central Legislature by the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon. It is, indeed, gratifying to note that success has so far crowned the joint efforts of the British Government and the "Nationalist" section in India that the whole country is, through its representatives, happy to applaud the progress which has been made and the optimistic aspirations for the future.

The rise of political feeling as opposed to Communalism is a propitious sign, prophesying, as it does, the success which the new Constitution will achieve.

This association, which, perhaps, represents the voices of many who soon will have an influence on political thought in India, views the future with renewed vigour and courage. The youth of India wish to assure the Viceroy, with sincerity no less intense than his, that he may look to them with confidence to assist in promoting the best interests of the country.

At the same time we feel certain that this new proof of the desire of the British Government to do all that the development of India requires will convince the electorate that any unconstitutional attempt to hasten the desired end would be a grave setback to the advance which has been made.

We therefore hope that from now on all energies will be devoted, as the Viceroy appeals, to the attainment for India of economic prosperity, social content, and of a position of honour in the British Empire.

We beg to remain yours, &c.,

HARDIT SINGH.
V. M. LAMBAH.
M. H. RASHID.

Chief Punjab Association, 445, Strand, W.C.2,
Aug. 31.

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using its influence to supplant man labour by woman labour in night work.

London Times 24.10.33

HINDU GRIEVANCES IN GOA

DR. MOONJE'S DISCUSSIONS IN LISBON

Dr. S. B. Moonje, one of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, who has now returned to India, took advantage of his visit to Europe to go to Lisbon recently and represent to the President of the Portuguese Republic and the Foreign and Colonial Ministers, on behalf of the Mahasabha, the alleged grievances of the Hindu residents of Goa, the Portuguese settlement and port on the west coast of India.

Dr. Moonje stated that the Hindu Christians in Goa, numbering over 10,000, who had been reconverted to Hinduism, were not allowed to register their Hindu names except on payment of a fee of Rs.40 (£3). They were poor people, and usually quite unable to provide so considerable a sum. After reconversion they were forced to give their children Christian names. He stated that the disciples of Masukkar Maharaj, who had been instrumental in reconverting Hindu Christians, were not allowed to enter Goa territory for religious administrations. The Hindu Christians were not allowed to hold Hindu festivals without licences; when these were applied for many obstacles were raised, and in the end the requests were not granted. Complaints were also made that great difficulties were placed in the way of Hindu Christians seeking to cremate instead of burying the bodies of deceased relatives. There were also allegations of expropriation of land in a village where it had been held by Hindus for 400 years.

Dr. Moonje was introduced by the British Ambassador and most courteously received by the President and members of the Government. After he had stated the case he was informed by the Minister for the Colonies that the Portuguese possessions were virtually autonomous units, and was advised to make representations to the Governor of Goa for the redress of grievances. He added, however, that he would communicate directly and promptly with the Governor on the subject. In the course of the discussions it was intimated that the Goa Indians have equal rights with the Europeans, no distinction of any kind being made.

Dr. Moonje states that the British Ambassador, Sir Claud Russell, and the staff of the Embassy were very helpful, courteous, and hospitable to him.

MR. GANDHI AND COMMUNALISM

Times of India 14.12.33

LONDON TALKS RECALLED

NEW DELHI, December 13.

Mr. Gandhi has issued a statement to the press on Sir M. Iqbal's answer to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's criticism of the communal spirit, whether among Muslims or Hindus in so far as they may be represented by their sectarian organisations. Mr. Gandhi states: "My position in London was clear. I was helpless for effective action on communal matters without Dr. Ansari. I was bound by the Congress mandate, and before I could recommend any modifications, I should need Dr. Ansari's guidance.

"Having forfeited for the time being Mr. Shaukat Ali's confidence, I told Muslim friends that Dr. Ansari held my conscience on Muslim matters in his pocket and that therefore, they should co-operate with me in securing his presence at the Conference. To this they would not agree, unless I would first accept their demands.

NO CONDITIONS

"What Sir M. Iqbal calls the two conditions, attached to my personal acceptance of the Muslim demands were no conditions, but the necessary consequence of my acceptance. Muslim friends in London were playing with the other minorities against the vital national interests.

"It was, therefore, necessary to fight the spirit of separateness, no matter from what source it arose. No Muslim had defended separate electorates as a thing good in itself. Even in their case Muslim friends had admitted that it was a necessary evil to be tolerated for a temporary period.

"The demand put forth on behalf of the so-called untouchables was clearly anti-national. I am fighting for the same rights without reservation for harijans that caste Hindus have in matters religious, social and political. My work about harijans is purely religious and has no political motive behind it."

"My belief in the necessity of communal unity is just as firm as before. What would I do now?—it may be asked. My position is the same now as before. I would accept any solution that may commend itself to Muslims as a whole and that is not in conflict with any other national interest. Naturally I endorse the suggestion made by Pandit Jawharlal. Nothing can be fairer."

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London Times
6.9.33

Imperial and Foreign

GERMAN WAR SCIENCE

NAZI MANUAL FOR SCHOOLS

From Our Berlin Correspondent

The part which the professors are to play in making Germany martial is indicated by a little book, "Wehrwissenschaft" (Military Science),* by Professor Ewald Banse, of Brunswick Technical High School. The author is one of the men appointed to chairs of military science at the German universities in recent months, and it is reasonable to judge their functions and methods by his handbook.

The Press was instructed not to report such appointments. One of the first of the military scientists was General Wolfgang Nuff, who was appointed to the Chair of Military Science at Tübingen University last autumn, but subsequently restored to the Reichswehr. A few weeks ago a Society for Military Policy and Military Science was founded in Berlin. The starting point of the book is that war is inevitable and certain and that it is imperative to know as much about it and to be as efficient at it as possible. This is an honest and arguable view which has been accepted in their inward minds by many men in Germany, and they also accept the principle that precautions cannot be taken too soon.

Professor Banse argues that the mind of the nation, from childhood on, must be impregnated and familiarized with the idea of war. War is either the aim of all policy or the instrument to which policy helplessly resigns itself in the moment of failure. His book is not a learned dissertation on the art of war as practised by the soldier; but rather a child's guide to war, intended to direct into military channels the minds of people whose normal occupation is not that of arms, but whose existence is ultimately conditioned by the inevitability of war.

SYMMETRICAL TRUTH

The higher technique of war is the soldier's province: Professor Banse's field of activity is the professorial, the preparation of the mind for the willing and efficient exercise of those military functions which the body, in his view, must at some time fulfil. The eye of the growing German must be trained to contemplate a lake, for instance, not only as a piece of water but also as a geographical feature destined to influence the movement of troops. The birds of the air, the animals in the fields, climate, vegetation, and subsoil, all have their military significance. Without the military facet, as Professor Banse implies, the many-sided stone of truth is unsymmetrical.

section on propaganda in the service of war. The three main principles are to strengthen the war-will of the home population, to weaken that of the enemy population, and to influence neutral peoples against the enemy. To this end the propaganda organization "must be prepared in peacetime." Foreign and neutral countries must be covered from propaganda centres abroad with "a close net of unostentatious influence." Every means is permissible. England proved herself in the War a master of this weapon, while Germany was "too clumsy, too stupidly honourable, and too world-alien."

The Church must play its part in this psychological preparation. Government and military command should only support a Church which strengthens the national state of mind of the individual and of the soldier. Only such a Church can give men the inward strength they need to stake their lives for nation and State. "The dying warrior dies more easily when he knows that his blood is ebbing for his national God."

In discussing the technique of modern warfare Professor Banse says that the French first applied biological warfare, by conveying bacterial cultures to their prisoners of war in Germany for poisoning cattle and grain. "This devilish plan miscarried"—but the idea offers possibilities for the next war. The main methods are the infection of drinking and other water by typhus bacillae, the introduction of typhus by means of fleas and of the plague by artificially infected rats. Biological warfare "is undoubtedly the given weapon for a nation that has been disarmed and rendered defenceless." It cannot be taken ill of such a nation if one day it defends itself by this means against brutal violation and destroys its oppressors by purely scientific means. The League of Nations, with sanctimonious mien, has forbidden this means of warfare. But when the existence of a State and nation is at stake "every method is permissible to stave off the superior enemy and to vanquish him."

If there is an inconsistency in Professor Banse's book it is that he appears to abandon the stern and stoic doctrine that war is inevitable and its verdict the highest form of justice when he comes to speak of the late War and its results; in these cases he falls into the political jargon of the Nationalists, with its talk of "the Versailles shame-dictate," and the like.

*WEHRWISSENSCHAFT. By PROFESSOR EWALD BANSE. (Armanen Verlag. R.M.1.20.)

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BE QUESTIONED

We consider it sufficient to mark our sense of disapproval of his objectionable conduct and to point out that he has exercised no care and restraint, as he ought to have done, in the choice of his expressions, and that he has lamentably displayed unprofessional temper and violated the recognised etiquette of the honourable profession to which he belongs.

NO PROGRESS WITHOUT EFFORT

Yuvrani Of Mysore's Stirring Message To Girl Guides

BANGALORE, Mar 12

Her Highness the Yuvarani of Mysore performed the laying of the foundation stone of the Girl Guides Home at Bangalore.

In doing so Her Highness expresses a hope that building the foundation of which she was about to lay, would prove a Home in the truest sense of the word.

"Guiders and Guides", said Her Highness, 'are the privileged members of a world-wide sisterhood to be based on the great principles of truth, loyalty and service.'

She concluded by saying that the objective was a high one but no one should be discouraged for there could be no progress without effort and the more effort there was with difficulties to surmount, the more educative it was, the more joy it gave, and the more happy memories it left behind.—United Press.

DR. MOONJE'S, C. P.'s "MOST POPULAR LEADER"

Sjt. B. S. Aney Is Second Best

NAGPUR, March 12.

The "Daily News" of Nagpur had lately started a competition with a prize to decide as to who are the six greatest men and most popular leaders of public life in the Central Provinces.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, has got the largest number of votes; second comes Mr. M. S. Aney, the Congress Dictator, Mr. Abhayankar, the Congress Leader, has come eleventh in the list.

In between Dr. Moonje and Mr. Aney stand Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, His Excellency Sir Hyde Clarenda Gowan, Governor of the C. P., the Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao and Seth Govindas, the Congress leader of Jubbulpur.—(United Press).

"Indians outnumbered the ... of the Empire, including ... land, by five to one; consequently the effect of making ... dia a Dominion in the ... Indian sense would be that ... land would become in effect ... ominion of India and England ... might not like that."—BERNARD SHAW

MONDAY, MARCH 19, 1934.

Evening News

You Can Be Healthy Without Exercise

FITNESS IS NO GUARANTEE AGAINST ILLNESS

Exercise is good for your health and the man in the street believes that the more exercise he takes the less likely he will be to fall ill. But science is not so sure.

Dr. C. H. S. Taylor, of Cambridge, himself an old rowing Blue, is making a special study of the effects of violent exercise on health, particularly the health of the Cambridge Boat Race crews. During the training of each year's crew he makes a whole series of experiments to determine the men's energy and fitness, and a very difficult study it is proving to be.

He said to a reporter,

"But physical fitness is not the same thing as resistance to disease. Some of the facts I have noticed rather suggest that "very violent exercise, far from increasing a man's natural immunity to disease, decreases it."

THE FLABBY MAN

"We should all be the better for regular exercise, probably best taken in the form of scientific 'physical jerks' every morning.

"But I am by no means satisfied that the athlete who goes in for sudden bursts of violent exercise in middle age is doing himself any good. He may be doing himself real harm. I am thinking of the old rowing or Rugger blues who, at 50, lead sedentary lives in the City all the week, and at week-ends take the most strenuous exercise.

"I am even satisfied that a man who never takes any exercise at all may be in perfect health and never even catch a chill for ten years on end.

"Exercise maintains the human machine at an improved level of efficiency, and it is an excellent thing that your muscles should be kept elastic and your joints supple. Only there is no evidence which I can find to suggest that the flabby and stiff-jointed person is any more prone to [illegible]

NO BAN ON THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS

Times of India 16.2.34

BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S VIEW

LONDON, February 14.

"When civil war could break out so easily, could anyone say we are safe from international war?" asked Mr. A. Duff Cooper, Financial Secretary to the War Office, in the House of Commons referring to the troubled state of Europe when opposing on behalf of Government a Labourite private motion to prohibit the private manufacture of arms.

Mr. Duff Cooper pointed out that Government were unable to agree, because the whole of Britain's defence system was based on maintaining the minimum arms in peace time with the possibility of expansion in emergency, and if private manufacture was abolished Govern-

BOMBAY AFTER SIND SEPARATION

EFFECT ON MOSLEM POSITION

FALL IN WEIGHTAGE FEARED

ASSURANCES OF THE AGA KHAN

BOMBAY, FEB. 22.

THAT a fall in Moslem weightage in the Bombay Presidency was likely to follow the separation of Sind was the principal theme of the speeches at the dinner given to H. H. the Aga Khan last night by Moslem members of the Central and Bombay Legislature at the Willingdon Sports Club.

Sir Sulaiman Cassum Mitha proposed the toast of the Aga Khan. Mr. A. L. K. Dehlvi, President of the Bombay Council, supporting the toast, stressed the difficulties under which the Bombay Presidency would find itself after the separation of Sind. He said that the White Paper was silent on these points, the chief of which would be inadequate Moslem representation in the Bombay Legislative Council. He pointed out that Hindus and Sikhs, who as minority communities in the North-West Frontier occupied about the same position as the Moslems in the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sind, obtained greater representation. He insisted on statutory safeguards regarding Moslem representation in the legislatures, religious liberty, education, etc., and objected to these being left to be provided in the Instrument of Instructions.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

Sheikh Abdul Majid, further supporting the toast, emphasized that Sind should at all costs be separated. It should not be relegated to the position of a Chief Commissioner's province as was feared.

The Aga Khan, replying, said that the Communal Award was an award, not a Moslem victory. He had no doubt that Moslems in the Presidency would suffer in weightage owing to the separation of Sind, but advance was possible only along the lines of the Communal Award and the joint memorandum. One could not expect to get more than that.

In regard to fundamental rights, a resolution on them had been passed by the Moslem League and he was going to urge their incorporation in the Constitution but, after all, they were mere legal phrases.

As regards the demand for statutory provision for Moslem rerpesentation in the legislature and the Services, he said that such demands had not been made in Upper India.

JOINT MEMORANDUM

The Aga Khan proceeded to refer to the memorandum of the British India delegation which, he said, was a considerable improvement on the White Paper.

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BENGAL TREATED AS A SPOILT CHILD"

Sir P. C. Ray's Bitter Complaint Against Bombay Leaders' "Hostile Attitude"

HIS ROBUST FAITH IN HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Interviewed by a "Chronicle" representative, Sir P. C. Ray, who has arrived in Bombay on a 10 days' visit, said:—

"On my arrival here I learnt, to my surprise and regret, that some of the Bombay leaders had misconstrued my position in taking the lead in the movement in the assertion of the economic rights of Bengal.

GALAXY OF BRAVE MEN

I have pointed out several times that Bengal which since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy uptil Rabindranath had produced a galaxy of brave men of whom any country might be proud, should have lagged so far behind in the economic field. In fact, I confess that as far as Commerce, Trade and Industries are concerned, the Bengalies are



SIR P. C. RAY

as helpless as a newly born babe and it is for this reason that my province has been the dumping ground not only of the products of Lancashire and Japan but also of Bombay and Ahmedabad. This is all the more to be regretted because Bengal has been the home of Swadeshism since the Partition of that Province, a quarter of a century ago. While the infant Bombay mills were gasping for breath and were on the point of extinction, the Boycott movement which was the outcome of Swadeshi spirit took its origin and since then Bombay has waxed fat as I have often said.

BOMBAY'S OPPORTUNITY

In fact Bengal's adversity and backwardness has been Bombay's opportunity. It was with utter amusement, that we in Bengal received the news that our Province was [illegible] treated as a spoilt child. Even the ultra-Nationalist Sir N. Sarkar, at the R.T.C. bitterly complained of the hostile attitude of some of the Bombay leaders towards the removal of some of the wrongs due to the Meston Award. To make a long story short, this iniquitous arrangement leaves us only a little over nine crores of rupees for the nation-building departments whereas, Bombay has got 15 crores. When it is remembered that Bengal has a population of four crores and Bombay a little over two crores, the injustice to Bengal will become at once evident. And this means that in Bengal, education and sanitation and that in a malaria ridden place suger badly.

MUSLIM CATHOLICITY

"Now to take up another point at the request of your Editor, I have been a close student of History from my boyhood upwards. In fact, I have often said in my speeches and books that history is my 'forte' and that I became a chemist by accident or mistake. Throughout the Mohamedan period, from Alladin Khilji downwards uptil Alivardhikhan and Sirajuddaulah I do not find a trace of communalism amongst the Muslim emperors or their Muslim deputies. Catholicity marked their policy throughout. Of Sher Shah who expelled Humayun from the Delhi Gadi, an English historian remarks that his generous method of administration may well be imitated by the present rulers. Even at the present moment, I have counted one by one all the leading Muslim leaders of Bengal and I find with very few exceptions that they are intensely patriotic and are anxious to give a wide berth to communalism.

A FEW BLACK-LEGS

Of course, a mighty Government with huge patronage at its command, can easily wean away a few Muslims, who might be regarded as so many blacklegs. Both amongst the Hindus and the Muslims, there are found a few—a rare few—men of intelligence who have not hesitated to sell their birthright for the proverbial mess of pottage. What strikes me is that there have been so few instances of so many blacksliders as might have been expected. I make bold to say that the majority of the brethren of Islamic faith, who are politically conscious are singularly free from any taint of communalism. At times in my old age, I despair of the future of our unhappy land, but robust optimism asserts itself and I am confident that the dark clouds overhanging our land will soon be dissipated and the Hindus and the Muslims will [illegible] of progress and of the attainment of Swaraj.

"True national feeling is a constructive conception based on the desire to give full play to the ideas and the modes of thought which the people believe to be their essential characteristic."

—*SIR MALCOLM HAILEY*

"I may carry a different passport, my cephalic index may be different to yours, the corpuscles of my blood may differ morphologically from yours and tempt anthropologists to class me in a different group from yours, but all that matters little, since I profess Islam like you. If you accept me or not, I am your brother and even more than a brother for you have not the power of repudiating me."

DR. WAHBY

MORE MILK AND BETTER TEETH

Bombay Chronicle 7-3-34

We all want good teeth, but, according to Mrs. May Meelnby, who has been investigating this subject for years, most of us go the wrong way about getting—and keeping—them.

Her report on "Diet and the Teeth," which has just been issued by the Medical Research Council, suggests that bad teeth are caused principally by an excess of cereals in diet, lack of sunshine, too many clothes, and the fact that most babies are weaned too early.

Children, she says, should be breast-fed for at least the first year, with a supplementary diet after six months; no cereals should be given to the very young and everybody should eat more eggs, cheese, milk, animal and fish fats, and vegetables, and less bread and oatmeal.

The emphasis on the value of milk is particularly notable in view of the recent statement by Mr. Thomas Baxter, chairman of the Milk Marketing Board, that the consumption of milk per head in this country is "lamentably low."

Mr. Baxter, however, hopes that the Board may be able to make arrangements for providing ample supplies of good milk to schoolchildren at a greatly reduced rate. If this is done, bad teeth may not be quite so big a problem in the next generation.

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raised that an elephant had run amok.

In the confusion that followed a Nayar youth of Kottayam was stabbed in the abdomen. He dropped down and in two minutes was dead. Police arrived, sent the body for post-mortem examination, and arrested a number of persons.

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SEPARATION OF SIND

H. H. the Aga Khan's Support

ASSURANCE TO MOSLEMS

Speech at Bombay

BOMBAY, *Feb.* 22.

That a fall in the Muslim weightage in the Bombay Presidency is likely to follow the separation of Sind, was the principal theme of speeches at a dinner given in honour of his Highness the Aga Khan tonight by Muslim members of the Central and Bombay Legislatures at the Willingdon Sports Club. Sir Sulaiman Cassum Mitha proposed the toast of the Aga Khan.

Sir A. M. K. Dehlvi, President of the Bombay Council, supporting the toast stressed the difficulties under which the Bombay Presidency would find itself after separation of Sind. He said that the White Paper was silent on these points, chief of which being inadequate Muslim representation in the Bombay Legislative Council. He pointed out that the Hindus and Sikhs who, as minority communities in the North-West Frontier occupied about the same position as Muslims in the Bombay Presidency excluding Sind, obtained greater representation. He insisted on statutory safeguards regarding Muslim representation in legislatures, religious liberty, education, etc., and objected to these being left to be provided in the Instrument of Instructions.

Sheikh Abdul Majid further supporting the toast emphasised that Sind should at all costs be separated. It should not be relegated to the position of a chief commissioner's province as was feared.

His Highness the Aga Khan replying said that the communal award was an award, not a Muslim victory. He had no doubt that the Muslims in the presidency would suffer in weightage owing to the separation of Sind but advance was possible only along the lines of the communal award and the joint memorandum. One could not expect to get more than that. With regard to fundamental rights a resolution on them had been passed by the Muslim League and he was going to urge their incorporation in the constitution but after all they were mere legal phrases. As regards the demand for statutory provision for Muslim representation in legislatures and services he said such demands had not been made in upper India.

His Highness the Aga Khan referred to the memorandum of the British India delegation which, he said, was a considerable improvement on the White Paper 'within the general framework of the work of the three Round Table Conferences. 'We could not go much further than the joint memorandum. Behind that memorandum you find the signature of every Indian representative at the Joint Select Committee. We appeal to our countrymen to give it careful [illegible] and if they find it satisfactory, give it that measure of support without which it will never succeed. United India stands, divided she falls. On the one hand there is the organised opposition of diehards to make capital of our difficulties, on the other, there is the joint memorandum which can not succeed without your fullest support. I for one throughout carefully avoided advancing personal views. As a direct ambassador of Muslims and as a servant of the nation I worked hand in hand with my colleagues at the Round Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee.

'I assure my friends from Sind that I will leave no stone unturned till I find separation becomes an accomplished fact. I feel special interest in Sind. I was born in Sind but more than that I am convinced its people had not a government of their own since generations past. It would be a terrible blow if the province is made a chief commissioner's department. One of the main grievances was that the NorthWest Frontier Province was under a chief commissioner. We did not rest till we got it changed into a full-fledged Governor's province. We cannot take anything less as the status of Sind. You may rest assured, I will represent your views and your case to the British Government and the British public to the best of my ability.

(Concluded at foot of col. 4)

(Continued from col. 3.)

'I repeat what I emphasised on numerous occasions—the salvation of India lies in uniting in common interests. It is unnecessary to remind you. We lose by fissiparous activities.'

ment would be compelled largely to increase their own manufacture. He reminded the House that Britain was the only country to institute control over manufacture of arms, and she was ready to consider further control in conjunction with other nations. The motion was rejected by 173 votes to 58.

"Within the general framework of the work of the three Round Table Conferences, we could not go much further than the joint memorandum. Behind that memorandum you find the signature of every Indian representative at the Joint Select Committee. We appeal to our countrymen to give it careful attention and thought, and if they find it satisfactory to give it that measure of support without which it will never succeed. United, India stands; divided she falls.

"On the one hand there is the organized opposition of the die-hards who make capital of our difficulties. On the other there is the joint memorandum which cannot succeed without your fullest support. I for one throughout have carefully avoided advancing my personal views. As the direct ambassador of Moslems and as a servant of the nation, I worked hand in hand with my colleagues at the Round Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee. I assure my friends from Sind that I will leave no stone unturned till I find that separation becomes an accomplished fact. I feel a special interest in Sind. I was born in Sind but, more than that, I am convinced that its people had not the Government of their own since generations past. It would be a terrible blow if the province were made a Chief Commissioner's department.

APPEAL FOR UNITY

"One of our main grievances was that the North-West Frontier Province was under a Chief Commissioner. We did not rest till we got it changed to a full-fledged Governor's province. We cannot take anything less as the status of Sind. You may rest assured that I will represent your views and your case to the British Government and to the British public to the best of my ability. I repeat what I have emphasized on numerous occasions—that the salvation of India lies in uniting in common interests. It is unnecessary to remind you that we lose by fissiparous activities.

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Grievances of Goa Hindus

Dr. Moonje's Second Visit to Goa : Interview With the Governor-General Of Goa

The Hindu Maha Sabha has been carrying on its Shudhi propaganda in Goa. Accordingly some 12,000 Hindus who have been Christians for the last 300 years, were purified and brought again into the Hindu fold some six years ago. They had some grievances at the time which were removed on being brought to the notice of the then Governor-General by the Deputation of Hindu Maha Sabha, consisting of Mr. N. C. Kelkar and Dr B. S. Moonje who had waited on the Governor-General of the time some five years ago. The Governor-General was kind enough to receive the Deputation cordially and promised to look into the grievances of the newly reconverted Hindus. But unfortunately the old Governor-General died soon and the matter could not come a head and the grievances of the Hindus remained the same as before. Last year Dr. Moonje who had been to England in connection with the work of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, took advantage of the occasion and went to Lisbon (Portugal) to wait upon the Honourable President of the Republic and Minister of the Colonies. He brought the grievances of the Hindus to their notice and they promised him sympathetic consideration, and advised him to see the Governor-General of Goa. Accordingly Dr. Moonje drew up a representation, stating the grievances of the Hindus and praying for the removal. The representation is signed by Sir Govindrao Pradhan, formerly Finance Minister in the Government of Bombay, and Sir Govindrao Madgaonkar, I. C. S., (Retired) formerly a Judge of the Bombay High Court, Mr. S. B. Tambe sometime Governor of C. P. and Berar, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Shri Masurkar Maharaj and Dr. B. S. Moonje.

On behalf of the signatories, Dr. Moonje went to Goa and personally presented the representation to His Excellency the Governor-General on 14th March 1934. Local leaders and people gave cordial reception and every kind of help to Dr. Moonje. Dr. Moonje explained to the Governor-General every detail of the grievances of the Hindus.

of the reverted to be cremated according to the Hindu rites.

5. Attempts are made in the localities inhabited by the petitioners with a view to persecute them in all possible ways. At Dhulapi for example the idol trom the temple was removed. It is therefore prayed that Your Excellency may intercede in the matter with a view that a prompt action may be taken by the authorities to put a stop to these abuses.

6—They also pray that permis sion of be granted to Hindu Missionaries Brihmacharyashram of Masur, British India to come to Goa to preach the religious doctrines as also the High Priest "Shri Masurkar Maharaj."

7—Some of the petitioners used to take on leases properties belonging to the converts—properties situate at Mangan of Dhulapi the leases whereof were given to their forefathers for the last about 400 years and where the petitioners have their houses and have pastures for their cattle to graze. The leases having deterrined on account of the new religion which they have embraced. They are now found in situation which is very precarious and as unemployed they are obliged to abandon their lands. Your Excellency's intervention is prayed for in this case with a view to grant the said lands on leases land they undertake to pay the rent which the new tenants pay.

8—Finally to remove all other obstacles in the way of the celebration of religious acts.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S REPLY

The Governor-General was pleased to give the following reply :—

In respect of the grievances No. 1 No. 2 he said as follows :—

The Portuguese Republic is neutral in religious matters and though the Portuguese Government maintain here in India the "Padroado Portugues do Oriente," they have never altered the basic principle of religious neutrality which is the part of the Constitution of the Republic.

The Republic is profoundly liberal both regarding religious and political matters and consequently my Governto profess, subject to the general law of public peace and order.

Regarding grievance No. 6 the Governor-General said:—

The Government has no objection to allow people of the Masur Ashram to visit Goa so long as they confine themselves purely to religious propaganda. Dr. Moonje assured the Governor-General that the Ashram is a purely religious institution and that besides their religious and social propaganda they do not participate in any other activities and particularly have nothing to do with politics.

Regarding grievance No. 7 the Governor-General said:—

The Government's information is that it is a matter concerning the private affair of the landlord. The Government has nothing to do its with it.

RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEW

Thus ended the interview. It will be seen that the interview of Dr. Moonje with the Governor-General has had the satisfactory results to a great extent. The Gaudes have now complete freedom to celebrate their religious festivities and worship in their temples in any way they like. Their children can assume Hindu names and they can publicly own their Hindu faith. The only difficulty which is still unsolved is about their surnames which are registered in christian style. It requires amendment of the present law and Dr. Moonje is hopeful that even this difficulty will be soon got over by constitutional agitation.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

In the evening Dr. Moonje had conversations with the leading people of the town, who felt inspired to carry on the work of the Shudhi. At night he addressed a very largely attended public meeting held in the Mahalaxmi temple, Prof. S. V. Kamat presiding. Dr. Moonje spoke for an hour and his lecture was most inspiring for the physical developement and military regeneration of the Hindu youths. He told them to start Akhadas, establish volunteer corps, and undergo training in lathi drill, and rifle practice. He advised them also to start a military school for themselves and establish rowing clubs, to take advantage of the several water ways of the province.

Next day Dr. Moonje addressed two meetings of the newly converted Hindus in two places, some distance off in the mountainous parts in the interior of the province. The Gaudes, men and women had assembled in their large numbers, including their folk dancers, attired in their festive dresses to show their gratefulness for the services rendered to them by Dr. Moonje. Dr. Moonje addressed them in Marathi explaining to

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The grievances of the Hindus as set forth therein are as follows.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE REVERTED

1. Soon after the reversions, the reverted adopted Hindu names as it was natural and applied to the Government for authorizing the authorities concerned to register these names in place of prior ones. The Government, however, was of the opinion that the change of the names could be effected according to the law prevailing. It is to be noted that, the change in this sense, means an expense of more than 40 Rupees for every name. But as the petitioners are poor and are not in a position to meet these expenses, they pray that Your Excellency may permit them to have the names registered without this expense.

2. They also pray that may it be authorised to have the Hindu names of their children born after the reversion registered which also was refused by the local Government. On this count a reverted named Vithal Surlikar having refused to register his Christian surname was obliged to pay a fine of Rs. 120 and was imprisoned for nine days.

3. Nagali, Talgaon, Moddar, Caranzalein, Odxel, Bandar and Orteval are localities that have no ascessible place for the incineration of the corpses the result being that the reverted from these localities are obliged to carry to a distance of about 4 to 5 miles, which fact is too troublesome. It is, therefore, prayed that as the reverted are too poor people to purchase a place for themselves, a suitable place for the purpose may be granted to them.

4. At Nagzar, a woman belonging to the reverted family from the petitioner died—persons concerned approached the village Patel (Regedor) to obtain the necessary permit for the cremation of the corpse. The village Patel, however, did not allow the cremation saying that he would permit the burial of the corpse in the Christian Cemetry according to the Christian rites. As this was quite contrary to the religion which the petitioners have embraced the latter refused to burry the corpse The village Patel, thinking perhaps that the persons concerned would cremate the corpse without his permit, kept a police to watch and on. the third day the corpse was buried by him (village Patel) with the help of other Christians in the cemetry. A similar case happened at Chimbal. It is therefore prayed that arrangements be made to enable the corpses ment admit the right owned by everyone to follow the religion he or she likes and allow and guarantee the free exercise of all their acts of worships and religious propaganda, so far as they are restricted—as it is obvious—to their particular field of action.

The Gaudes of Goa who returned to the fold of Hinduism were permitted to do the same freely. The reversions may be continued freely; in the same way the Hindus are free to embrace any other faith. It is an act of personal creed with which the Government have nothing to do.

But what you have come to ask for is not a freedom in this particular sense and which is enjoyed absolutely by all Portuguese citizens in India. You wish me to dispense with the legal formalities in favour of those who reverted to Hindu fold, which permission if granted would be inconsistent with the religious neutrality which the Government have to respect and which permission I could not grant under any circumstances, in as much as—as you may be well aware—the same was refused by me, when the Guades of Goa themselves Portuguese citizens making use of the rights conferred upon them by the Portuguese law, addressed to me their petition to that effect.

I regret therefore very much being unable to comply with the desire you have come to express in the name of the religious principles by which you are connected to a section of the Portuguese citizens of Goa.

I hope you will carry with you the conviction that the Portuguese laws and the Portuguese authorities confer upon the people of Goa more liberties than those they may be allowed to enjoy elsewhere.

In respect of the grievance No. 3 the Governor-General in his explanation said :—

Let the Gaudes of the places mentioned apply to the Government and the Government after enquiry will be glad to see what could be done in the matter to provide for their conveniences in respect of the cremation of their dead bodies.

Regarding grievances No. 4 and 5 the Governor-General said :—

Perhaps Dr. Moonje's information is wrong. But whatever may have happened in the past, the Government gives an assurance that such incidents will not happen in the future and that the Government gives liberty to people to follow the practices of whatever religion they may like

them the conversation he had with the Governor-General as mentioned above. The local leaders then addressed them in their Konkani language and explained to them what Dr. Moonje had said in Marathi. There was great enthusiasm and the Gaudes looked very happy; not a trace of christianity could be seen either in their dress or in their habits or in their manner of their conversation and thoughts. No one could say by looking at the crowd that they had passed their 300 years in christianity. They were simply happy and over-joyed to come back to their forefathers, religion. The general Hindus are freely admitting them into their societies, temples, houses and well as before.

DR. MOONJE INTERVIEWED

Dr. Moonje left Goa on the 16th March and arrived in Bombay yesterday. Being interviewed Dr. Moonje said :—

I have no reason to be dissatisfied with my interview with His Excellency the Governor-General of Goa. He gave me a patient and respectful hearing and I may say that the grievances of the newly converted Hindus have been removed to the extent of 12 or 14 annas in a Rupee. I am glad that the Hindu Sabha is persuing its work and I am hopeful that whatever little inconvenience is left unsolved will also vanish soon. I am glad to note that the people ignorant and uneducated though they are, showed intelligent appreciation of the principles of liberty and equality on which the Republic is based.

I publicly offer my grateful thanks for the enthusiastic help given to me by the leading people of Goa and the disciples of Shri Masurkar Maharaj.

RS. 30,000 FOR BUILDING HUTS FOR WORKERS

Standing Finance Committee's Sanction

(Associated Press)

New Delhi, Mar. 21.

At the Standing Finance Committee's meeting a grant of about Rs. 30,000 was sanctioned for building huts for workers at Khewra Salt Works. It is stated that additional grants may be necessary for the purpose.

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नवा काळ—मुंबई शुक्रवार तारीख १८ माहे ऑगस्ट सन १९३३ इसवी

डॉ. मुंजे यांचा हिंदुधर्म-प्रसार



ता. ३ आगस्ट रोजीं डॉ. मुंजे यांनीं जेसी मेडले नांवाच्या इंग्लिश कुमारिकेला हिंदू धर्माची दीक्षा देऊन तिचें पाटकर आडनांवाच्या महाराष्ट्रीय तरुणाशीं विवाह लावला. वर या हिंदु-धर्म-दीक्षेच्या वेळीं डॉ. मुंजे हे इंग्लिश कुमारीला कुंकू लावीत असल्यावेळचा फोटो दिला आहे. पाटकर हे एंजिनियरिंगचा अभ्यास करण्यासाठीं विलायतेस गेलेले महाराष्ट्रीय तरुण आहेत.

MORE RESPECTABLE

Patrika 1.4.34

MR. RAGHU N. PRASAD TRIVEDI, Sub-Judge, Agra, has become "famous" by his judgment in a suit instituted by an Anglo-Indian against an Indian. The opinion he expressed was as follows:

> Other things being equal an Anglo-Indian is more respectable than an Indian because he is closely related to the ruling race, while an Indian is, after all, a member of a subject race.

It is not our intention to discuss the wisdom of the opinion. All that we would like to know is—what is the criterion of respectability?

The solicitude of Englishmen for the Anglo-Indians is well-known and has made the latter claim special privileges in service. As the result of certain correspondence which took place in 1918 between Bishop Lefroy, Metropolitan of India and Mr. J. H. Hechle relative to the social problems affecting the Anglo-Indian community a Committee called the Calcutta Domiciled Community Enquiry Committee was appointed. The report of this Committee was published in 1920 by the Bengal Secretariat Press. We quote the following extracts from the Report of the Sub-Committee on Health and Physique:

> (1) So far as adults are concerned the possibility of remedy is limited, because the majority have lost self-respect.
>
> (2) In many cases lads and girls 14—18 years of age are sleeping in the same hut with the inevitable result that the girl is ruined morally and physically at an early age.
>
> Too much stress cannot be laid on the immorality among certain members of the community. The extraordinary immoral relations that exist among members of the same family and their near relatives is almost unbelievable.
>
> (3) Living in confined spaces with the utmost lack of reserve and modesty they form early attachments with their relatives and neighbours, vice is, as we have already stated, rampant, and even if the parties are forced into marriage by circumstances and the priest, they often tire of one another and form unlawful unions.

The following are extracts from the report of the Sub-Committee on Crime and Drunkenness:

> (1) Prostitution is an increasing evil amongst the lower orders of the community.
>
> (2) Many of them (the men) live entirely on the earnings of women and cases of incest have been reported.

Details given in the Report—published by the Government of Bengal—are too unsavoury to be reproduced in the columns of a newspaper. The remarks already quoted do not, we hope, present a picture of respectability—even according to Mr. Trivedi's standard, and we are sure Mr. Trivedi—"a member of a subject race"—does not aspire after the standard of respectability as depicted in the quotations about the social condition of the community which he considers to be respectable because of its being "closely related to the ruling race."

We quote the following from a book on India by Hon. Robert Palmer:

> The Eurasian's prime aim in life is to prove himself a white man. So he will never do manual work, and often being quite uneducated, he is reduced to begging. But even begging has to be done *Sahib*-fashion; so they drive up to your door in a *bandi* (which *you* have to pay for) and tell you a heart-rending story of their destitution; but if you are moved to give him a cast-off pair of trousers, they insist on your sending your servant to carry it home for them.

Such are the members of the community who always claim special privileges even in the matter of punishment!

When in the Tundla rape case two Anglo-Indian ticket-collectors—Dorton and Robello were sentenced to nine months' rigorous imprisonment and 20 stripes each the President of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Community sent a wire to the Viceroy:

> Request that whipping be administered by person of same nationality; otherwise reaction on community must be such as to compel *en masse* resignation of Auxiliary Force as justifiable protest.

Even the *Pioneer* (May 30th 1924) was disgusted at this attitude of the community and wrote thus:

> It seems to us that a great deal of unnecessary fuss has been made in certain quarters over the sentence of whipping which was imposed recently by the Allahabad High Court upon two members of the Anglo-Indian community. After all, it must be borne in mind that the crime for which these men were convicted and sentenced was rape, and whether the flogging which they richly deserved is to be administered by an Indian or by one of their own community is a matter of the slightest importance.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Then And Now

Mr. Gandhi has done what was expected of him by acquiescing in the formation of the All-India Swaraj Party. He had, of course, no option if his erstwhile lieutenants were in earnest. If they had not been determined to give up civil disobedience and non-co-operation whether Mr. Gandhi approved or not, then there was no object in leading a revolt. Their request for Mr. Gandhi's blessing was a formality and must have been regarded in that light by Mr. Gandhi himself, since his refusal would have meant the further break-up of the Congress. What is, however, surprising is the cordial nature of Mr. Gandhi's acquiescence. When he agreed to the formation of the Swaraj Party by the late Mr. C. R. Das, and Pundit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Gandhi did so rather grudgingly. "I have failed", he said, "to be convinced by their arguments.... I shall therefore, be no party to putting any obstacles in their way or to carrying on any propaganda against

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"the Swarajists' entry into the legis-"latures, though I cannot actively "help them in a project in which I "do not believe." But now Mr. Gandhi says "I have no hesitation in "welcoming the revival of the Swaraj "Party and the decision of the Party "to take part in the forthcoming "election to the Assembly." Later in his statement he remarks: "Consist-"ently with my views above mentioned "I shall be at the disposal of the "Party at all times and render such "assistance as it is in my power to "give." Here, indeed, is a change of tone.

That is why it is difficult to take Mr. Gandhi seriously when he says his views on the utility of the legislatures in their present condition remain on the whole what they were in 1920. The two parts of his statement are scarcely consistent. In 1924, he regretted the Swarajist decision to enter the Councils. He then thought that "to be out of the legis-"lative bodies is far more advantage-"ous to the country than to be in "them." Now Mr. Gandhi actually welcomes the revival of the Swaraj Party and is willing to give it his assistance. All this bears out our previous contention of the change which the past decade has wrought, and our view that Government and the Congress are now much closer to one another than they were ten years ago. The legislatures have triumphantly stood the stress of a very critical period. The best proof of that is the return of the Congress after more than three years of vain effort to overthrow Government and all its works by unconstitutional methods. Now that Mr. Gandhi has so warmly supported the revival of the Swaraj Party, there is little sense in keeping up the farce of civil disobedience and non-co-operation. Let the Congress return once more to practical politics.

WHAT LONDON THINKS ?

Patrika 4.4.34

LONDON, April 3.

The "Daily Telegraph" says that the new Swaraj Party is chiefly interesting as a revolt against the Gandhi dominance. It must find new leaders. Its formation is an acknowledgment that boycott and civil disobedience have utterly failed, together with a recognition that only by Councils can any party obtain effective influence in India today.—Reuter.

MAHATMAJI EXPLAINS

How Far He Is Committed To Swaraj Party

Patrika 10.4.34

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

PATNA, April 7.

In a special interview, Gandhiji clarified the extent of his co-operation with the proposed Swaraj Party.

Asked what would be the extent of his co-operation with the party, Gandhiji said: "Consistently with my views on Council entry, I will render them all the assistance I can."

Asked if he would assist them in securing elections, Gandhiji stated: "I will certainly not interfere in the elections but the electors will be guided, so far as my opinion counts with them, by the knowledge that I would like them to vote for Swarajist candidates if they are otherwise qualified."

Asked as to what extent it would be the duty of Congressmen as a body to help in the elections, Gandhiji said: "Those Congressmen who believe in Council entry will certainly consider it their duty to take part in the elections."

The next question was what would be the position of men like Babu Rajendra Prasad who did not believe in Council entry but whose assistance would be necessary for success at the elections.

Gandhiji replied: "If Rajendra Prasad does not believe in Council entry he will not seek election but there will be nothing to prevent him from advising those Congressmen who may desire to enter the Assembly and guide them."

Asked how far his assistance would be available to the party, Gandhiji replied: "Whenever they seek assistance and I can legitimately give it to them it will be always at their disposal so long as I am out."

Asked if he would assist the party in drawing up a constitution and programme, Gandhiji replied: "If I can spare the time and can usefully advise them, I shall certainly do so. But this must not on any account be interpreted as an invitation to come to me for advise on all occasions. For one thing, I shall have no time left to me for shouldering such a burden."

What Mr. Jinnah Drives At

Patrika 10.4.34

WHITE PAPER ISSUE

—oOo—

Muslims Not To Reject White Paper

NEW DELHI, April 8.

"The press report about Mr. Jinnah's attitude as regards the White Paper, as expressed at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, seems rather misleading," said Sir Mohd. Yakub in a statement to the "Associated Press."

He added "It leaves the impression that Mr. Jinnah was prepared to continue his fight against the White Paper at any risk and under any circumstances. What really Mr. Jinnah said on that occasion was that the White Paper was divided into two parts—the first related to provinces and the other to the centre. Mr. Jinnah thought that the White Paper scheme relating to the centre was extremely objectionable. But at the same time he was anxious that communal decision given by the Premier should be incorporated in any constitution that was framed for India, and if Hindus and Muslims did not come to any settlement, he will have to accept even the White Paper, however much he disliked it, because the communal decision could not be given effect to unless there was any scheme of reforms. It would thus appear that Mr. Jinnah's attitude against the White Paper was not so pronounced and unqualified as the press report of his speech makes it to be. Mr. Jinnah also made it clear that if there was no settlement with the Hindus and if there was no modification in the White Paper, he would place the whole matter before the Muslim League and would abide by the decision of the majority.

Being questioned whether he would resign if the majority view was against his opinion, Mr. Jinnah flatly refused to entertain such an idea. Now the Muslim view point is that although they are not fully satisfied with the White Paper scheme and would try their best to have it modified, they would not go to the length of rejecting it at any cost. Pandit Malaviya's attitude towards the communal decision has practically closed the door for settlement at least for some time to come, and Mussalmans know where they stand."—(A. P.)

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Tuesday, April 10, 1934. Patrika

MAHATMA'S MANDATE

"Suspend Civil Disobedience For Swaraj"

ADVICE TO ALL CONGRESSMEN

"Workers, To Devote Their Time In Nation Building Activities"

PATNA, April 7.

IN handing the following statement to the Associated Press, Mr. Gandhi said:—

"This statement was drafted by me on my day of silence at Saharsa, that is, Easter Monday, the 2nd instant. I passed it on to Rajendra Babu and then it was circulated among the friends who were present. The original draft has undergone considerable revision. It is also abridged. But in essence it remains as it was on Monday. I regret that I have not been able to show it to all friends and colleagues with whom I would have been delighted to share it. But as I had no doubt whatsoever about the soundness of my decision and as I knew that civil resistance of some friends was imminent, I was not prepared to take the risk of delaying publication by waiting for the opinion of friends. The decision and every word of the statement are in answer to intense introspection, searching of the heart and waiting upon God. The decision carries with it reflection upon no single individual. It is a humble admission of my own limitations and a due sense of the tremendous responsibilty that I have carried on my shoulders all these long years.

THE INSPIRATION

"This statement owes its inspiration to a personal chat with the inmates and associates of the Satyagraha Ashram who had just come out of prison and whom at Rajendra Babu's instance I had sent to Bihar. More especially is it due to a revealing information I got in the course of a conversation about a valued companion of long standing who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task, preferring his private studies to the allotted task. This was undoubtedly contrary to the rules of Satyagraha. More than the imperfection of the friend whom I love more than ever it brought home to me my own imperfections. The friend said he had thought that I was aware of his weakness. I was blind. Blindness in a leader is unpardonable. I saw at once that I must for the time being remain the sole representative of civil resistance in action.

substitute for violence of war. It is designed therefore to reach the hearts both of the so-called "terrorists" and the rulers who seek to root out the "terrorists" by emasculating the whole nation. But the indifferent civil resistance of many, grand as it has been in its results, has not touched the hearts either of the "terrorists" or the rulers as a class. Unadulterated Satyagraha must touch the hearts of both. To test the truth of the proposition satyagraha needs to be confined to one qualified person at a time. The trial has never been made. It must be made now.

A WORD OF CAUTION

"Let me caution the reader against mistaking satyagraha for more civil resistance. It covers much more than civil resistance. It means relentless search for truth and the power that such a search gives to the searcher. The search can only be pursued by strictly non-violent means.

LEARN SELF-DENIAL

"What are the civil resisters thus freed to do if they are to be ready for the call whenever it comes? They must learn the art and the beauty of self-denial and voluntary poverty. They must engage themselves in nation-building activities, the spread of khaddar through personal hand spinning and hand weaving, the spread of communal unity of hearts by irreproachable personal conduct towards one another in every work of life, the banishing of untouchability in every shape or form in one's own person, the spread of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs by personal contact with individual addicts and rally by cultivating personal purity. These are services which provide maintenance on the poor man's scale. Those for whom the poor man's scale is not feastible should find a place in small unorganised industries of national importance which give a better wage.

Let it be understood that civil resistance is for those who know and perform the duty of voluntary obedience to law and authority.

A MERE ADVISE

"It is hardly necessary to say that in issuing this statement I am in no way usurping the function of the Congress. Mine is mere advice to those who look to me for guidance in matters of satyagraha.

Sd. M. K. Gandhi.

PERSONAL CLAIMS

"During the informal conference week at Poona in July last I had stated that while many individual civil resisters would be welcomed even one was sufficient to keep alive the message of Satyagraha. Now after much searching of the heart I have arrived at the conclusion that in the present circumstances only one, and that myself and no other, should for the time being bear the responsibility of civil responsibility of civil resistance if it is to succeed as a means of achieving purna swaraj.

MESSAGE OF SATYAGRAHA

"I feel that the masses have not received the full message of Satyagraha owing to its adulteration in the process of transmission. It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media. Spiritual messages are self-propagating. The reaction of the masses throughout the Harijan tour has been the latest forcible illustration of what I mean. The splendid response of the masses has been spontaneous. The workers themselves were amazed at the attendance and the fervour of bast masses whom they had never reached.

A SPIRITUAL WEAPON

"Satyagraha is a purely spiritual weapon. It may be used for what may appear to be mundane ends and through men and women do not understand its spirituality provided the director knows that the weapon is spiritual. Everyone cannot use surgical instruments. Many may use them if there is an expert behind them directing their use. I claim to be a Satyagraha expert in the making. I have need to be far more careful than the expert surgeon who is complete master of his science, I am still a humble searcher. The very nature of this science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the stop immediately in front of him.

SUSPEND CIVIL RESISTANCE

"The introspection prompted by the conversation with the Ashram inmates has led me to the conclusion that I must advise all congressmen to suspend civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. They should leave it to me alone. I should be resumed by others in my life time only under my direction unless one arises claiming to know the science. I give this opinion as the author and initiator of Satyagraha. Henceforth, therefore, all who have been impelled to civil resistance for Swaraj under my advice, directly given or indirectly inferred, will please resist from civil resistance. I am quite convinced that this is the best course in the interest of India's fight for freedom.

TIME FOR NEW TRIAL

"I am in deadly earnest about this greatest of weapons at the disposal of mankind. It is claimed for Satyagraha that it is complete

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PUNJAB LEADER'S SUPPORT

Dr. Alam Sanguine Of Swarajya Party's Success

Patrika 10.4.34

COMMUNAL PROBLEM THE VITAL ISSUE

Regret For Mr. Jinnah's Attitude About The Communal Award

LAHORE, April 7.

Interviewed regarding the outcome of the conversations that the deputation of the Delhi Conference had with Mahatma Gandhi in Patna Dr. Mohammad Alam said that the life-boat of the Swaraj Party with Mahatmaji's blessings and Dr. Ansari at its helm was bound to make God-speed through the troubled waters of India's politics.

He felt almost sanguine of its success. The only dangerous rock it would meet on its way was that of communalism and the Communal Award was writ large on its peak. It should take timely warning of it.

My personal view, added Dr. Alam, is that the anchor sheet of this Party should have been opposition to all communal demands in every shape and form and I did not hesitate to advance this view at the Delhi Conference for adoption as a third issue of the electioneering plank. In fact, I was in duty bound to plead it on behalf of the Anti-Communal League.

Multiplicity of issues was, however, not thought desirable by others and the only two issues which it was informally decided to keep in front were the repeal of repressive laws and the replacement of the White Paper scheme by the national demand put forward by Gandhiji at the Round Table Conference.

I am still of the opinion that the second issue of the plan will necessarily involve discussion of the Communal Award and it would be only right if we show a bold front to communalism in the election campaign. Communalism and nationalism in the country have one day to come to real grips and the sooner we make it a direct issue, the better for the welfare of the country. I do not believe in fractional patriotism or semi-nationalism.

REGRET FOR JINNAH

My own view is that as long as religion holds its ground as the basis of distribution of civic rights there is no room for nationalism to come in. It is as absurd to base civic rights on religion as to distribute religious rights on grounds of citizenship. I am sorry I cannot see eye to eye with Mr. Jinnah, who in addressing Muslim youths in Delhi advised them to play their part in nationalism in the country but at the same time is himself sticking to the communal award and consequently cannot give up communalism. The Communal Award can be kept out of consideration in our fight for rejection of the White Paper scheme but it cannot be accepted consistent with nationalist ideals. The Sikhs are out to fight the communal award on communal considerations and so are the Hindus. On the other hand the Muslim group, represented by Mr. Jinnah, desire to accept the communal award and oppose the White Paper scheme. There is thus a web of complications and unless the Congress Swarajya Party makes a plank of opposition to all communal demands in every shape and form, there is the likelihood of so many misgivings and misunder-

question but he would abide by the wishes of the Swarajya Party.—(A. P.)

DR. SATYAPAL

Entirely In Agreement With Swarajya Party

LAHORE, April 6.

Dr. Satyapal has issued the following statement:—

"I have just learnt with great satisfaction that Mahatma Gandhi has not opposed the revival of the Swaraj Party and he in his letter to Dr. Ansari says that it is the duty of those congressmen, who believe in council-entry programme, to contest elections, I think that this point needs a little clarification. I feel that all those who gathered together at Delhi are agreed on one point, that they can not win Swaraj through legislatures. Dr. Ansari clearly and emphatically declared that he had no faith in council programme but what actuated him and others of his way of thinking to adopt the programme of contesting the Assembly elections is the keen desire to end this present stagnation of our public life. I do not think one can improve upon the way he puts this thing. Like a drowning man who wishes to get hold of any straw which can be expected to be of use to him, some congressmen are anxious to adopt this programme to remove the present dullness and depression. I am entirely in agreement with the Swaraj Patry and though I do believe that the capturing of the Assembly will not usher forth Swaraj I am of opinion that the contesting of these elections on national ticket will bring new life and vigour into political activities and it is with this view only that I welcome this decision.—(A. P.)

SIR ABDUR RAHIM'S VIEWS

NEW DELHI, April 8.

Sir Abdur Rahim M.L.A. leader of the Independent Party in a statement to the 'Associated Press' says:—

"The revival of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly and in Legislative Council generally will undoubtedly be an event of some significance. But I would have been in a better position to express a more definite opinion if I knew the difference between the suspension of civii resistance for Swaraj and civil resistance for redress of specific grievances, as sanctioned by Mr. Gandhi. A well-organised political party with a carefully throughout programme of beneficent work should be welcomed specially if such a party seeks its way agaiinst the revival of communal disputes. There is a great deal of such work which can be accompained even with the narrow limits of the present constitution. After years of experience of the activities aimed solely at "Swaraj" I have come to the conclusion that steady pursuit of a programme for improving the lot of the people and for opening out new ave-

[illegible] achtve far better results in every direction.—(A. P.)

by our antagonists. I am almost sure that even if opposition to communal demands is not made a direct issue by the Swarajya Party, it will clear its position on this point in the details of its programme. Dr. Ansari has given to-day a bold lead to the country and I hope he will give an equally bold lead against communalism. I have all confidence in him and stand whole-heartedly with the Swarajya Party.

RE-ACTION IN PUNJAB

Asked about the influence of this decision on the Punjab, Dr. Mohammad Alam said that he did not count on much assistance from the Punjab. Wherever communalism was on a high pitch nationalism would necessarily be on a low level. Communalism had become almost synonymous with slave mentality "and I have to admit painfully that my province has been completely affected with this obnoxicus venom. Still I believe that if provincial Congress leaders lend their full suppotr to the Swarajya Party, the result will not be altogether disappointing. The heart of the Punjab is still sound and with proper efforts we may succeed even in this province in capturing at least half the total number of seats given to it for the Assembly. Yes, I am also hopeful that we will not altogether fail in returning any Muslim from this Province on the lines of the Swarajya Party."

Asked whether he was likely to stand for the legislatures, Dr. Alam said that he had not definitely decided this

OFFICIAL STATEMENT

1934 Patrika

NEW DELHI, April 1.

After practically the whole day's deliberations the Conference of Congressmen concluded at 5-30 this afternoon. The following official statement was then issued:—

The Conference re-assembled at 9-30 this morning and resumed discussion. After an exhaustive examination of the present political situation in the country the general opinion of the Conference was embodied in the following conclusions:—

1. "In the opinion of the Conference the All-India Swaraj Party which has been in abeyance be revived in order to enable Congressmen who are not offering individual civil resistance to undertake through an organisation constructive programme as contemplated in the Poona statement.

2. "In the opinion of this Conference it is imperative for this party to take up the Government challenge in relation to the forthcoming election to the Legislative Assembly to secure election of its candidates on the following issues :—(a) to implement country's mandate to get all repressive laws repealed; (b) to reject the proposal contained in the White Paper and to get them replaced by national demand on the line indicated by Mahatma Gandhi at the Round Table Conference, so that the country may reaffirm its confidence in the Indian National Congress.

"The conclusions of the Conference will be placed before Mahatma Gandhi for his consideration and advice. A provisional committee with Dr. Ansari as President has been appointed to draw up a constitution and programme of work which will be placed before a larger meeting of Congressmen from all parts of the country at an early date."

Dr. B. C. Roy, Mr. Bhalu Bhai Desai and Dr. Ansari are leaving for Patna on April 3 to meet Mahatma Gandhi and acquaint him with the deliberations of the conference.—United Press.

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MUSLIM LEAGUE MANDATE

'Heads I Win Tails You Lose' Policy

Patrika 4.4.34

PRAISE FOR COMMUNAL AWARD

Co-operation Offer With Other Parties To Modify White Paper Scheme If The Award Is Accepted

NEW DELHI, April 2.

At to-day's meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, which was very largely attended, a resolution was tabled by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the effect that Muslims in India should stand by the Communal Award so long as there was no better alternative proposal and that Muslims should unite with other communities in getting the White Paper scheme modified if these communities accepted the Communal Award. There was a lengthy debate on the resolution in the course of which several prominent Muslims took part. The resolution was passed.—(A. P.).

NEW DELHI, April 2.

The Council of the Muslim League concluded after passing resolutions.

A few more Nationalist Muslims including Mr. Asaf Ali and others attended to-day's deliberations in their private capacity. It is understood that Mr. Asaf Ali addressed the Council for about an hour in the course of which he declared that Nationalist Muslims were convinced that Mr. Jinnah was a man of principle whatever difference of opinion existed between Mr. Jinnah and himself and Nationalist Muslims were honest differences based on principle. They were entitled to have differences of opinion and Nationalist Muslims would take a chance to convert others to their fold. He wanted a change in the constitution of the League, preferably on lines of democracy, so that they might have a bigger representation of the Muslim community.

Sir Mahomed Yakub who also addressed the meeting congratulated Mr. Asaf Ali for his presence at the League meeting after a number of years. He said that if Nationalist Muslims had separated from the League—it was on their own accord and the League did not ask them to do so. He asked what improvement Dr. Kitchlew who was a nationalist Muslim and who had been Secretary of the League for four years made in the position of the League. In conclusion Sir Mahomed Yakub welcomed Mr. Jinnah who was taking a keen interest in the League and was leading them towards unity.

At the outset Mr. Jinnah made a lucid exposition of the present political situation and of the action that was called for to meet the situation. He dwelt at length on the many points having important bearing on the new reforms and the White Paper proposals. Consensus of opinion which prevailed seemed to hold that the White Paper scheme was beneficial neither to the Hindus nor to the Muslims nor to the Country at large and that it required radical modification on many points before it could be accepted.

It was also unanimously suggested that for effecting modification of the White Paper proposals united opposition had to be offered and some satisfactory agreement had to be reached among the different communities for that purpose.

There was some divergence of opinion as to [illegible]

and ruin the peace of the sacred land. The Council further resolved to sympathise with the Arabs of Palestine whole-heartedly and assured them of their heart-felt sympathies and support;

(3) This meeting of the Council views with great apprehension the situation Ajodhya and strongly condemns the report of the excesses committed on Muslim lives and property and calls upon the Government to take speedy action for bringing the offenders to justice;

(4) Resolved that a Committee, consisting of Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury, Sir Mohamed Yakub, Haji Rashid Ahmed, Hilal Ahmed, Mr. Asa Ali, Mr. Hussain Imam, Mr. Maswood Ahmed and Mirza Mohamed Syed be appointed to reconsider and amend the constitution of the League to be placed before the next annual session;

(5) Resolved that the provincial branches of the All-India Muslim League be revived and reorganised and the following members of the Council be requested to undertake in reviving and reorganising the provincial branches in their respective provinces and communicate the result of their efforts by the 30th of June: S. M. Abdulla and Asafali (Delhi), Hidayat Husain (U. P.), Abdul Matin Choudhury (Assam), Kabiruddin Ahmed (Bengal), Hussain Imam and Maswood Ahmed (Bihar), Jamal Mohamed and Syed Murtaza (Madras), M. C. Chagla and Khan Bahadur Ali Baakza (Bombay), Syed Habib, Khwaja Gul Mohamed Khan and Begum Shah Nawaz (Punjab), Abdoola Haroon (Sind), Abdoola Yusuf Ali (Frontier Province), Wilayatulla and Yusuf Shariff (Central Provinces), Syed Abdul Jabbar and Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg (Ajmer) and Raja Gazanfar Ali (for Indian States.)—(A. P.)

TALK OF UNITY

Mr. Jinnah On Present Situation

NEW DELHI, April 2.

Giving his impression of the session of the Council of the Muslim Leagus which concluded to-day Mr. Jinnah in an interview with the 'Associated Press' said: "After two days' deliberations of the Council meeting, which was most representative I have seen during my connection with the League extending now over twenty years, I must say, I was immensely impressed with most of

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brought about a heated discussion followed as to what should be the basis of such an agreement. The Right-Wingers wanted that they should stick to the "Fourteen Points" while the Nationalists strongly felt that such a basis would be a bitter pill for the other communities to swallow.

It was agreed by a majority that the Communal Award should form the ground on which all communities should meet together.

Eventually a resolution was adopted stating "that the Council of the All-India Muslim League accept the Communal Award in so far as it goes until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities and on that basis express their readiness to co-operate with the other communities and parties to secure such a future Constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country."

Another resolution was also adopted recommending the appointment of a sub-committee to revise and amend the constitution of the All-India Muslim League to be placed before the next session of the League. The Sub-Committee will consist of Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Sir Mohammad Yakub, the Hon'ble Hossain Imam, Mr. Masood Ahmed, Mirza Muhammad Syed Hidayetullah, Mr. Rashid Ahmed and others.

The next resolution to be adopted urged the revival and re-organisation of the provincial branches of the League and requesting two members on the Council from each province to undertake the task in their respective provinces.

Another resolution which was adopted was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam expressing grave concern at the condition of Khan Obeidullah Khan and requesting the Government to release him immediately on humanitarian grounds, if not on political grounds.

The motion was strongly supported by Syed Murtaza Sahib.—(A. P. and U. P.)

THE RESOLUTIONS

The Council of the All-India Muslim League passed the following resolutions:—

(1) Resolved that the Council accepts the Communal Award so far as it goes, until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities and on that basis they express their readiness to co-operate with other communities and parties to secure such future constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country;

(2) The Council strongly supports the proposal for a strong and influential deputation to wait on the Viceroy to lay before him as to how the Balfour Declaration has supported the Jews of the world to bup land and settle down in Palestine, which would deprive the original inhabitants, namely, Muslims, Christians and Arabs, of the various leaders who came from different provinces in India. The League is perfectly sound and healthy and the conclusion I have come to is that Mussalmans will not lag behind any other community in serving the very best interests of India.

"To condemn the White Paper one does not require argument or reasons, but one has only got to read the White Paper proposals and understand them and that is enough. But while many of us feel that this treacherous scheme is almost at our door—and I for one have not hesitated to declare my views with regard to the scheme—the problem of all problems which still confronts us is how to avert the scheme from being foisted upon India. That cannot be achieved and will not be achieved until there is unity between the Hindus and Muslims.

"India looks forward to a real and solid united front. Can we even at this eleventh hour bury the hatchet, forget the past in the presence of imminent danger and close our ranks to get sufficient strength to resist what is being hatched both at Downing Street and in Delhi? It is up to the leaders to put their heads together and nothing will give me greater happiness than to bring about complete co-operation and friendship between Hindus and Muslims, and in this desire my impression is that I have the solid support of Mussalmans. The Council has passed a resolution which is before the public. It clearly indicates how that unity can be achieved immediately.

"On my return to India I have seen abundant evidence that public opinion both Hindu and Muslim thinks alike in terms of the political evolution of the country. The emphasis which Muslims place on the Communal Award is only an indication of their desire to make sure that any national demand, which they join to put forward on behalf of the country will incorporate the safeguards which Muslims consider the minimum. The Muslims are in no way behind any other community in their demand for national self-Government. The crux of the whole issue, therefore, is, can we completely assure the Muslims that the safeguards to which they attach vital importance will be embodied in the future constitution of India?" —(A.P.)

PRESENT STAGNATION

Halting Hesitation & Feverish Policy Won't Remove It

PATNA, April 2.

Dr. Syed Mahmud has sent the following telegram to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, Delhi: "Sorry unable to

(See page 8.)

Muslim League Mandate

(Continued from page 7.)

leave Bihar at present. Glad to hear you propose drastic changes in League's constitution, but no changes are of any use unless a new spirit is infused. Halting hesitation and feverish policy won't remove present stagnation, but a bold, fearless and marchforward policy, worthy of future generations of Mussalmans, to achieve ideal will bring a new life into our community. In spite of our political differences, you know we always respected you and still regard you to be able to infuse life provided you [illegible]

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ot possible at present.

We must, therefore, agree to work separately. Moslems will agitate against the White Paper as they have been agitating for sometime past. I hope the nationalist Hindus, Moslems, Shikhs, Parsees and Christians will agitate more vigorously than heretofore both against the Communal Award and the White Paper, confident that the truth will triumph. I cherish the hope that with full realisation of the extremely objectionable character of many of the White Paper proposals and of further changes that have been foreshadowed, Moslems and non-Moslems will before long join in insisting on reasonable modifications of the Communal Award and radical changes of the White Paper."—(A.P.)

JINNAH-MALAVIYA TALK

Sir Mahammad Yakub's Statement

NEW DELHI, April 5.

That Mr. Jinnah did not take the initiative in the Jinnah-Malaviya talks and that Muslims to-day were more united than ever before is emphasised by Sir Muhammad Yakub in a statement to the Associated Press. Sir Muhammad says "There appears some misunderstanding about the negotiations between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I am in a position to say that Mr. Jinnah on his part never approached the esteemed Panditji with a view to opening the negotiations on the other hand it was Panditji who wired Mr. Jinnah, asking him when he was arriving in Delhi, and expressed a desire to have a talk with him. On Mr. Jinnah's arrival in Delhi the desire was repeated and Mr. Jinnah and Panditji met each other. But it was Panditji who opened the negotiations whereupon Mr. Jinnah pointed to the resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League on April 2 and made it quite clear to Panditji that acceptance of the resolution by Hindus was a condition-precedent to coming to any settlement between the two communities. No further development has taken place yet. Mr. Jinnah made it quite clear in his speech that he would abide by the decision of the majority of Mussalmans. There also seems to be no difference on principle between Mr. Jinnah and Begum Shah Nawaz. The relations between the League and the Muslim Conference are as cordial as ever, which was borne by the presence of the Nawab of Chhatari at the meeting of the Council of the Muslim League. The two presidents subsequently also had a long talk with each other and perfect harmony prevailed. I make bold to say that to-day Mussalmans stand more united than ever before.—(A.P.)

JINNAH'S PRESENT ROLE

Prominent Hindu Leader's Views

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

NEW DELHI, April 5.

One of the prominent Hindu leaders who participated in two-day talks in which Mr. Jinnah was the central figure summed up his views as follows:

"I think Mr. Jinnah's main point was to show that he had been set up as a dictator of Mu[illegible] and has replaced H. H. the Aga Kh[illegible] further that Mr. Jinnah wished the Government of India to communicate this fact to Lon-

don so that on his return to London Mr. Jinnah may not be ignored as he had been in the past. Otherwise I see meaning in Mr. Jinnah trying to start negotiations when he had no cards to play. Mr. Jinnah's position was that the Communal Award could not be discussed. We accepted that and said that whatever might be our view about Communal Award let us not discuss it. If you want to oppose White Paper, organise your opposition and we are with you. We will not be a party once again to the position that we should lead opposition and the Britisher should pay again some price to Muslims and we are left in the lurch. If it is a genuine movement of opposition to White Paper let Mr. Jinnah take the lead and pass resolution from Muslim platforms.

"As for communal matters Malaviya-ji had failed after 2 months of hard work to find a solution. Could solution be found in one-day talk unless it was that Hindus and Sikhs were to accept the Communal Award without question? Really, therefore, Mr. Jinnah's move for unity talk was not serious and could not make any appeal to us. We certainly welcome any opposition that he may genuinely organise against White Paper.

'UNITY'—'UNITY'

Mr. Jinnah's Parting Message To Muslims

NEW DELHI, April 5.

"I appeal to Mussalmans all over India to stand united and I see a very bright future in front of us," was the parting message given by Mr. M. A. Jinnah who left Delhi to-day by the Frontier Mail.

At the railway station he had a long conversation with Sir Muhammad Yaqub, it is understood, in connection with the future policy of the Muslim League and also as regards the talks he had with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He was seen by Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury, Shah Naswood Ahmed and others.—(A.P.)

COMMUNAL AWARD

Mr. Jinnah Asks Hindus To Accept It

Patriku 7.4.34

PT. MALAVIYA'S APPEAL

"Insist On Reasonable Modifications Of The Award And Radical Changes Of White Paper"

NEW DELHI, April 5.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has issued the following statement to the press:—

"I had a long conversation with Mr. Jinnah with a view to united action on the part of Hindus and Moslems to secure satisfactory constitutional reforms. In conformity with the resolution of the Council of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah urged that Hindus should accept the Communal Award until a substitute is agreed upon by various communities, and that on that basis both parties should join in attacking the White Paper. I told him that the Award was so flagrantly unjust to Hindus that the Hindu public opinion would not tolerate the idea of accepting it as it stood even by implication. I asked if retaining the seats allotted to them the Moslems would agree to substitute joint for separate electorates. Mr. Jinnah did not think that they would.

On the following day I saw another influential Moslem leader. He too was of the opinion that Moslems would not now look at a proposal to substitute joint for separate electorates. It is thus clear that an agreement to make any change in the Communal Award is

FINALE TO PATNA TALKS

Gandhiji Gives His Assent To Delhi Decision

Patrika 7.4.34

REVIVAL OF SWARAJ PARTY WELCOMED



"I shall be at the disposal of the Party at all times and render such assistance as it is in my power to give"—Gandhi.

The United Press of India received the following message yesterday from Patna over the telephone :—

Mahatma Gandhi's final decision regarding the conclusions arrived at by some congressmen who met recently at Delhi is conveyed in the following letter written by Mahatma Gandhi to Dr. M. A. Ansari after prolonged discussions since last evening :—

PATNA, April 5.

"Dear Dr. Ansari,

It was good of you, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Dr. Bidhan Roy to come all the way to Patna to discuss the resolutions arrived at recently at an informal meeting of some congressmen at Delhi and to ascertain my opinion on them. I have no hesitation in welcoming the revival of the Swaraj Party and the decisions of that meeting to take part in the forthcoming election to the Assembly which you tell me is about to be dissolved. My views on the utility of legislatures in the present state are well-known. They remain, on the whole, what they were in 1920. But I feel that it is not only the right but also the duty of every congressman who for some reason or other does not want to or cannot take part in civil resistance and who has faith in entry into legislatures to seek entry and form combinations there to prosecute the programme which he or they believe to be in the interest of the country. Consistently with my views above-mentioned, I shall be at the disposal of the party at all times and render such assistance as it is in my power to give.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi."

PATNA, April 5.

The following statement has been issued by Dr. Ansari, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai.

"We arrived at Patna on the morning of 4th instant and were able to confer with Mahatma Gandhi as regards the conclusions arrived at by Delhi Conference. Notwithstanding the immense strain he had gone through, considering the importance of the matter he discussed with us for over three hours the various aspects of the revival of the Swarajya Party. The matter was again discussed to-day with Mahatmaji in the morning and in the afternoon and the result of the discussions is now embodied in the letter addressed by Mahatmaji to Dr. Ansari.—(A.P.)

THE

White Paper & Muslims

LEAGUE'S MANDATE

—oOo—

Mr. Chagla Characterises It As "Indecent Bargaining"

BOMBAY, April 3.

Mr. M. C. Chagla strongly criticised the Muslim League in linking up the Communal Award with the opposition to the White Paper in a statement to the Associated Press.

He points out that no nationalist whether he be a Hindu or a Muslim can accept the award. In his opinion it is a vicious product of Anglo-Saxon astuteness and yet the League has gone out of its way to place its imprimature upon this "political abomination". He asks why make Muslim opposition to the White Paper conditional upon the acceptance of the communal award by the Hindus. If Hindus do not accept it, is Mr. Jinnah going to ask Muslims to support and welcome the White Paper ? The League seems to think that freedom is a commodity which is going to benefit only Hindus and Muslims are indifferent about acquiring it. The League will not be conferring a favour upon the Hindus by fighting the White Paper and therefore to make Hindu-Muslim co-operation on this issue dependent upon Hindus accepting the Award is to make the League a patry to indecent bargaining about the sacred cause of freedom.

In the opinion of Mr. Chagla the League should have recorded its catagorical and unconditional opposition to the White Paper. With regard to the communal settlement, it would have been easier to arrive at it if Hindus are made to realise that Mussalmans have unequivocally sided themselves with the national opinion on the question of constitutional advance.—(A.P.)

UNITY MOVE

Amalgamation Of Muslim League & Conference

NEW DELHI, April 3.

It is understood that at present the move to amalgamate the Muslim conference and the Muslim League is not finding favour with most of the Muslim leaders who attended the deliberations of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. Several members of this body are also office-bearers or members of the Conference and though the question was discussed at some length on April 1, it has not been proceeded with any further.—(A.P.)

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MODEST PROGRAMME

Mr. Jinnah's Advice To Muslim Youths

NEW DELHI, April 3.

"Work hard, study and keep in touch with the political events and movements. Be ready to play your part in national development of the country. Train the backward Musalmans and those who are not blessed with the gift of University education. Begin with a modest programme and you will have enough stirring things in the life". This was the advice given by Mr. Jinnah to Muslim youths, addressing a large crowd of Mussalmans of Delhi under the auspices of the Muslim Youth League.

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said "India is passing through a very rapid development of events, and it is the youths who will have to bear the burden of what is happening to-day. India is politically young. India is on the path of renaissance pulsating more and more with life. Muslims and specially Muslim youths have to play a very big part".

Muslims, he said, occupied a very powerful position in the country and the progress of the country depended

DR. MOONJE

Patrika 5.4.34

NAGPUR, April 6.

Dr. Moonje has issued the following statement through the "United Press":

"I welcome the decision of the Delhi Conference, supported whole-heartedly as it is, by Mahatma Gandhi, as an act of wise and practical statesmanship. We must fight our opponents on all fronts and the struggle cannot end uptil the National Demand is conceded. I trust that the larger conference that will be called will succeed in bringing all the Congressmen under one national banner with a comprehensive programme of work to strengthen the people to carry on the struggle. The promoters of the conference deserve the heartiest congratulations of all."—(United Press).

Jesus, the heavenly Bridegroom, is near,
Making perfect in love and casting out fear;
Our hearts are made younger as onward we glide,
Our strength is renewed, our needs are supplied.
All glory to Jesus! Hallelujah! Praise God!
Travel is luxury on the old Beulah Road,
God's railway celestial encircling the globe;
The good of all ages have traveled this road.
Elijah and Enoch by official request,
Ran in on a special, not stopping at Death.

No accident has this railway yet known,
The Dispatcher is He who sits on the throne.
Trains only move at Jehovah's command,
He holds the throttle with Omnipotent hand.
The Holy Spirit is the headlight so clear,
Revealing the track to the wise engineer.
The angels are brakemen, so kind and urbane,
Adding much to the comfort of all on the train.

Dying Love is a town in the Valley of Fear,
The backslider's repair shops are located here.
Are your vows broken, have you been untrue?
Step into these shops and be burnished anew.
Dear sinners, take passage for Heaven today,
Make haste, there is danger and death in delay.
The Spirit is calling, and so is the Bride;
Our train is now coming, and you must decide.

The road you are traveling will land you—well,
In anguish and torment with demons to dwell.
The fare is expensive, just think of the cost
When Heaven and Jesus and all may be lost!
So many are taking the Try route to Heaven,
When God's great Bee-line is the only route given.
His Word is the guide and its teachings are plain,
You'll surely be lost if you take the wrong train.

Then, be not deceived in making your choice,
But follow the Word and the Spirit's small voice,
Take the train they advise, and then stay on board,
And you will ride home to eternal reward.
I've a ticket for home, Hallelujah! Praise God!
My baggage is checked, I am now on the road;
I've said to the world and its honors goodbye;
My soul's on the wing, I'm en route to the sky

All Tracts Free, as the Lord permits, as this work is conducted on the Free-Will Offering Plan.

Free Tract Society (Inc.)
746 Crocker St., Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A

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ETTLEMENT

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Leaders

DELHI, April 3.
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VIYA TALK

NEW DELHI, April 3.

Important conversations took place between Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, who met to-night after dinner privately to exchange views regarding the need for a settlement acceptable to all communities in India. No details are available, but it is understood that the conversations were held in a friendly atmosphere and there was frank exchange of views.—(A.P.)

interests. He referred to his relations with the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, with whom he was often at loggerheads on the floor of the Assembly, but outside they were friends.

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said "I am not in favour of a stirring programme for youths. Begin with a modest programme and you will have enough of stirrings in life."

Mr. Abdul Mohie thanking Mr.

(Continued on next Column.)

Use Firearms to Fight Dacoits

Times of India 16.4.34

LARKANA MAGISTRATE'S SUGGESTIONS

KARACHI, April 12.

A call to licencees of firearms to confront dacoits when any opportunity arises, and a warning that their failure to do so would be visited with the cancellation of licences, is contained in a press communique issued by the District Magistrate of Larkana. The Magistrate says that there have been frequent dacoities in the Larkana district and the Government have been trying their best to check them, but it is impossible to make police arrangements in every village and district. The only way, therefore, for this kind of crime to be effectively checked is that public should co-operate with the Government in this regard.

The strength of the police is being increased but village panchayats should make their own arrangements for the purpose of patrolling the village and eight dacoits who generally come in the evening and decamp before the police could arrive. It has been observed that zamindars and persons holding licences under the Arms Act do not use firearms against dacoits, although they have got the inherent power to do so since the law allows them the right of self-defence.

The Magistrate further adds that he will have no hesitation to grant more licences under the Arms Act wherever he finds that such a grant would conduce to the proper maintenance of law and order. The Magistrate hopes that under present conditions, all zamindars and village panchayats will help the authorities and give all the information required from them in connection with the maintain law and order.

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FIX THE ISSUE

Patriku 5.4.34

Bhai Permanand Questions Dr. Ansari

NEW DELHI, April 6.

Is Dr. Ansari, as leader of the Swaraj Party, going to fight the next elections on the issue of the White Paper alone, or the White Paper and the Communal Award is the question raised by Bhai Permanand, president of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the "Associated Press."

He says: "Now that the Swaraj Party as shaped out in Delhi, has been blessed by Mahatma Gandhi, I should like to put one simple question to Dr. Ansari, not with the object of entering any kind of discussion but simply to have the position cleared up for deciding our attitude and line of action with regard to this new party. I am encouraged to ask this question on account of the last statement made by Dr. Ansari in Bombay describing the real nature of the communal award and interdependence of the White Paper on it and by the fact that this statement has been corroborated, word by word, by a statement of Mr. Chagla and by the utterance of Dr. Kitchlew. "I most heartily appreciate the fact that these gentlemen, by their bold attitude, have for the first time proved the existence of a real Nationalist Party and have established their right and claim to speak in the name of Nationalist Moslems. I know very well that this step is not going to bring them any laurels, but surely it is the beginning to lead them on to victory.

"Understanding the position of the Nationalist Moslem Party, as I do, I wish to ask a simple question whether Dr. Ansari, as the head of the new party, is going to fight the next elections on the issue of the White Paper alone, or both the Communal Award and the White Paper together. I believe the next elections would become very easy and a great deal of friction between the new party and the Hindu Mahasabha would be avoided and the true purpose of the demonstration would be best served if the latter alternative is accepted by the new party. In that case I shall be fully prepared to enter into a sort of coalition with the new party which is going to be composed of Congressmen and Nationalist Moslems. On the other hand, if the White Paper alone is made the issue in elections, my fear is that Government would interpret it as acquiescence to the Communal Award by the Hindu community. I quite understand that if the Communal Award is made an essential part of the issue, the Nationalist Moslems would be in a great disadvantage with the communalist part of their community. But my view is that if the Nationalist Moslems want to fight their own brethern having views opposed to them, they should take courage to come forward and begin that some day, for they cannot postpone it for ever."—(A. P.)

THE UNITY MOVE

Patriku 7.4.34

Mr. Jinnah Charges Pt. Malaviya With Breach Of Confidence

MUSLIM LEADER'S STATEMENT

What Transpired Behind The Scenes To Bring About Modification Of Communal Award

BOMBAY, April 6.

That Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya proposed a trip to London with a view to persuading the British Cabinet to force Europeans in Bengal to part with some of their seats under the communal award, was revealed in the course of an interview with the Associated Press by Mr. M. A. Jinnah on his arrival from Delhi.

"I am extremely grieved," he added, "that a leader like Pandit Malaviya should have disclosed the details of our conversations. I cannot help saying that this is a breach of confidence and I feel that unless I state the whole of the conversations I am likely to be misunderstood by the public. In these circumstances I am compelled to state briefly what actually took place.

BENGAL QUESTION

Pandit Malaviya's proposal was that he had almost brought about an agreement at Allahabad. Hindus were willing to give fifty-one per cent and keep only forty-four per cent for themselves in Bengal on the basis of joint electorates. But the difficulty was that this could be given effect to provided Europeans parted with certain number of seats which were allotted to them under the communal award. He went to Europeans in Calcutta and they point-blank refused to part with anything. Then he went to the Governor of Bengal, who was sympathetic, but said that in a matter of this kind it was most difficult for him to interfere. Therefore Panditji told me that the Bengal question could be settled if I joined hands with him and approach them again. I told him that if Europeans again refused what shall we do. Panditji said that then we shall go to Lord Willingdon and ask him to press Europeans to accept a less number of seats having regard to the fact that they have been given excessive representation under the communal award. Suppose the Viceroy also gives the same reply as the Bengal Governor, what shall we do? We shall then, said Panditji, go to England and persuade the British Cabinet to force Europeans to part with their excessive number of seats or modify the communal award in order to give effect to our proposals, namely, 51 seats for Mahomedans and 44 for Hindus and joint electorates.

THE PUNJAB QUESTION

As regards the Punjab, his proposal was that he would not be able to persuade Hindus and Sikhs to accept the communal award as it stands. Therefore, he suggested that the Muslims of the Punjab should accept joint electorates only with 49 per cent seats which were allotted to them under the communal award by separate electorates, and they should not contest, at any rate during the first election, the seats for Commerce, University, Labour, etc. I said that I would not be able to persuade the Muslims to accept this arrangement, but Panditji informed me that Sir Fazli Hussain had almost agreed to it. I said that if the Punjab leaders were willing to agree to your proposal or any other, I shall put my signature thereto blindly, if they agree and if they were satisfied with such a settlement. Thereupon Panditji told me that he would see Sir Fazli and let me know. . I don't know what happened between him and Sir Fazli but on the morning of April 5 when I was just leaving for Bombay I got a message from Panditji saying that Sir Fazli did not agree.

Regarding his Bengal proposal, I told Panditji that apart from practical objections to the course he suggested that was not the kind of unity I wanted which can only be brought about with the consent of Europeans or Lord Willingdon or the British Cabinet. I also told him that there were many other practical objections to the course. I for one do not like to go to any outsider for what I consider as primarily business of our own people, but any how that question stood over until the Punjab question could make any progress.

The point of view I urged was that it was a fact that we could not settle and, thereafter, all our leaders of various groups, including Malaviyaji, Mahatmaji, Hindu Mahasabha leaders, Sikh leaders and the rest of the group asked the Premier to make an award. He has made the award. For the time being let us accept it, and come together and we shall under a new atmosphere, if created, be in a better position to discuss a substitute and, God willing, we may produce an agreement. Therefore, the first thing is, let us get together. We have spent enough time in discussing safeguards for our communities. Let us now concentrate upon the interests of our motherland. If a settlement be brought about, I assured him that nothing will please me more and I was willing to do all that I could to bring about that. It is a pity that some Delhi newspapers have created some mischief in stating that I took the initiative to approach Pandit Malaviya. I would not be sorry if I had, but all the more the credit is due to Pandit Malaviya for taking the initiative and surely this is hardly a matter worth taking notice of by the public."—(A.P.)

AN UNHOLY PACT?

Sir Samuel's Warning To Muslim Leaders

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

NEW DELHI, April 6.

An indication of what happened behind the scenes is given by Sardar Santsingh, M.L.A., who participated in the unity talks this week. He says: "The speech of Mr. Jinnah in the Muslim League meeting in Delhi led to a revival of efforts to bring about the union of the various communities. Mr. Lahiri Chaudhury gave a message to me and Bhai Permanand to see Pandit Malaviya in this connection. Accordingly we both had a long informal talk with Pandit Malaviya. My speech in the Assembly on the third reading of the Finance Bill had, I was told, stirred Muslim feeling and Panditji wanted, if possible, to bring

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about a workable understanding between the various communities. We considered the problem from various points of view"

"During the course of the conversations I, with all respects to Panditji, made clear to him that if any conversations came about at all the Sikhs would like to have their say through their own spokesman. My feeling is that Muslims are not free agents to make any serious effort at mutual settlement. I would like to warn those who believe in reviving these talks that they should remember what happened here recently. The Aga Khan's mission here led to an exchange of views between himself, Sir Fazli Hussain and other Muslim leaders which again, led to a general understanding among them that they must at all costs stand by Sir Samuel Hoare who was reported to have told certain Muslim leaders that if they joined the opposition to the White Paper they would be discredited as a community and that everything, including the Communal Award, would go into the melting pot. Unless therefore, some Muslim leaders openly commit themselves to denunciation of the White Paper, irrespective of the fate of the Communal Award, there can be no honest unity in the common endeavour to build up nationalism."

"As for the Communal Award, I have not the least doubt that Sikhs will fight to the last ditch to get it altered. It is not difficult to find a common solution by mutual consent but any attempt to use political unity to extract more advantages from Government for the Muslim community must be abandoned before any serious talks of unity can be indulged in. If only Muslims could realize that the present state of politics is proving disastrous as much to their interest as to that of any other community they would give up the fetish they make of the Award and join all other communities in carving out for this country a future which would redound to the credit of all and lead the nation to prosperity and freedom."

COURT

WORKING DAY AND NIGHT FOR SOCIAL HAPPINESS OF R. T. C. DELEGATES.

Chronicle 9th Oct.

:o:

Joint Secretariat Established With Sir M. Hankey As Secretary.

A Joint Secretariat to the Imperial Conference has been established with Sir Maurice Hankey as Secretary and Sir Harry Batterbee as Deputy Secretary. Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham of Indian Civil Service has been nominated Secretary to the Indian Delegation.

Chesterfield Gardens, is an example of old town residences in London and was recently used as club. Government aim at providing delegates with all facilities of the club. Its management in hands of delegates themselves.

Chesterfield Gardens is a dozen minutes' walk from St. James Palace, which is the venue of the Conference. The office of Works is at present working day and night, decorating and furnishing the premises, so that it may be ready on the arrival of the delegates from India by Oct. 15. Some national art treasures are being borrowed from various galleries for decorative purposes. —Reuter.

R. T. C. CONFERENCE FOR DISCUSSION OF TRANSVAAL LAND TENURE BILL SUGGESTED.

Failing That Diplomatic Relations Must Be Terminated, Says S. African Indian Congress.

LONDON, Oct. 6.

Johannesburg.—The South African Indian Congress at a Conference specially convened the Transvaal Land Tenure Bill restricting Asiatic Trade and residence in certain defined areas, has unanimously adopted a resolution requesting Indian Government, in the event of Union Government's failure to withdraw the Bill, to press for a Round Table Conference.

The resolution advocates termination of diplomatic relations and the withdrawal of Indian Government's Agency ffrom South Africa, if the Union Government declines to accede to this request. —Reuter.

:o:

SOCIAL CENTRE FOR R. T. C. WALLAS!

:o:

LONDON, Oct. 6.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn has secured No. 8, Chesterfield Gardens, as a social centre to Round Table Conference.

It is understood that Sir B. N. Mitra, financial expert, has been invited to the Round Table Conference.—Reuter.

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HINDUS ASHAMED of THEIR RELIGION!

BY A POLITICAL THINKER

We have two classes of educated, vocal Hindus in India -the purely political and the politico-religious.

Both fight each other at least as vigorously as if they were separate communities and not Hindus!

The following is the soliloquy of a politico religious Hindu:

The greatest political tragedy is the narrow political outlook of some Hindus. They think that by closing their eyes the objects that they do not like to see cease to exist! There is communalism in the country. Communalism is being deliberately installed as the law of the land. And yet they have no faith in protesting against it. I cannot understand a more curious mentality.

It is defeatism in politics. Here is a majority community that is being man-handled as if it were a stranded whale on the beach, on which every little worm and musquito can dance with joy. Why should not the great community be united as one man, to protest that in Hindusthan the Hindus shall not cease to have a place. That is the only reply to this Communal Award of the British.

How is it that Mahatma Gandhi, who is Hindu enough to fast to die to uplift the Harijans into the highest seat of Hinduism—a place next to the idols of Gods that Hindus worship—should not be Hindu enough to feel for the terrible injustice of this Award that makes Jinnahs and Shaukat Alis dance in joy? They are prepared to swallow the White Paper because of the Communal Award! They see clearly that India will be a Muslim India.

And have not these Hindu leaders any pride, any sense of responsibility of being Hindu? Will they stand by and see the entire Hindus reduced to the position of political Harijans—for, very soon, with the Muslims in power and with the legislatures in their hands to erase all agricultural debts, the position of Hindus as the wealthy community in India will end, and just be another dream of the glorious past of Hindusthan. Even now the more brilliant Hindu in public service has to serve the half educated Muslim, installed above him by the God of communalism. We are a conquered race and so we have to submit. But the Indian Muslims are a conquered race too. Why do they not submit.

Because they have leaders who love them, who are real Muslims. And Hindus have no leaders who love them, who are proud of them. The educated Mussalman is a true Muslim. The educated Hindu is an outcaste. He has no religion except his piteous career in earning money and spending it for his own happiness and the happiness of his family.

It is a pity, but it is a fact, that such irreligious Hindus alone make noise in the political field. These educated Hindus are ashamed of being associated with religion. In fact the fashion is to be ashamed of being an orthodox Hindu. Would you believe it—it is the greatest abuse to a Hindu to call him an orthodox Hindu! That is the limit to which a godless education has brought us!

Fancy a Christian being ashamed of being called a true Christian, simply because he attends his church, reads his Bible and conforms to the tenets of Christianity? But the average educated Hindu is ashamed of being a Hindu today! And this we owe to the mentality of our political leaders! They are proud to be Indians—while the Muslims are never tired of saying and acting that they are Muslims first and Muslims second and Muslims to the last.

The only way to keep Hinduism alive in Hindusthan is for the Hindus to realise this Communal Award and the Muslim enthusiasm.

Let us organise missions and go to Germany and France and America and Russia and there tell them how a great historic community is being suffocated out of life and a future by this Communal Award and all that it stands for, by Great Britain, a proud Member of the League of Nations!

In their anxiety to possess India and to keep it they do not scruple to enslave a great people.

That is the meaning of the Communal Award. And yet the Congress which wants independence, is afraid to face the issue, pretends that Muslims can ever see eye to eye with them—as if Muslims will spurn the British offer of power and prestige, and prosperity, simply for the sake of Gandhi and Indian unity!

II

The following is the soliloquy of a purely political Hindu:

Alas, that there should be no real political vision among the thinking Hindus! The Hindu Mahasabha leaders are playing exactly the game the bureaucracy wants them to play. If only the Hindus ceased to think in this Maha Sabha vein there would be no point at all in the communal policy that has been inaugurated by the British to continue their ideals of administration in this country.

Why should not the Muslims be given all that they want? Will that, in any way, make them less subject to an alien government than the Hindus? It is not because that the government love the Muslims the more, but because they love the Hindus less or that the British love themselves the most that the Communal Award has been what it is. They are trying to govern us and to hold India. And you have no political vision when you play into their hands.

I do want the Hindus of course to feel the injustice of the Communal Award. I want them to understand clearly the game that is going on: in spite of their loyalty Hindus are suspected. And the British minority and the Muslim minority are combining against them.

But the Muslim minority can never join the British in the real sense; for the Muslims of India must, after all, think like the Muslims of Turkey

(Continued on page 19)

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Hindus, Love Muslims

(Continued from Page 2)

when the rights of citizenship are concerned. This British coquetting with Muslims through the Communal Award will hasten this awakening. And afterwards all will be well—the Muslims will show all the united thought and virility that they now show in opposing Hindus, in opposing the British.

As it is, the Hindus are only betraying the hopeless plight they are in by this agitation. What can they do? Who are the Hindus? What is there in that religion to bind any people? The moment you are a real Hindu, the world must cease to attract you, you do not care whether Ram or Ravan rules, you only think of God. And if you are not a Hindu, well, you are simply a seeker of jobs and the amenities of life and nothing more. Religion, as a force to combine and to enthuse, is not for the real Hindus —let us remember that.

Bhai Parmanand and Dr. Moonji might enthuse some young men to start physical development societies —if the British should not issue any prohibitory ordinance—and thus effect Hindu Muslim riots next time the *tazias* are taken out and a *peepal* tree stands in the way. As it is, the Hindus instinctive feel that the European Collector of the district will necessarily side with Muslims. They have to be humble. They can only hope that God will not be angry with them if they permit the tree to be cut off. But their expostulations to the Muslims in a brotherly spirit have never failed.

The greatness of Hindus, as a mass community, is lost in the haze of antiquity. Let us be thankful to the British that they have only inflicted the Communal Award on us —and not introduced the Jazia tax on us!

The only question is whether the Hindus are politically awakened enough to desire and to deserve *swaraj*. If they are, then they must allow the British to hug the Muslims to their hearts and watch the love scenes without jealousy. Sir Bamfylde Fuller called the Muslims the favourite wife: so long as the husband lives and rules, the favourite wife must have her way. The dethroned wife only adds to her sorrows by public manifestations of her lascerated heart.

Leave them alone. The favourite wife will soon find that she also wants what the senior wife wants— the right to arrange her own house.

Leave Muslims alone: they will soon find that love of India is as great a cementing force as the love of Allah. And they will take rank among the nationalist Hindus as Indians.

Love them and love must be returned with love.

DISLOYAL TEACHERS IN CALCUTTA

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA, DEC. 18

The Bengal Government have decided to introduce legislation to prevent the employment in schools under the Calcutta Corporation of teachers convicted of subversive activities.

The decision marks a new turn in the conflict between the Government and the Corporation, on which the Swarajists have a majority. In regard to the general administration of the city, the Government have decided to await the views of the new Corporation, which will be elected in March. The third matter in dispute—that the Corporation exceeded its powers in carrying out a large scheme of electricity supply—will be referred to experts.

SEPARATION OF BURMA

MOTION IN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

RANGOON, DEC. 17

In the Legislative Council to-day U Ba Pe proposed a motion in favour of the separation of Burma from India with a Constitution not inferior to that to be finally granted to India; that the powers reserved to the Governor should not impede Burma's progress towards full responsible government; that the Constitution should indicate the time when reserved subjects should be transferred to popular control; and that a fully representative conference should be called to determine the future Constitution of Burma on the aforesaid basis.

U Ba Pe said that India had ever bled Burma, and that if Burma were federated with India the Burmans would become Indian slaves. All Burmans were separationists at heart. He urged that Burman members of the Council should support his motion. Indian members should not vote, as the question of separation or federation was one for Burmans only.

Dr. Ba Yin asserted that the right of secession was not a difficult problem and could be arranged easily.

The Council adjourned to enable a Burmese translation to be made of the statement read yesterday on behalf of the Home Government.

THE VICEROY'S VISIT TO BOMBAY

dec 19

MEETINGS WITH INDIAN LEADERS

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, DEC. 18

After a State visit to the races, the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon left Bombay on Saturday night for the Central Provinces, where they will stay two days before resuming their journey to Calcutta.

During his four days' stay in Bombay the Viceroy devoted himself to establishing contact both at Government House and outside it with leaders of all communities. The complaint is frequently heard of the estrangement between Bombay and Delhi and Simla which has taken place in the last decade. Bombay Presidency, which used to be in the van of constitutional progress, giving a sound economic and political lead to the rest of India, has lately achieved a less desirable eminence in other fields of activity. It is hoped that by his efforts to re-establish contact with leading citizens the Viceroy has paved the way for a better understanding. In this work the Viceroy was ably seconded by Lady Willingdon.

HARBOURING TERRORISTS IN BENGAL

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA, DEC. 18

Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, has rejected the appeal of a Chittagong deputation for remission of the collective fine levied on the district because of the refusal of the inhabitants to cooperate with the authorities in tracing terrorists.

The Governor said that the Government were convinced that the absconders of the Armoury raid in 1930 and other outrages were harboured locally, were enabled to escape arrest and were assisted by a local intelligence system to thwart the police. On the other hand, those well disposed towards authority were inactive and unhelpful. Since the imposition of the fine no serious attempt had been made to cooperate with the authorities, in spite of an extension of the time for collecting the fine. Although remission was impossible, local officers would show consideration in cases of inability to pay. The Government would rather have cooperation than the money, but cooperation was not forthcoming.

DELEGATES ARRIVE

INDIA'S DETERMINATION TO OBTAIN DOMINION STATUS

A number of delegates to the Indian Round-Table Conference, headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, arrived in London on Saturday. Amongst the arrivals were Dr. Moonje, Mr. Mohammed Ali, and Mr. Jayakar.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a statement to Reuter, said: "We have come with the intention of discussing with the Government in the friendliest way possible the constitutional position which we are anxious to achieve in India. That position, so far as we are concerned, is no other than that occupied by any other self-governing Dominion within the Commonwealth.

"On one thing Indian opinion is absolutely united, whatever other differences may exist among ourselves, and that is, that the time has long since passed when India can be assumed able to march to Dominion status through successive stages. We must have a constitution which settles our fate for the future, subject to such safeguards or reservations and adjustments for the period of transition, which we do not envisage to be a very long one, as the conditions of India require.

"Speaking for myself only, I think the form of Dominion status that would suit us best is the Canadian type, with a strong Central Government."—Reuter.

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PREMIER AND INDIA TALKS.

An emphatic denial was given yesterday to the statement in a newspaper (not *The Daily Mail*) that if the National Government returned to power it would put an end to the India Round Table Conference.

Sir Samuel Hoare, speaking at a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the Conference, at St. James's Palace, said:

"On behalf of his Majesty's Government, I wish to say that there is not a word of truth in that statement. Nothing is further from our mind."

It was officially stated that the Prime Minister had described the statement as "a disgusting attempt to break up the Conference," and said it was perfectly untrue and nothing but an invention.

NEW YORK TIMES,

OCTOBER 30, 1930.

WILL DURANT ASSAILS BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

Laying Revolt to Woodrow Wilson, He Calls 'Plunder' of People a Crime in New Book.

Woodrow Wilson started the revolution in India, Dr. Will Durant, who returned from there recently, asserts in a volume called "The Case for India," published today by Simon & Schuster, in which he defends the cause of home rule.

When President Wilson "scattered over every land his ringing phrases about democracy, self-government and the rights of small nations," Dr. Durant asserts, "there were ears waiting for these words as the signal for revolt" in all the subject countries of the world.

Dr. Durant declares there is nothing he would rather do than be of help to India. "I came to India," he says, "admiring the British, marveling at their imperial capacity for establishing order and peace, and thankful for the security which their policing of the world's waters has given to every traveler. I left India feeling that its awful poverty is an unanswerable indictment of its alien government, that so far from being an excuse for British rule, it is overwhelming evidence that the British ownership of India has been a calamity and a crime.

"For this is quite unlike Mohammedan domination: Those invaders came to stay, and their descendants call India their home; what they took in taxes and tribute they spent in India, developing its industries and resources, adorning its literature and art. If the British had done likewise, India would today be a flourishing nation. But the present plunder has now gone on beyond bearing; year by year it is destroying one of the greatest and gentlest peoples of history.

"England is not 'preparing India for self-government,' she is bleeding it to death. * * * Any man who sees this crime and does not speak out is a coward. Any Englishman or any American, seeing it and not revolted by it, does not deserve his country or his name."

"WE CANNOT BE COWED."

Hindu Leader's Fighting Speech To Conference.

"MONOPOLIES."

Not Asking For Freedom As Beggars

"The time has passed, and that time will never come again, when any show of physical force is going to cow the Indian people."

So said Dr. B. S. Moonje, a prominent Hindu leader, replying at the India Round Table Conference at St. James's Palace to-day to Lord Peel's address yesterday.

Dr. Moonje said he was going to express the most frank, sincere and honest views of a man who "has proved his loyalty to the British Empire, even running the risk of losing his life in doing so." It was such a man who might appear to be a rebel at present.

"MONOPOLY."

Regarding Lord Peel's contention that there was "no monopoly in India, legal, constitutional or of any other kind except that monopoly which is obtained by skill, energy, and commercial success," Dr. Moonje said that up to ten years ago Indians were denied commissions in the Army. He asked if the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Medical Service were not monopolies, and if they were based entirely on efficiency?

Regarding the movement in favour of Dominion status, he said: "British people think, and perhaps British officers in India think, that they can put down the movement, that they can demoralise the people. They think that by a display of force they will cause all this trouble to disappear. The time has passed—I am speaking frankly and sincerely—and that time will never come again, when any show of physical force is going to cow the Indian people."

PARTING OF THE WAYS.

It was the parting of the ways for the British people and themselves.

"I have not come here as a beggar," Dr. Moonje continued. "It will be a good thing if you, of your own accord, would say, 'We offer you Dominion Status.' If fear or suspicion may not lead you to make that friendly gesture, then I say we will not be satisfied with anything less than full responsible Government.

"I shall never tolerate the saying that Indian people cannot defend their own country, and therefore the British people must undertake the responsibility of defending India."

FRIENDLY MAHARAJA.

More friendly in tone was the speech of the Maharaja of Patiala.

"I make no secret of my own belief that the connection between my own country and the British Commonwealth has been designed by Providence for the benefit of humanity at large," he said.

"If, as I hope and pray, India remains within the British Empire as a partner, equal in dignity with her sister commonwealth, there will result such a free and voluntary co-operation between East and West as the world has never known.

"The Indian States can contribute the capacity for self-defence. It is in the Indian States that there still flourish most prominently such organised military life and tradition as still exist in India."

WHAT FEDERATION MEANS.

The Maharaja declared his belief that the way for India lay along the road of federation.

"By federation," he explained, we mean an arrangement under which, while British India manages affairs that exclusively concern it, and while the Indian States manage affairs that exclusively concern them, and while the Crown discharges such functions in India as are reserved to it, the Crown, British India and the Indian States join in a system which provides for the joint management and control of matters that jointly concern the two sides of India."

SIMON REPORT

"Contradicts Dominion Status At Every Point"

(By Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, M.A., Ph. D. P.R.S. Lucknow University.)

The Simon Report is open to a preliminary objection which has not occurred to most of its critics nor to its authors. That objection renders the Report not merely out of date but also out of order. Sir John Simon has ignored the legal position affecting his task. He was not to report in the air and spin an Indian constitution out of his inner consciousness. He was to report within certain limits and with reference to the goal which Parliament has prescribed for Indian policy. No doubt the original terms of reference for his Commission were vague and indefinite. They gave the Commission liberty to report as they liked without any reference to a fixed goal to which British policy in India must always conform; to restrict or to extend the Montagu Reforms, to retard or to advance India's march to Freedom. It was this sweeping scope of the Commission, no less than its exclusively white personnel, which led some of the most important political groups of India to boycott the Commission as an insult to her self-respect. A better sense of fairness, however, dawned on Parliament when the cloud of Conservative regime of Birkenhead and Reaction rolled over. Lord Irwin, universally acknowledged as a sincere supporter of Indian aspirations, took advantage of this situation to move the Labour Government to declare that the goal of British policy in India was irretrievably fixed as Dominion constitution and was no longer to be left undefined as a vague abstraction or a meaningless generality like "Responsible Government" which could be explained away or whittled down by subtle logic. The destiny of India under British Rule was no longer left to chance or to the caprice of changing governments in England or as the sport of random commissions which may come to deal with it in any way they liked. This declaration at once clipped the soaring wings of the Simon Commission and took the wind out of their sails. It no longer permitted them to restrict reforms or to retard progress, as they could under their original terms of reference. They were now bidden to steer towards a definite destination. Therefore, they, and their friends, hotly resented and resisted the declaration in Parliament. Its legal bearings and implications were well understood by that subtle lawyer, Lord Reading, who, in the Lords debate, expressed his greatest objection to the use of the expression 'Dominion Status' to define the goal of Indian policy, because such definition would restrict the freedom with which the Simon Commission were originally invested to recommend any constitution that they liked. For the declaration left the way open in only one direction, towards progress, and not towards any retrogression. It is an open secret that the Conservative section of the Commission stood stoutly for retrogression, for the scrapping of the Montagu constitution with its inherent tendency towards Responsible Government and for reform to the older and tried system of Government for the people, by the people, for which alone India in their opinion is fit both by history and aptitude, taste and tradition.

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But the declaration had its way and delivered to India the last word on the subject from the British point of view. The question now is, has the Simon Commission reported according to that mandate? The mandate was that henceforth no reform should be proposed to India which could not lead directly to Dominion Status or was in any way inconsistent or incompatible with it. No doubt there was wide cleavage between the British declaration and the Indian demand, which is that the forthcoming reform should confer on India full Dominions Status subject to some inevitable reservations not contradictory to that status for the period of transition. Instead of reconciling the British and the Indian points of view in an adequate and comprehensive scheme, the Simon Commission have widened the cleavage and created a gulf that can be bridged only by scrapping their entire scheme, for they have given the warning that their whole scheme must be considered as an organic unity with its parts indissolubly bound to one another. A great opportunity for statesmanship offered itself to Sir John Simon and never was a greater betrayal! Truly did Lloyd George sound a note of warning when great things were expected of Sir John Simon at the post to which he was being called. Lloyd George feared that Sir John Simon with his turn for legal subtleties lacked the vision and originality necessary for great things: he was fit only for a coasting excursion and incapable of a bold voyage of exploration and adventure in uncharted seas and unmeasured depths. The result is that the task has been much greater than the man and the subtle lawyer has missed his very moorings and bearings and produced a report that is clearly against the mandate of his masters and may be pronounced as something bordering on the illegal.

It was the business of the Simon Commission to bow to the Declaration of Parliament in favour of Dominion Status as the only objective at which reform must aim. But they have defied that declaration by framing a scheme which both in its general principles and in its details contradicts Dominion Status at every point. They have had no authority to frame such a scheme. When the appointed journey is towards Delhi, they are putting us in a train which will take us to Madras! The Viceroy's declaration, while not committing itself to the immediate grant of Dominion Status, nevertheless gave at least the assurance that all further reforms must lead up to it. The reforms proposed by the Simon Commissioners do nothing of the kind and are unhampered by the restrictions announced by His Majesty's Government. In the Commons Debate on the subject, did not Sir John Simon seek to claim for his Commission an authority superior even to that of Parliament? Therefore he felt himself at liberty to propose reforms for India without any reference to the goal to which they should lead in accordance with Parliament's decision. He felt himself at liberty to lay down the goal of Indian policy according to his own findings.

The first volume of the Commission's Report is a well-written thesis on Indian conditions which reflects credit on the literary ability and psychological insight of a disinterested band of students deputed to confront and study them for the first time in their lives. As a study of an entirely new subject, it is a good piece of work for those who attempted it, but the picture of India it draws is not to be regarded as a true and faithful political picture by Indians themselves whom it directly touches, though it may so appear to the rest of the world whom it may interest and amuse. The divisions of India, both physical and social, the diversity of race and religion, are duly emphasised to present India as a loose and heterogeneous collection of many countries and peoples shut up by chasm within the same geographical boundaries of a continent which is not capable of growth into a common nationhood, the prerequisite of a democracy or a Dominion Constitution. And, therefore, the second part of the Report which follows, as night the day, its first part, and its facts and findings, fights shy of the Dominion Constitution with such vengeance that a single reference even to the expression is not permitted to pollute the thousand and one pages of sacred matter making up the two parts of this epoch-making Report.

It is hardly worth while to cite details to show that the recommendations of the Commission amount to a denial to India not merely of Dominion Status but even the semblance or shadow of self-Government. The general structure and plan of their proposals and the detailed provisions which follow as a matter of course show that the Commission are out to condemn India eternally to a type of constitution that is without precedent in history and is only a credit to the originality and resourcefulness of the brains that devised it. Over and above this, they want to pass off their reactionary recommendation as genuine doses of democracy and instalments of real Self-Government! They take credit to themselves for abolishing Dyarchy, although they establish Dyarchy on a much wider and more mischievous scale in a hybrid constitution made up of a number of so-called autonomous provinces under the control of an irresponsible Central Government, an unqualified despotism! And what is the character of the so-called autonomy granted to the Provinces? The autonomy amounts to this, viz. that (1) the Ministers are not to be elected by the Legislature (2) they need not even be elected members of the Legislature (3) they need not even be non-officials and (4) the Governor's power over the Cabinet or Ministry thus recruited is further increased in the direction of dictatorship. This kind of responsible Government in the provinces is to function under the supervision of a Central Government left absolutely untouched in its irresponsibility except to increase its irresponsibility further. And, lastly, in this new dispensation, the Central Legislature the Federal Assembly, will not have the power even to discuss the Army Budget, much less to record its hitherto impotent votes on it. It only reminds us of the story of the monkey who tried to settle a quarrel about the division of a loaf by eating it away in the process. Sir John Simon's process of settling the Indian quarrel about self-Government is for England to eat away half of Indian revenue just for purposes of the Army without any reference to India, and then throw open the other half as a bone of contention for appropriation by India in accordance with her wishes which are not even given a free and full expression in the scheme of hesitating and halting reforms proposed to restrict her self-determination.

The only way to Peace between England and India is to begin afresh with a clean slate and arrange its terms in a Round Table Conference of representative leaders of both countries. So far as India is concerned, the terms have been already delivered by Gandhiji. These include the grant of (1) a Constitution which will give the "substance of independence" to India, (2) amnesty to political prisoners. These terms are so reasonable that they commended themselves even to the Indian contributor of "Political Notes" of the "Statesman". Surely there can be no peace if England still thinks she can dupe India by giving her not the substance of independence but only its semblance or shadow, as has been so artfully and elaborately presented in the Simon Constitution.

But apart from the terms of peace, the procedure for arriving at it by removing the present deadlock is of more immediate importance. It must, however, be noted that the Indian situation is not without precedent in history. A similar, nay, a much worse situation arose in Canada which supplies parallels in many ways for India. The previous policy of halting, hesitating and half-hearted reforms brought on an armed rebellion until a remedy was proposed in the Durham Report. In the meanwhile the French and the English laid aside their chronic and fierce antagonism to unite on a demand for a democratic constitution. The different provinces of Canada combined to call a convention where their delegates arrived at an agreed constitution. Then representatives were appointed to proceed to London with the draft of that constitution. That draft was at once accepted as the basis of a bill which was prepared by the joint labours of the Secretary of State and the Law Officers of the Crown along with the Canadian representatives, and was ultimately passed by Parliament. Cannot the proposed Round Table Conference be still given a complexion for which Canada supplies a precedent and a parallel, so that it may meet to produce a Dominion Constitution on the lines of the agreed proposals of the Indians themselves?

Atlantic City, Aug. 12.

Sympathy for India

(A Letter In Rebuttal)

Editor Press:

Sir—I have read in The Press today the rejoiner of Winifred Jackson. In the second paragraph the writer censures me with lack of knowledge and understanding regarding the constitution of the League of Nations, and also of President Wilson's aims and ideas regarding SELF-DETERMINATION of races and peoples. With all due respect to the critic for the implication of deficiency in historical knowledge concerning the League of Nations, and accuracy in the interpretation of the Versailles treaty, in a spirit of amicable tolertion and without any attempt at retaliation, especially from the viewpoint that the name WINIFRED indicates that the rejoiner is a lady, a sex for whom I entertain chivalrous respect and generous liberality and also profound sympathy, like the ridiculous Don Quixote, permit me to call Miss Winifred's attention to the established, historical and important points in the following facts:

1. The League of Nations and Versailles treaty are twins, like Jacob and Esau, who came into existence practically simultaneously. Their very recent entrance renders them yet to be regarded as juvenile and amateur, too yourthful to receive homage or ovation for accomplishments from old experienced philosophers and mature educated statesmen. The League of Nations possesses nothing common, or anything to do with the Golden

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Rule, which was promulgated by Jesus Christ Himself. In the whole Versailles treaty the word God is not mentioned once, and the God-Christ was the greatest of all moral or physical exponents whether ancient or modern. On His tenet and principle of right and justice, I am constrained to repeat that "the salt monopoly imposed on the Indians, in their own country, is a travesty of JUSTICE, regardless of whosoever imposed it. If Englishmen were prevented from catching fishes in the English channel and all adjacent waters, but were forced and coerced to purchase fishes only through or from foreigners who had enacted the unjust mandate covering the fish regulation, how long would the Englishman tolerate such oppressive conditions, especially when imposed by foreigners? There would be hades in physical resistance, and the booming cannons would soon resound their belching disapproval. This principle is the Golden Rule turned up-side-down in contra-distinction of Englishmen and Indians, Matthew VII, 12.

2. Irrespective of ten thousand Versailles treaties or League of Nations, as long as there is violation of the fundamental principles of Jesus elucidated in the Golden Rule, as the dominant guide in human affairs, local, national or international, there will be war. The more people are educated and enlightened, the more intolerant they become to oppression and sensitive to injustice. Justice in approbation with Divine edict is the only JUSTICE upon which democracy can safely be established and be perpetuated, in these enlightened years.

3. Miss Winifred has referred to a potent and significant fact when she related that England has been the greatest force in carrying the torchlight of modern civilization into dense darkness to the remotest parts of earth through missionaries, schools, colleges and railroads, irrigations of arid lands, and I agree with her that great old England has been the irrefutable pioneer in disseminating legal, moral, religious and intellectual light toward modern world progress and civilization; but that splendid achievement in her past history does not exempt her NOW from being indicted. America had to fight in the Revolutionary war against established authority then to liberate herself. Today look where the United States stands in spite of the dire predictions that she would collapse! Ireland had fought for centuries. Egypt is in a turmoil for absolute independence. We realize that altruistic sympathy should be extended toward the oppressed first, then to the oppressor. After a child is born, we should not expect it to remain a child forever, but as years pass, and development continues, that child will grow in manhood status and when 21 years old, he or she will expect different treatment from parental source than when in minor years. So it is with India, America, Ireland, Egypt. Intelligence will actuate races and peoples to desire manhood status and recognition. Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, what is your decision of this case?

DAVID NEWTON E. CAMPBELL,
B. S., M. D.

Atlantic City, Aug. 12.

Aug 18 1930

The Indian Cause

Relative to the principles enunciated by the late distinguished President Woodrow Wilson, as one of the antecedents for the cessation of hostilities during the World War, the lamented statesman pointed out distinctly that groups and races should not remain forever under foreign domination, but that all peoples, especially in mandated territories, should be allowed SELF-DETERMINATION or the right to govern themselves, whenever their civic status demands self-government. That is one of the principles expressed and understood among those nations who were fighting to prevent themselves from being subjugated by autocratic Germany. America is a liberty-loving-country, and America did not hesitate to unsheath her sword when Europeans appealed to her for help, and she did not relinquish her military operations for the principles of liberty and continued freedom for Englishmen and Frenchmen whose liberties were gravely threatened. Principia non homines, or principles not men, should be the dominant idea and keynote to be promulgated and upheld NOW by Englishmen toward India. Have they forgotten the intrinsic principles of the Golden Rule?

If the Phillippinoes, who came under American jurisdiction only 32 years ago, since 1898, after the Spanish American War, are clamoring for their Independence, and are likely to obtain their objective, because of that inherent characteristic Americanism which dominates the bosom of all lovers of Freedom, why should not India seek her Independence also? Has not India been under the British rule since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, several hundred years ago, practically from the time when the East Indian Company was organized and incorporated? If the Philippinoes are striving to secure their Independence, which American liberality will soon permit, through Congressional Enactments, then the Indians are justified in seekin gtheir Independence also. The Salt Monopoly is a travesty of justice regardless of whosoever imposed it. Rev. Dr. Wiliam Stidger of Boston Arch Street Memorial Methodist church said recently, "Passive resistance, which was the mainstay of Jesus Christ, as it is in Gandhi's case, conquers where more militant efforts would be doomed to failure. Gandhi is a great lawyer, and if he had desired, he could have been tremendously wealthy and powerful, but his deliberate choice is to take the thorny path toward the freedom of his countrymen. He has won the acclaim of the world." World's Peace which all nations are anxious to have consummated means freedom from injustice and foreign oppression. The Indians are as intelligent as the Philippinoes, and they are entitled to their manhood status regardless of what the Simon Commission thinks or says. Will all Ministerial Associations who are for fairplay and justice pray for and help India? If not. why not? Who is thy neighbor whom we are commanded to love as ourselves? Thy neighbor is whosoever you have power to help and opportunity to uplift. Therefore, Americans should help India.

David N. E. Campbell, B. S. M. D.
July 28, 1930.

ting from

NORTHERN WHIG

Belfast

Date 9.8.10 19

More Haste Less Speed.

Mr. Gandhi is disappointed with the Round Table Conference: he says it has been "simply marking time." Nevertheless, he clings to the belief that the Conference will "result in good," but only by "bringing the pressure of outside informed and intelligent opinion to bear on the proceedings." If this means anything, it means that Mr. Gandhi wants the hands of the delegates to be forced by a propaganda campaign. No worse method of speeding-up could be devised. In the calm atmosphere of a private conference the delegates have discussed problems of extraordinary intricacy for several weeks. Mr. Gandhi is not alone in his feeling of impatience at the leisureliness of the proceedings, but the difficulties of the delegates would be immeasurably increased by a bombardment of resolutions from gatherings swayed by partisan spellbinders. That the Round Table Conference will prove abortive is only too probable; the adoption of Mr. Gandhi's proposal would make its failure certain.

ting from

THE STAR

Bouverie Street, E.

Date 2.9.10 19

A Queen's Hall Surprise.

THE GENTLE Mr. Byarelel, another of Mr. Gandhi's secretaries, has been sampling Western music by way of relaxation. It was he and two friends who unwittingly sent a shudder through the B.B.C Symphony Orchestra, their audience and those listening to Queen's Hall the other evening.

Dr. Richard Strauss had his baton poised for the second movement of a Mozart symphony. There was perfect silence, and then the centre door high up behind the orchestra seats clapped loudly. The door opened, and there appeared the slight figure of Mr. Byarelel, in white cap and trousers and a brown homespun coat, with his friends.

It is probable, however, that he was even more surprised to face suddenly a rapt concert audience than they were to see him.

A Mysterious Telegram.

MR. GANDHI'S secretaries are anxious to know, by the way, the source of a curious report, published in London, that a long telegram was sent by the Indian leader to the League of Nations Communications and Transport Commission, whose delegates refused to hear it with shouts of "No."

I am informed that Mr. Gandhi has not sent any such telegram to Geneva. Nor do his secretaries know anything about it. It is a strange thing to happen in these days of many and rapid methods of communication.

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DAILY NEWS-CHRONICLE
Fleet Street
22.10.19

FRIEND OF GANDHI PROTESTS

INDIAN WOMAN'S EXPERIENCE AT SOUTHAMPTON

Coming to England to invite Mr. Gandhi to visit America was not a comfortable experience, according to Mrs. Mariam Ghose, wife of Mr. Sailendranath Ghose, President of the "Indian National Congress of America."

Yesterday Mr. Ghose, who is in New York, was stated by Reuter to have sent the following telegram to President Hoover and Mr. Stimson, the U.S. Secretary of State:

"Call on you to protect the lives of American citizens and to take action against such inhuman indignities on two little American children by British authorities."

He declared that his little girls had been kept without food and his wife subjected to "third degree" methods.

The events at Southampton, where she disembarked with her two daughters, aged seven and four, from the liner Europa on Tuesday, were described by Mrs. Ghose to the "News-Chronicle" last night.

FIVE HOURS' ORDEAL

"We have come to England carrying hundreds of invitations to Mr. Gandhi to visit the thousands of admirers he has in the United States," she said. "I was made very unhappy and uncomfortable when the immigration officers at Southampton questioned me. For nearly five hours I was detained with my two baby girls, while they probed into my most intimate and personal affairs, and put me under a most rigorous cross-examination.

"The liner docked shortly after 11 a.m., and it was not until after 4 o'clock that I was able to catch the train for London. The children had had nothing to eat since 7.30 that morning, and all the time this questioning was going on I was not able to obtain any food or comfort for them. They were crying with the cold and hunger, but all my appeals to the officials were in vain.

"I was taken backwards and forwards between the immigration office, the Customs, where my baggage had been detained, and the North German Line office. Still the questioning went on, and I knew that it was solely on account of my political interests, but when I satisfied them on that question they still held me on the technical objection of insufficient cash."

"I was so unhappy and upset that I wish I had never come to England. I would not go as far as to say that I was subjected to 'third degree,' but it was the most awful experience I have ever had. I hardly expected this treatment from Englishmen."

OFFICIAL EXPLANATION

The "News-Chronicle" representative at Southampwton was informed last night that, as Mrs. Ghose, through a miscalculation, was practically without funds when she arrived, the immigration authorities decided not to allow her to proceed until they had got in touch with her friends.

It was stated that she was taken to an hotel and given lunch. When satisfied, as a result of inquiries, that her financial position was sound, the authorities allowed her to proceed to London.

Cutting from ... Dated 23/10/19
Address ...

ROUND TABLE'S PROGRESS.

WORKABLE COMPROMISE BY COMMITTEE.

RUMOURS DENIED.

"RANJI" RESIGNS FOR HEALTH REASONS.

LORD SANKEY observed at a meeting of delegates to the Indian Round Table Conference yesterday, that he did not think people outside that room realised the very great progress that had been made.

Presiding at the resumed sitting of the Federal Structure Committee, he said that, thanks to the good sense of the parties concerned, they had arrived at a workable compromise and had made a long step towards future work.

Official denial was given to a number of rumours concerning the conference, one such unfounded rumour being that the National Government will end the conference.

It was also denied that Sir Samuel Hoare had told the delegates that there could be no question of either reducing the size of the British Army in India or speeding up the Indianisation of the Indian Army.

Lord Peel suggested at the Federal Structure Committee'e meeting that the principles set out in the report of the sub-committee on finance should be accepted as a general basis on which that part of the constitution would be drafted.

Mr. Gandhi said that he had had very serious misgiving about the proposed expert committee recommended in the report of the sub-committee, but the scope of it had been considerably altered and therefore less open to objection. He would not press his objections. What would please him and Congress most would be for the Indian Federal Government, when formed, to investigate and decide the problem of Indian finance.

DEBT QUESTION.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that the question raised by Mr. Gandhi as to whether the Federal Government would be responsible for the Imperial Debt was a big and controversial one and would be debated later.

When the Conference adjourned until to-day, it was announced that the Jam Sahib of Nawanaghar (Ranjitsinghi), had had to resign from the Conference owing to reasons of health, and had arranged, with the permission of the Secretary of State for India, for Professor Rushbrooke Williams, at present advisor to the Indian States delegation, to take his place as a delega for the Conference. "Ranji" is leaving England.

This is the second Indian resignation from the Conference on grounds of ill-health. The Maharajah of Bikanir recently announced that he was returning to India on medical advice.

It was learned yesterday from an authoritative source that advices just received in London from Kashmir indicate that, thanks to the personal intervention of the Maharajah (Sir Hari Singh), normal conditions have been completely restored following the recent clash between Moslems and Hindus.

United Methodist
22.10.31

Mahatma Gandhi and the Alcohol and Opium Problem in India.

THROUGH the good offices of Miss Leslie and the Rev. Henry Carter the members of the Temperance Council of the Churches, and others, had the opportunity on Friday evening last, of meeting Mahatma Gandhi in one of the Conference rooms at the Central Hall, Westminster. The opportunity was eagerly accepted by as many as could be accommodated in the hall.

In his address, Mr. Gandhi pointed out that the Alcohol Problem in India was not comparable to the problem as we had it to face in this country. The forces of Religion in India were on the side of Prohibition of Alcohol to a greater extent than in this country. Islam definitely prohibited alcohol to the Faithful and the overwhelming numbers of Mohammedans abstained on religious grounds. Hinduism does not make abstinence a matter of definite religious command, but organized Hinduism is on the side of Prohibition.

Many Christians feel that abstinence from alcohol is an implication of the Faith. Islam commands it.

With regard to Opium the position is not quite the same. It is an ancient habit and vice, ingrained in some districts, hardly known in others. The forces of Religion are with those who are seeking to prohibit the manufacture and use of opium.

Among Indians the taking of alcohol is the exception and abstinence the rule for the vast majority. Indian hospitality never demands the provision of drink. It would cause consternation in any respectable Indian family if drink were offered to a guest. It is not done. The problem is nevertheless serious enough, and a Temperance Party, led by Mr. Gandhi, is seeking prohibition of both alcohol and opium. Prohibition is now one of the planks of the Congress platform, and Mr. Gandhi asserted that if the matter were left to Indians there would at once be an overwhelming pronouncement in favour of Prohibition.

The Government of India has not been sympathetic because of the loss of revenue involved.

One of the methods adopted (since 1922) to secure the abolition of alcohol and opium has been the picketing of the saloons and dens where these things are sold. It has been largely a women's movement. Thousands of women have, over wide areas, stood the day through at the doors of the drink and opium shops, pleading with the men not to enter. High caste women at great social sacrifice, hardly to be understood in a country like England, have stood in the streets pleading with "untouchables" on this question.

The Government has agreed that this is a legitimate method of campaign, and there has been little conflict with local authority. Many saloons have been closed for lack of customers, and the campaign goes on. It was a very profitable hour which we spent in hearing Mr. Gandhi speak and answer the many questions that were put to him.

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Financial News
22.10.29
Bishopsgate

INDIAN FINANCES.

LORD PEEL'S PROPOSALS.

Speaking at yesterday's meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference, Lord Peel said that there was a general acceptance of the report of the Finance Sub-Committee as a basis for drafting a Bill and of the principles laid down by the committee.

He now proposed that two committees should be set up, one to deal with the question of the States' finances and the other a "fact-finding" committee, which could get to work rapidly and provide the material on which final decisions could be taken.

Before the end of the Conference, the British Government must state its proposals and make its own recommendations as to the best method of consulting the parties concerned on the few points which might be left over to be decided after the two committees had reported.

MR. GANDHI'S MISGIVINGS.

Mr. Gandhi said that he had very serious misgivings about the proposed committees. He would not press his objections, however, for the matter could be discussed at a later stage. What would please him and Congress most, would be for the Indian Federal Government, when formed, to investigate and decide the problem of Indian finance.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that the question that Mr. Gandhi raised whether the Federal Government should, wholly or in part, be responsible for the Imperial Debt was a question that had nothing to do with the work of the two committees suggested. It was a big and controversial question and would be debated later.

The committee then adjourned until to-day.

Cutting from News Letter
Dated 21.10.29
Address Belfast

GANDHI'S REPORTED PROTEST

Mr. Macdonald's Remark—"Gentlemen, Be Honest"

Bombay, Tuesday.

That Gandhi has sent a letter to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, protesting against the exhortation, "Gentlemen, be honest," made by the British Premier in his last speech to the Round Table Conference, is alleged by the "Bombay Chronicle," a Nationalist organ.—Reuter.

DAILY EXPRESS
Shoe Lane, E.C.
22-10 29

NO fewer than ninety British musicians were given an evening's employment on the occasion of the first of this winter's Æolus concerts.

That, I think, is something on which Mrs. Cartwright and Miss Lynn can congratulate themselves.

They can also congratulate themselves on having provided several hundred people with a very entertaining banquet of British music.

THE tastiest dish on the menu was, perhaps, Constant Lambert's "Rio Grande."

The composer was there—really hearing his work, he told me, for the first time; for he has himself conducted every previous performance of it.



HE commented on the excellent acoustics of Brook House—the glittering palace which Lady Louis Mountbatten is so soon to leave.

The pillars of the lofty hall seemed, he said, to make the music sound as though it were coming from every direction at once.

DURING the concert I was lucky enough to be sitting with Lady Lavery and Mrs. Clare Sheridan, the sculptress.

Mrs. Sheridan will be going off again to distant parts of the world when she has finished her bust of Gandhi.

Gandhi's mouth is her chief problem.

It is far more beautiful, she says, in repose than when he is talking.

LADY LAVERY'S husband, the famous artist, was with her.

Poor man, he loathes music, but it seems to be his fate to be always dragged to concerts. . . .

INDIAN PRINCES LEAVING

TWO ROUND-TABLE DELEGATES

The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar ("Ranji") is leaving England for reasons of health, and, with the permission of the Secretary of State, he has appointed Professor Rushbrooke-Williams, at present advisor to the Indian States Delegation, as a delegate in his place at the Round Table Conference.

This is the second Indian resignation from the conference on grounds of ill-health. The Maharaja of Bikanir is returning to India to-day.

The Maharaja yesterday made a farewell speech to the Federal Structure Committee. His departure, he said, was upon insistent medical advice, and there were other matters which called for his return.

Thanking the Maharaja for his services, Lord Sankey said that he did not think people outside the conference realised the great progress being made in the present negotiations. A high measure of agreement had been attained.

Daily Telegraph

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

ANOTHER SOCIALIST INVENTION

"A disgusting attempt to break up the Conference," was the severe censure which the Prime Minister passed yesterday on a statement in the "Daily Herald" that "if the National Government is returned to power one of its first acts will be to put an end to the Round Table Conference."

Mr. MacDonald denounced the assertion as perfectly untrue and nothing but an invention.

He announced that private correspondence of a perfectly friendly nature had passed between him and Mr. Gandhi, and there was nothing in it to justify in any way the construction placed upon it.

Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary for India, authorised the following announcement: "There is no truth whatever in the allegation that the National Government will take steps to put an end to the India Round Table Conference. The Conference will continue, so far as the Government is concerned, so long as there is work it can usefully do."

Plans are being made for a Government dinner and reception to the delegates on Nov. 17.

In a speech at Chelsea last night, Sir Samuel Hoare said: "Until to-night I have purposely said not a word about Indian questions during the election. I had hoped that we might have kept India completely out of party politics. I cannot imagine a worse calamity for Great Britain and India than that Indian questions should become an issue of party politics and that Indian policy should go the bad old way of Irish policy in former generations.

"Nothing, therefore, could be more objectionable than the unscrupulous attempt made by the "Daily Herald" this morning to turn the Indian Round Table Conference into a party issue in this election.

"We have made it clear from the start that we intend to obtain the utmost possible benefit both for Great Britain and India from the deliberations of the Conference. If we had wished to break up the Conference, we could easily have seized the opportunity that was given us by the failure of the Indian delegates themselves to agree upon the communal question. We purposely refused to exploit Indian differences for any such purpose. We have maintained unbroken the truce of the Conference throughout the election, even though it meant an almost intolerable strain for members like myself."

CONSERVATIVE SPEAKING ARRANGEMENTS

The Conservative Central Office announces the following speaking arrangements for to-day:

Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin	Newcastle-on-Tyne Cty Hall
Viscount Brentford	Chelmsford
Viscount Hailsham	Walthamstow, East, The Baths (8 p.m.)
Sir A. Steel-Maitland	Stoke-on-Trent Town Hall
Lord Lloyd	Stone, Staffs
Mr. A. Duff Cooper	Lancaster and Burnley
Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister	Derby, Drill Hall
Viscountess Falmouth	South Hackney (3 p.m.)
Lord Stanhope	East Lewisham
Sir Thomas Inskip	Middleton and Prestwich
Viscountess Bridgeman	Northwich
Marquis of Londonderry	Roxburgh and Selkirk
Sir E. Hilton Young	Lincoln, Corporation Garage
Sir Edward Grigg	Central Bristol
Lord Balfour of Burleigh	West Leyton, Town Hall
Miss Regina Evans	Gravesend
Lady Maureen Stanley	Rusholme and Clayton
Countess of Limerick	Acton
Major Oliver Stanley	Southport
Earl Howe	North Hammersmith, Limegrove Baths (7.45 p.m.)
Sir William Ray	West Fulham & Greenwich
Sir George Courthope	Grantham
Mr. A. M. Samuel	Yeovil and Wells
Mr. Winston Churchill	Forest-gate, Skating Rink (7 p.m.)
Earl Peel	Ilford, Baths Hall (8 p.m.)
Sir Leslie Wilson	Lancaster

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Cutting from Daily Mail

Dated 24-5-19

Address Bromley

* * *

The Indian Conference

Whilst the thoughts of all are turned to[illegible]s the results of the General Ele[illegible], the Indian Conference progresses slowly. The [illegible] will hardly be mended till India can feel some degree of certainty about the composition of the government that is to be in power during the next few years, and can estimate how far and from what quarters it will be amenable to pressure. Meanwhile Sir Geoffrey Corbett's ingenious proposal to transfer the Hindu district of Ambala from the Punjab to the United Provinces seems capable of unravelling the central tangle of India's communal perplexities by reconciling the irreconcilable claims of Sikhs, Moslems and Hindus in the Punjab, and by creating a situation in which it would be to the advantage of the Moslem to fall in with the Hindu nationalists' desire for joint electorates. But turning to the depressed classes we find their spokesman, Dr. Ambedhur, still refusing to trust their future to the goodwill of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi has thus to choose between making embarrassing concessions and seeking to thrust Dr. Ambedhur unceremoniously to one side. At the same time, other difficulties in the way of a final settlement of India's future constitution are becoming more obvious. The Princes are nervous about giving the Federal Authority power to draw more money out of the States. But the Federal budget can hardly be balanced without new money, and in any case a Federal Authority rigidly restricted in its financial powers would be a poor substitute for the present all-powerful Government of India. Lastly, there is the army question. Mr. Gandhi seems inclined to insist that all troops retained in India—Indian or British—must be immediately made subject to the control of an Indian minister responsible to the Federal Legislature. Other Indian delegates recognize that this is an impossible demand, but even the most reasonable of them are bent on Indianizing the army at a pace far too rapid for safety in the eyes of our War Office.

* * * * *

India

The Round Table Conference has inevitably lost, during the election campaign, much of the attention that it deserves. The Federal Structure Committee has been labouring at finance, and has begun to discuss a Federal Court. Sir Geoffrey Corbett's memorandum, issued last week, on the readjustment of the boundaries of the Punjab, is most important, especially after the earlier, and not quite reconcilable statement issued by Sirdar Ujjal Singh on behalf of the Sikhs, who ask that the two overwhelmingly Moslems divisions should no longer be included in the Punjab. Sir Geoffrey points out the irreconcilable aims of Moslems, Hindus (who demand joint electorates) and Sikhs. He finds no solution for the Punjab as at present bounded. If he and the Sikhs could agree on a rearrangement, a great advance might be made for the Punjab. There has been no hopeful move in the Communal question. Mr. Gandhi, who now says that, as an agent only of Congress he must refer any agreement back to India, *i.e.*, to the open extremists of the Congress Party, has made some provisional concessions to the Moslems, but tried to divide them from the other, smaller, minorities. So far the Moslems have made no sign that they will be seduced by these concessions from the Congress with which they have worked and striven with them.

* * * *

SYBARITE

By W. A. DARLINGTON

THOSE mysterious anonymous wiseacres known as "they" have been at it again. "They" say—or so I am credibly informed—that in the poorest classes of the community there is a marked lack of initiative and energy among the adolescent males, and an equally marked efflorescence of those qualities among the adolescent females. In plainer English, the boys won't work and the girls will.

And that means, of course, that if ever we get a dictatorship of the proletariat in this country, it will be made one degree more horrible by being a matriarchy. The mind quails before so fearful a prospect.

Against this, it is heartening to set the comfortable words spoken by Dr. F. H. Dudden, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, in his address to Convocation. So far as he knows it, the rising male generation seems to Dr. Dudden to be wholly admirable. And he claims to know it pretty comprehensively. For present-day Oxford is no more the haunt of a privileged class, but draws its numbers from every level of society. Forty-five per cent. of the undergraduates now in residence are able to be there only because they are getting financial assistance.

◆ ◆ ◆

"The general level of capacity, of energy, and of achievement among the ordinary mass of students," says Dr. Dudden, "is probably higher than at any time within living memory."

At first sight this appears a large statement; so large that I have no doubt that sundry pessimists who can see no good in or hope for modern youth will conclude that the Vice-Chancellor is merely whistling to keep his spirits up. But a second glance reveals that the statement is not large at all, nor even surprising. It simply means that under economic pressure the value of Oxford to the community at large is being changed and increased.

Even before the war it could truly be said of Oxford and Cambridge, as Dr. Dudden says of present-day Oxford, that they were recruited "not merely from the prosperous, but also from the less well-to-do, and even from the quite poor classes." In my own time at Cambridge I knew many men who managed to live entirely on the money they had earned by scholarships. And in those colleges where plain living and hard thinking was the order of the day, a high percentage of undergraduates were in receipt of some form of financial assistance.

But I am sure that even in the most [illegible] of colleges the percentage never

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THE STAR
Bouverie Street, E.C.
Date 22-10 19 1

GANDHI CANNOT GO TO U.S.

But American Children Enjoy Motor Trip With Him.

"SORRY, MARIAM."

A Broadcast Promise That Cannot Be Fulfilled.

Mariam and Lila Ghose, the children who have come all the way from New York to invite Mr. Gandhi to visit America, almost forgot their parts when they saw the Indian leader to-day.

Mr. Gandhi was compelled to say that he could not visit America, but if the children were disappointed, they found compensation in being treated to a motor-car ride.

Mariam is seven and Lila four. Their father is leader of the Indian Nationalists in the United States.

HER OWN IDEA.

It was Mariam's own idea to come to England and personally invite her father's leader to America.

Before leaving her home she broadcast a message to children. to whom she promised that she would bring Mahatma Ghandi back with her.

Mariam and Lila, accompanied by their mother, went happily to Kingsley Hall, Bow, to-day, and were immediately invited up to the Indian apartments.

But their hearts failed them.

"HOW ARE YOU?"

Mr. Ghandi smiled at the party. "Have you are then!" he said inviting them to sit on the floor for a chat.

However modern Mariam and Lila might be at home, they both apparently felt that on this occasion the old-fashioned rule of being seen and not heard was better.

Both spoke dutifully only when they were spoken to. Both answered "Fine," when Mr. Gandhi asked them how they were, and both expressed great delight when Mr. Gandhi suggested that they might like a ride in his car with him.



Mr. Gandhi and Miss Slade with Mrs. Ghose and her little daughters, Miriam and Lilabati.

QUITE SATISFIED.

It was not until they were all warmly snuggling under the same travelling rug in the car and speeding on their way to town that Mariam remembered her mission.

She gave Mr. Gandhi the letters of invitation she had brought wit hher.

Mr. Gandhi read the letters with evident enjoyment. But, as he pointed out, it would be difficult for him to go to the United States. He was afraid he could not do so.

The children's mother received the news rather glumly, but Mariam and Lila did not seem to mind.

They appeared quite satisfied with the motor ride.

Cutting from Cumbrian Herald
Dated 22.10.30
Address Tudor St

GANDHI'S EARLY CAREER.

But for the action of a Stirling man, it is most unlikely that Mr. Gandhi would have been the force he is to-day in India. This fact emerges from a letter which a prominent Stirling man has received from an old school friend, who is an officer in the Durban Police. The letter gives a very interesting glimpse of the early career of Mr. Gandhi in South Africa.

The writer of the letter states: "It may be of some interest and surprise to you that a Stirling High School boy is the cause indirectly of all the recent troubles, bloodshed, and sedition in India caused by Mahatma Gandhi. That same boy is myself. In 1897, when Gandhi was the cause of the first riots in Durban, at which time I was a detective-sergeant in the Durban Police, I pulled the rope from Gandhi's neck, and saved him from the crowd of Europeans who were lynching him over the crossbar of a lamp-post, and later, when they had another 'go' at the house he was living in, I smuggled him out of the house disguised as an Indian constable.

"I must say that in those days he was a plucky little beggar. There can be no doubt that the infuriated crowd would have 'done him in' on either occasion. He was already dangling on the end of the rope, a few inches off the ground, when we got him, and he was known to the Durban Police for many years afterward as 'Half-hanged Gandhi.'"

NEWCASTLE CHRONICLE
Newcastle-on-Tyne.
22/10/19

MR. GANDHI'S "NO HOPE."

His Hint of Failure of Round-Table Conference.

("North Mail" Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, Wednesday.

Mr. Gandhi has told Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the most militant of Indian Congress leaders, that "there is no hope here," meaning no hope of results from the Round-Table Conference.

The matter arose in reply to a cable to Mr. Gandhi from Jawaharlal Nehru, who reported that the local branch of the Indian National Congress in Allahabad wanted Mr. Gandhi's permission to start a "no rent" campaign in the United Provinces.

Mr. Gandhi is understood to have replied that they could do what they thought best, adding the "no hope" sentence.—British United Press.

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Cutting from Methodist Leader
Dated 29.10.29
Address Farringdon St

rom Aberdeen Journal.
d 29/10/29

Mr Gandhi Sees Failure.

MR GANDHI is reported (from Allahabad) to have cabled that "there "is no hope" of the Round Table Conference settling the Indian question. If that is so, the fault is his and his followers'. It is not Britain's. In order to clear the way for self-government the Nationalist leader was invited, and indeed pressed, to come to an arrangement with the Mohammedans on the protection of minorities. He has failed to do so. He wants too much. The Mohammedans refuse to submit to his desires, which would place the Hindu foot upon their neck. The deadlock lies between Hindu and Moslem, who must live together in India on some sort of stable safeguards for the weaker. Since Mr Gandhi cannot induce those fellow-countrymen of his to accept his plans, and they are the people most concerned, obviously the plans cannot be accepted by Britain, which has the care of the interests of India as a whole.

Basic Condition.

In effect, Mr Gandhi asks Britain to force the Mohammedans to accept Hindu supremacy. More than that, by boycott and non-co-operation, he actually endeavours to intimidate the British authorities into allowing Hindu enslavement of the Moslems. The unreasonableness of these tactics is blatant. He repudiates British overlordship, but seeks to use it against the minorities, and will not allow the Mohammedans protection against his overlordship. But the Mohammedans enjoy an equal right with Mr Gandhi's supporters to have their wishes respected; they have a greater right, for they must be saved from the tyranny of a majority that resorts to intimidation and assassination to get its way. Until Hindu and Mohammedan settle terms mutually satisfactory, Britain can do nothing. Before that initial fact, Mr Gandhi's statesmanship has so far been futile and bankrupt.

ST LEADER.

Gandhi in Christian Councils.

TWO INTERESTING MEETINGS.

WITH SELLY OAK STUDENTS.

Last week-end our quiet colleges at Selly Oak were stirred by the presence among them of one of the greatest men in the world. Mahatma Gandhi came to Woodbrooke on Saturday night and stayed till Monday morning. During that time Woodbrooke was like a city besieged. There were policemen or detectives at every entrance, even at the little gate leading to the playing fields, and no one could get in—not even students or staff!—without a pass. For one like Mr. Gandhi, who believes in simplicity and the law of love, these manifestations of force and authority must have seemed incongruous. He had come for a quiet week-end, but even when in the early morning at 6 he took his exercise there were people out to see him. With him was a small retinue of secretaries and others, one of whom was Miss Slade, the Englishwoman who has become a follower of the Mahatma. She saw to his meals, for he kept to his usual diet of vegetables and goat's milk.

On Sunday afternoon he spoke in Woodbrooke common-room. About 300 people had been invited, and the place was so full that the students sat on the floor. At one end of the room was a little raised platform, on which were a sofa and some cushions. Punctually at 2.30 (he makes a virtue of punctuality, unlike most Indians) Gandhi came in, clad in a loin-cloth and a length of white home-spun cloth which covered him all over as he squatted on the sofa. His portraits usually show him as rather an ugly old man, but they do him injustice. He has several teeth out at the front, and has rather large ears, but he has a very pleasant expression, and was very attractive when he became animated. He is not bald, but has a head of closely-cropped grey hair, and he wears spectacles. Altogether he was a most interesting figure, and there was quite a thrill of expectation as he settled down in his place to speak.

He spoke for about twenty minutes on the Round Table Conference, and then invited questions. He was asked if India was a nation, and whether Indian differences among themselves were not the greatest obstacle in the way of the Conference success. His replies were not altogether convincing. He created amusement by pointing out to a questioner who had suggested that he was a Brahmin that far from being a Brahmin, he was a member of the rapacious money-lender class! His talk was exclusively on politics, and perhaps his most interesting remark was to the effect that he had come to see the futility of the mere appeal to reason. You had either to use the sword or to use the force of suffering. In an unarmed country like India the first was not possible, as it had been, for instance, in South Africa with the Boers; there remained only the force of suffering, and that was what civil disobedience essentially meant. What he said on this subject made some of us feel how far he was from the Christian standard, for he used suffering not as an outcome of love, but as a weapon of political expediency.

It was a great experience to see in the flesh and to hear one who is the greatest influence among a whole quarter of the inhabitants of the globe.

A. VICTOR M...

G.T.O.
International Press-Cutting Bureau,
51, Red Lion St., London, W.C. 1.
Extract from
Morning Post
London
20 OCT 30
Date

DELEGATES ARRIVE

INDIA'S DETERMINATION TO OBTAIN DOMINION STATUS

A number of delegates to the Indian Round-Table Conference, headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, arrived in London on Saturday. Amongst the arrivals were Dr. Moonje, Mr. Mohammed Ali, and Mr. Jayakar.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a statement to Reuter, said: "We have come with the intention of discussing with the Government in the friendliest way possible the constitutional position which we are anxious to achieve in India. That position, so far as we are concerned, is no other than that occupied by any other self-governing Dominion within the Commonwealth.

"On one thing Indian opinion is absolutely united, whatever other differences may exist among ourselves, and that is, that the time has long since passed when India can be assumed able to march to Dominion status through successive stages. We must have a constitution which settles our fate for the future, subject to such safeguards or reservations and adjustments for the period of transition, which we do not envisage to be a very long one, as the conditions of India require.

"Speaking for myself only, I think the form of Dominion status that would suit us best is the Canadian type, with a strong Central Government."—Reuter.

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Daily Herald
23/10 1931
Long acre.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

SIR JOHN SIMON'S VIEW

The first (and, it is hoped, the last) Saturday sitting of the third session of the Round-Table Conference was occupied mainly with a discussion of the question of including in the new Constitution a Declaration of Fundamental Rights. Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, presided. Additional interest was given to the sitting by the fact that Sir John Simon, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was able to take part for the first time.

Mr. R. A. Butler, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, who opened the discussion in a helpful way, proceeded on the assumption that such a declaration was mainly a British Indian interest, as the States entering the Federation would be entitled, in the exercise of their sovereignty, to decide individually whether, and, if so, to what extent, they would adhere to any such declaration.

After the case for a Declaration of Fundamental Rights binding on the Provinces had been put with much detail by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir John Simon dealt with the issue in a broad way.

He questioned both the necessity and the advisability of the explicit inclusion of such a declaration in any Constitution. Great Britain, probably the country of the greatest constitutional liberty in the world, had no such rights invested in the Constitution. By way of contrast he pointed to some modern Constitutions explicitly including such rights. Yet in certain circumstances they were, like the Constitutions themselves, suspended. He expressed the warning that general declarations of this kind either might prove to be of no worth or might tie the hands of Indian legislators and administrators. There was, for instance, in the draft list a reference to the right of assembly, but occasions might arise when that right would greatly handicap responsible Ministers in dealing with dangerous situations. There was the undefined right of *habeas corpus*, in this country regarded as sacred; but even we had to suspend its operation during war time.

Sir John Simon was listened to with close attention, and his speech, as was that of the Under-Secretary for India, was received with cheers.

The discussion will be resumed this afternoon. Meanwhile such British Indian delegates as care to do so are having the opportunity to hear the views of British legal and constitutional experts on the question. Undoubtedly the general view of British Indian delegates has been in favour of the inclusion of a Declaration of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution, feeling that it would at least provide guidance to Governors and administrators. The more legal-minded among them now realize, however, the difficulties of applying general principles.

POSSIBLE INFRINGEMENT

On this, as on several other subjects, the work of the Consultative Committee in India in the early part of the year has been helpful to the present Conference in bringing it face to face with the real issues. How many the pitfalls of a Declaration of Fundamental Rights may be is indicated by the inclusion, in a draft list of such rights officially circulated to delegates as having been considered by the Consultative Committee, of warnings against possible infringement of existing provisions for the benefit or protection of given classes of Indian subjects.

Thus the declaration that "women shall have equal civic rights and duties with men to the extent that Nature allows" is accompanied by a note that it "should be so drafted as not to affect *proprio vigore* existing personal laws." Similarly, a provision against religion, descent, caste, or colour being a bar to any profession, trade, or calling, or to acquiring or transferring property, "should be so drafted as not to affect the personal laws of the various communities, nor fetter the Legislature's powers in regard to measures, such as the Punjab Land Alienation Act" [which limits land transfer to "agricultural tribes"]. It is suggested in regard to another clause, declaring that none shall be denied education in any institution maintained or aided by the State, that it should be so drafted as "to safeguard the right of the depressed and other classes to special treatment, as also to preserve the autonomy of institutions in the matter of fixing the admission percentages for particular classes and the like."

There were further informal discussions by a few members of the Federal Finance Committee on Saturday. The whole Committee meets this morning, and it is hoped that a settlement of outstanding questions of detailed apportionment of the Federal liabilities will be reached.

There is a general hope that the Conference will end this week, for an adjournment over Christmas (when the Conference would be suspended for eight or 10 days) would upset the personal plans of delegates and the legislative plans of the Government. There is no disposition, however, to bring the Conference to an end prematurely while real business remains to be disposed of. It is known that although most of the British Indian delegates have arranged to leave for India on or before December 29, they are quite willing to remain for sittings in the New Year, if they can help to tie up any loose ends that may be left.

ENVOY TO GANDHI HELD UP

WOMAN AND CHILD FROM THE UNITED STATES

Mrs. Ghose, wife of the president of the Indian National Congress of America, was held up at Southampton by immigration officials when she arrived by the Europa on Tuesday.

With her two little girls, aged seven and four respectively she has arrived to invite Mr. Gandhi to visit the U.S.A.

Mrs. Ghose is now in London, but she spent an anxious period of four or five hours while immigration officials were questioning her as to her means.

Having been delayed in America before starting, her stock of money had diminished, and it was not until Indian friends in London agreed to become surety that she would not become chargeable on public funds that she and her children were allowed to leave Southampton.

Miss Madeleine Slade, the companion of the Mahatma, told the "Daily Herald" last night that Mr. Gandhi, although he would like to do so, would not visit the U.S., as he felt he ought to go back to India at the earliest possible moment.

"NATIONAL" VICTORY MEANS END OF ROUND TABLE

From Our Diplomatic Correspondent

If the "National" Government is returned to power, one of its first acts will be to put an end to the Round-Table Conference.

The Indian delegates have already been given the hint that they can book their passages home in the second week of November.

A single session of the whole Conference will be held. But it will only register failure to reach agreement on the main problem of self-government.

That problem will indeed probably not even be discussed by the Federal Structure Committee before the Plenary Session.

For the Government is now taking up the attitude that, unless and until the full claims of the Moslems and of all the minorities have been satisfied, the question of the measure of responsibility to be conferred on the Indian Federal Government, and the "reservations" to be imposed on it, cannot even be discussed.



Sir S. Hoare

Mr. Gandhi has written to the Prime Minister complaining that this is a complete change from the policy of the late Government as laid down by Mr. MacDonald himself last January.

And Mr. MacDonald has replied in a letter which, in effect, throws all responsibility for failure on to Mr. Gandhi.

It was after receiving this reply that Mr. Gandhi made the speech at Birmingham in which he said that the Conference was "a great waste of time," and that "nothing was being done."

In addition the Indian delegates have been informed by Sir Samuel Hoare that there can be no question of either reducing the size of the British Army in India or speeding up the "Indianisation of the Indian Army."

So certain is Mr. Gandhi now that it is impossible to save the Conference that he has asked to see Lord Irwin.

That is very significant, for it is the fulfilment of a promise he made that before making any final decision he would consult the ex-Viceroy.

Whether he will himself go back to India as soon as the Conference has ended is uncertain. W. N. E.

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Spectator
24-10 19
Gower St

DELEGATES BOOK THEIR PASSAGES HOME

PREPARING FOR ROUND-TABLE COLLAPSE

From Our Diplomatic Correspondent

MY revelation of the intention of the Government to wind up the Round-Table Conference in November has brought a spate of denials.

Sir Samuel Hoare declares that the "Daily Herald" is accusing the Government of trying to torpedo the Conference.

The Prime Minister, on the other hand, says that the "Daily Herald" itself is making "a disgusting attempt to break up the Conference."

Each charge is ridiculous.

The "Daily Herald" was not accusing anybody of anything. *It was reporting the fact.*

THAT RECEPTION

An official statement, issued yesterday, brings forward, as evidence that the Government is not contemplating ending the Conference in the second week in November, the announcement that an official reception is to be held on November 17.

But that was the first intimation given to anybody of the 17th as the date.

The "evidence" has been created to meet the charge.

Until yesterday it was only arranged that there should be a reception "some time in November."

And everybody regards that as one of the signs of the rapidly approaching end.

BOOKING PASSAGES

The Government denies that any hint has been given to the Indian delegates that they can book their passages home.

How curious, then, that so many of them have already done so!

Sir Tej Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Sir Mirza Ismail, and several others, have booked for November 13; still others for November 20 and November 27.

All preparations, in fact, are being made on the assumption that *the Conference is, as I said, to be wound up in mid-November.*

There is no shadow of question that the "Daily Herald" is right in its facts. And the angry denials with which members of the Government have greeted it are the measure of its accuracy.

As to Sir Samuel Hoare's denial of his statements about the Army in India, I will only ask him if he will publish the text of his speech at the meeting in the India Office on October 14.

W. N. E.

Mr. Gandhi's Gramophone Record Fee

MR. GANDHI has made a gramophone record for the Columbia Company.

It has paid him the highest rates it has ever paid to anybody.

But as Mr. Gandhi declines to take any money, the fee is to be handed to any charity he may nominate.

"ALL LIFE IS GOD"

In his recorded speech the Mahatma says the law which governs all life is God, an "unseeing Power which makes itself felt and yet defies all proof, because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses.

"I do perceive that whilst everything around me is ever-changing, ever-dying, there is underlying all that change a Living Power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and re-creates. That informing Power or Spirit is God; and since nothing else that I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is."

from Cumnock H
ted 22.10.29
Tudor St

GANDHI'S EARLY CAREER.

But for the action of a Stirling man, it is most unlikely that Mr. Gandhi would have been the force he is to-day in India. This fact emerges from a letter which a prominent Stirling man has received from an old school friend, who is an officer in the Durban Police. The letter gives a very interesting glimpse of the early career of Mr. Gandhi in South Africa.

The writer of the letter states: "It may be of some interest and surprise to you that a Stirling High School boy is the cause indirectly of all the recent troubles, bloodshed, and sedition in India caused by Mahatma Gandhi. That same boy is myself. In 1897, when Gandhi was the cause of the first riots in Durban, at which time I was a detective-sergeant in the Durban Police, I pulled the rope from Gandhi's neck, and saved him from the crowd of Europeans who were lynching him over the crossbar of a lamp-post, and later, when they had another 'go' at the house he was living in, I smuggled him out of the house disguised as an Indian constable.

"I must say that in those days he was a plucky little beggar. There can be no doubt that the infuriated crowd would have 'done him in' on either occasion. He was already dangling on the end of the rope, a few inches off the ground, when we got him, and he was known to the Durban Police for many years afterward as 'Half-hanged Gandhi.'"

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
Mar
Date 30/10/29

Mr. Gandhi's Plans

Mr. Gandhi had an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury yesterday evening which lasted nearly an hour and a half. This evening he is attending a private meeting at the Church House to discuss with 150 representatives of various Christian denominations in this country his own religious position towards the Indian struggle and to put before them at first hand his religious principles of "soul force" and the moral implications of his service to the poor in the villages of India through home spinning and weaving. On Friday Mr. Gandhi goes to Eton College to address a select number of the seniors on Indian affairs. This visit is at the invitation of the Eton Society. He will then go on to Oxford, where he will be the guest of the Master of Balliol, Dr. A. D. Lindsay. He will spend the week-end as quietly as possible, though he hopes to get some long talks with leading representatives of the religious and political life of the University, but he will address no public meetings in Oxford.

After this week-end Mr. Gandhi's programme outside the Round-table Conference has been left free, and it is not anticipated that he will undertake further engagements until the Conference is over. There is a general feeling among those closely associated with Mr. Gandhi that the Round Table is likely to break up about November 10 or a few days later. Important members of the Conference are already booking their passages to India in the latter half of November. Mr. Gandhi is still likely to make a visit to Manchester just after the Conference, but no plans have yet been made.

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from the Near East

Issue dated 22.10.31

India and the Free State.

The Home Member of the Government of India will derive a considerable amount of amusement, and not a little satisfaction, from his perusal of the debates on the Irish Free State Government's Public Safety Bill. The Constitution Amendment Bill, as it is styled, was introduced in the Dail, passed the Report stage and received the Assent of the Senate within the brief space of four days. An Order in Council brought the new law into force during the week-end and the military tribunal which the law sets up will be formed, it is understood, by the time these lines are read. Indian politicians of all shades of opinion are always invoking what is called the Irish precedent. We imagine that the more they study its most recent manifestation the less they will like it. The new measure goes beyond the severest Coercion Acts of the 'eighties and makes the so-called "repressive" action of the Government of India appear the veriest child's play in comparison. Yet the Indian Legislative Assembly, professing to speak in the name of a nation which is fit in every way to assume the responsibility of self-government, takes three days to approve the principle of a Bill to prohibit the instigation of assassination. Mr. de Valera and his followers, whose belief in political charms is as perfervid as that of Mr. Gandhi himself, found scant support for their contention that the abolition of the oath of allegiance to "a foreign monarch" will instantly dissolve the secret societies and disband their adherents. The appeal of Mr. Cosgrave to parents and others to spare no effort to make clear to "the young men and young women who have been induced to join unlawful associations without realising the nature of those associations or the extent of their dastardly programme" the serious crime which they are committing against their own country might with advantage be broadcast throughout India. The anarchism and lawlessness which have revived in many parts of Ireland are not radically different from the movement against which the Indian Press Control Bill is directed. The Indian politician, unfortunately for India, does not yet appreciate, as Mr. Cosgrave evidently does, the truth of Disraeli's dictum that "where society is weak, Government must be strong."

cutting from

THE STAR

Bouverie Street

Date 21-10

MARIAM COMES TO SEE MR. GANDHI.

Invitation To A "Big, Big Party" In U.S.

"SURE, I'LL ASK HIM."

What 7-Year-Old Broadcaster Told America.

MARIAM GHOSE has come from New York to see Mr. Gandhi.

Mariam is seven years old and her father is President of the Indian National Congress of America.

After dinner recently Mariam's mother said, "Wouldn't it be lovely if we could get the Mahatma to come over and visit America?"

"Sure," said Mariam. "I'll go and ask him."

So she brought her mother and little sister, Lilli, and they all landed in England yesterday.

FROM THREE CITIES.

Mariam was tired to-day, owing to delays after arrival at Southampton, and Mrs. Ghose explained her great enthusiasm for the Indian leader and her determination to see him

Mariam has brought wires from the mayors of Chicago, Boston, Pittsburg and other American cities, all saying that sure they would be glad to see Mr. Gandhi, and would give him as good a time as England could give him.

HER TALK.

Mariam has also broadcast to all America. This is what she told them:—

"Hello, Children.—I am very happy to tell you that my sister Lila, who is just four years old, and I are sailing for London. We are going to visit Mahatma Gandhi in London.

"When we meet him we are going to tell him, in the name of all American children, that we are anxious to have him visit our country, and we shall hope that Mahatma Gandhi will not refuse this invitation from American children. We children of America will not take no for our answer. Our forefathers gave their lives to make our country free. Mahatma Gandhi is trying to make his country—India—free to-day.

"When we come back we shall bring Mahatma Gandhi with us, and then we children of America will give a big, big party for the great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. —Good-bye, Children."

QUICK DECISION.

"Mariam made up our minds for us so quickly," said Mrs. Ghose to a "Star" reporter this afternoon, "that we found ourselves on the next boat.

"If the Mahatma does not accept her invitation she will have to take us back, I suppose.

"But I hope he will be persuaded, when he has seen my wires and letters from all over the States, that my countrymen are anxious to give him a royal welcome."

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ON BOARD THE "VICEROY OF INDIA"

TALKS ON WAY TO ADEN.

We publish to-day the first article by an Indian Correspondent who is travelling with the first big batch of Round Table Conference delegates on board the "Viceroy of India." The correspondent gives his impressions of the views and talks among the delegates during the voyage to Aden, and states that already the delegates have started to tackle the two major problems on which Indian unity is essential at the Conference.

ON BOARD THE S.S. "VICEROY OF INDIA," NEAR ADEN October 8.

This is in truth a Conference boat. There are on board the VICEROY OF INDIA as many as nineteen of the delegates from British India and three from the Indian States; and what is as important is that there is hardly any Indian of consequence on board who is not going to England because of the Conference. One of the earliest comments on board from several lips was in appreciation of the agility and ability of the *Times of India* photographer in getting together several members of the Conference from various parts of the ship to have them photographed together in one place on board.

The Mahomedan representatives were given a hearty send-off and as we moved away, the pier resounded with lusty shouts particularly in honour of Moulana Mahomed Ali, Moulana Shaukat Ali, and Mr. Jinnah. The names of the Princes on board too re-echoed all over the Bunder. Commenting upon it Dr. Ambedkar told Sir A. P. Patro that it was certainly not a red-letter day for the boycott party.

One of the first noteworthy meetings on board was between Dr. Moonje and Moulana Mahomed Ali, and if the cordiality of the exchange of greetings between them is any index of what is in store, the expected Hindu-Muslim squabble at the Conference which the Congress anticipate (and perhaps long for in order to justify their stupidity in keeping out of it) will certainly not materialize.

THE PEACE NEGOTIATORS.

The Yeravda peace missionaries are sticking together. Even when we were filing up for medical examination prior to embarkation, Mr. Jayakar took his stand immediately next to Sir Tej Bahadur. Their attitude is emblematic of the underlying desire of all the delegates on board to stick together and present a united front. The greater part of the serious conversation on board is about the two issues that have to be settled in order to achieve this united front. One is the relations between the Princes and British India and the other is the relations between the majority and minority communities in British India.

Gossip on board assigns the reasons for the Princes' attitude in the present political and constitutional discussions to some mishandling by the Political Department of the Government of India of the treaty rights of some States. Existing treaties are alleged to have been declared by that Department in some specific cases to be no better than scraps of paper now that the circumstances under which they were entered into no longer obtain. Some also complain that internal administration in some States has been unduly and unjustifiably interfered with by indirect pressure applied by Political Agents and Residents. And so the Princes are intent upon ensuring that in any future constitution of India not only should the integrity of treaty rights be maintained inviolate, but there should be no meddling with the domestic affairs of the State. In this connection much support is forthcoming from the Princes to the scheme of relations between States and British India outlined in a recent publication by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola entitled "Self-Government for India." The Princes are to hold a meeting on board in this connection, and I am keenly awaiting the results thereof.

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

Nor have the British Indian delegates been idle. Exchange of views has, it is needless to state, been taking place among them. But from the beginning there was a keen desire, expressing itself not in so many words as in a tacit understanding, for the holding of an informal conference on board to come to some definite conclusions on the question of the relations between the majority and minority communities, and gradually a plan evolved itself to hold an informal conference on board. Sir Cowasji Jehangir was the moving spirit in the matter. The representatives of the minorities, however, were a little cautious as there was a feeling among them that unwittingly Sir Cowasji Jehangir was making himself the tool of the Mahasabhaites who were suspected of being very anxious to get the representatives of the minorities committed to something to which they may, on a proper consideration of all facts later on, not desire to adhere.

For, on the Hindu-Muslim question there are two schools of thought on board. One, which finds its most staunch and sincere exponent in Sir A. P. Patro, bases its view on a absolute conviction that this is Britain's last chance to save India to the Empire and that she honestly means to do it by going as far as she possibly can. The consequential argument of that school is this, that as the majority are out for a big bite they are in duty bound to reassure the minorities that they are entirely safe in any Dominion Status Government. They hold that Mr. Jinnah's 14 points are reasonable and that these points should be accepted by the majority community; so that with one united voice the British Indian Delegation may claim Dominion Status and be sure to get it.

The other school reflects a pessimistic view-point, which, it is rumoured on board, emanates from Dr. Moonje's brain. It premises a doubt about ultimately securing Dominion Status, and so it does not want to concede any of the specific claim of the minorities till it first ascertains what can be got from Britain. It holds that minorities should be given concessions (?) only in proportion to what is secured from Britain.

INFORMAL CONFERENCE.

The proposal to hold an informal conference ultimately matured and it took place on the day before we arrived at Aden. Barring Mrs. Subbarayan, Mr. Wood, Rao Bahadur Srinivasan (depressed class representative from Madras), Rao Bahadur Pannirselvam (Christian representative) and Moulana Mahomed Ali, the British Indian delegates on board were all present. Moulana Mahomed Ali was too ill to attend in person and, by consent of all others, his place was taken by Moulana Shaukat Ali. But excepting Sir A. P. Patro, who was acknowledged on all sides to have been thoroughly frank and sincere, all appeared to be very cautions—each one waiting for an outspoken utterance from the other—and thus the whole affair was plunged into an atmosphere of unreality. On the surface each was willing to accommodate the other. The claims of the Muslim minority as embodied in Jinnah's 14 points was conceded to be just and admissible. But the skeleton at the feast was the covert support that was being accorded by the Mahasabhaites to Dr. Ambedkar's claim that the same concessions, *mutatis mutandis*, should be extended to the depressed classes who in figures of population were equal to, if not in excess of, the Muslims. The implication and its possibility of wreckling all possible understanding becomes clear when it is realised that after giving 33 per cent. representation to the Muslims in the Central Legislature, 33 per cent. to the depressed classes (as claimed by Dr. Ambedkar) and 10 per cent. or so to the other other minorities, there will be left hardly 24 per cent. for representatives of the majority community. The touch of saving grace to the situation was, however given by Sir A. P. Patro's vehement denunciation of Dr. Ambedkar's claim as unreasonable and absurd and by his announcement that he was aware that the Madras representative of the depressed classes was not at all in agreement with Dr. Ambedkar's claim. The matter has been left at this stage to be resumed at a further meeting to be held on the day after we leave Aden.

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"NO FOOD, NO ROOMS AND NO RECEPTION"

R. T. Conference Delegates Insulted.

INDIAN EX-GOVERNOR ASKED IF HE KNEW ENGLISH!

Jayakar Sulks While "Mac" Passes By.

LONDON, Oct. 25.

For the first time, Government hospitality functioned for the Round Table Conference delegates to-day with disastrous results.

The occasion was an air demonstration in Croydon for the Imperial Conference delegates for whom elaborate arrangements had been made but the Indians, borne to the aerodrome in a charabanc soon found themselves in a different category and had a splendid opportunity of seeing an example of "Dominion Status in being".

For the Indians, there was no food, no rooms and no reception. Sandwiches were hastily procured and eaten "like crows on roof" and, while so engaged, the Indians had a glorious glimpse of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who walked by not noticing the Government's guests.

The climax of the treatment was provided by an official who asked Mr. Tambe if anyone spoke English!

Mr. Jayakar's attitude is typical: "I will accept no more Government hospitality if this is a specimen."

Most of the Round Table Conference delegates returned early, disgusted but the incident is typical of the ignorance and indifference of the British officials to India's representatives and the complete lack of imagination in their dealing with the whole situation.—Special Cable to "Hindu".

R. T. C. AND INDIAN STATES

—:o:—

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

LONDON, Oct. 27.

The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Pro-chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, presided at two largely attended informal meetings of the Indian States Delegation at St. James' Palace. General discussion was held regarding the attitude to be adopted by the Delegation towards the subjects affecting the States likely to arise at the Round Table Conference and the method of procedure best calculated to ensure the general views of the Delegation being clearly and effectively formulated. The meeting referred to the committee of Ministers detailed examination of the number of constitutional and practical issues. The next general informal meeting will be held on November 2.

"MAC" TO SEE BIKANEER.

Premier will meet the Maharaja of Bikaneer at his hotel on October 28.—Reuter.

Why Sir Ibrahim Does Not Attend R. T. C.

—:o:—

POONA, October 27.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah is not attending the Round Table Conference on grounds of health and also with a view to completing his work on the Whitley Commission.—A. P.

CHURCHILL ON TASK OF R. T. C.

—:o:—

"Not Going To Frame Dominion Status

"BUT ONLY RECOMMENDING A CONSTITUTION"

LONDON, Oct. 28.

Mr. Churchill in a speech at Chingford said that the people of India had been led to believe that the Round Table Conference was going to frame Dominion Status. It was most important that this idea should be dispelled, and it should be made clear that the Conference was not empowered to frame the Status, but could only recommend a constitution which had to be enacted by both Houses of Parliament.—Reuter.

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OUTLINES INDIAN PUBLIC FINANCE PLAN

Says Wastefulness of Expenditures Is Hurting India Under British Rule

By SRINIVAS RAM WAGEL

Unlike the British, the Indian nationalist has little or no reason to complain of the paucity of the sources of revenue. The British complaint is that there are so few sources left by which the Indian alone can be made to pay. To tap other sources is tantamount to impairing their position, profits and security. As 61 per cent of Indian imports consisted of British manufactured goods, a tariff or increased customs duty would react on British trade very unfavorably. Increased import duties, except on the compelling pressure of revenue was, from their point of view, out of the question, and they have taxed non-British imports into India as heavily as possible. They take only 26 per cent of the exports from India; they are naturally averse to export duties on the goods they themselves consume; they have already taxed such export produce as go only to non-British countries mainly. Even then, heavy duties would interfere—even in the case of products that are the monopoly of India—with the ease with which they could market them, and the profits they have been making as middlemen. To facilitate movement of goods for foreign trade by having abnormally low railroad freight rates—although freight rates for local movement of goods are disproportionately high.

Heavy duties on goods might provide revenue without interfering with the volume of business. But Britain does not want it, if such should prove incentives to industrial advance of India. She does not desire any plan which would cut down their imports into India, or the use of raw materials in Indian manufactures. Economic advance has ever been the prelude to political power.

India produces many unique products like jute, shellac and various seeds; she has no competition in many of these products from any other markets. It is also well known that such produce has been abnormally depressed by the present methods of commerce. Short staple Indian cotton is an imperative necessity for the Chinese and Japanese cotton mills. There is no substitute for jute. Even Indian tea is distinctive enough to be considered indigenous to India alone. Tea is a source of large revenue in the British budget, but is absolutely untaxed in India. India levies an export duty on rice, $118,000,000 of which is shipped annually, Britain and her colonies taking only $5,000,000 worth. There is an export tax on jute, for out of $276,000,000 of exports, Britain takes only $29,000,000 worth. Raw hides and skins are the only other export products taxed; out of $25,000,000 worth of exports, Britain takes practically nothing.

Customs as Revenue Source

Following the practice of most other countries, including Great Britain, Nationalist India would turn to customs as the most important source of revenue. She will levy export duties on numerous products. She will derive a handsome addition to the present total, while not adding too much to the cost of her customers. Such duties will be levied mainly on goods produced almost exclusively in India, and for which there is no competition from other producing markets. The following additions to revenue are available from exports:

Tea (new tax)	$8,000,000
Spices (new tax)	1,000,000
Seeds (new tax)	6,500,000
Metals (new tax)	2,750,000
Cotton (new tax)	9,500,000
Rice (increase)	2,000,000
Raw skins (increase)	1,000,000
Jute (increase)	13,500,000
Total	$44,250,000

At present the heaviest import duties are on non-British imports; the largest single item of revenue is derived from sugar, which comes from Java. There are preferential tariffs for British manufactured goods, chiefly iron and steel and machinery. The 5 per cent customs tariff on imports was adopted in 1894; even then cotton goods, which were then all of British manufacture, were exempt from duty. In 1896 a 3½ per cent duty was imposed on cotton goods; to offset this "burden" on British goods they levied an excise duty on Indian manufactured cotton goods. Only in 1917 they levied a net 4 per cent on British cotton goods, retaining the old 3½ per cent on imports and 3½ per cent excise on Indian manufactures. Since 1917 the continuing deficits, due mainly to the terrific expenditure on the army and the extravagant program of strategic railroads and new public works, of no particular benefit to the Indian people, has been responsible for the progressive increase in the customs tariffs and the vicious principle of preference for British goods.

Nationalist India will proceed unhampered by any other consideration but that of her own interests. She will double the duty on imports of tobacco and liquors and still tax these commodities less than most other countries. Motor cars and parts could stand double the present duty of 20 per cent; the taxes will fall only on the rich, who could afford them. Cotton goods and yarn could stand a 50 per cent increase on the present duty of 11½ per cent. An additional ad valorem duty of 10 per cent to 40 per cent on woolen manufactures, apparel, jewelry, spices and silk manufactures would furnish revenue and still keep the duties below the level of such duties in France, Germany, Italy or the United States. Nationalist India would derive additional revenue from imports into India, practically every item being an increase on present revenues:

Cotton goods and yarn	$21,600,000
Tobacco	3,600,000
Liquors	4,300,000
Motor cars and parts, etc.	3,600,000
Iron and steel, manufactured	3,000,000
Silk manufactures	2,300,000
Woolen manufactures	1,500,000
Apparel	1,000,000
Jewelry	2,500,000
Spices	1,000,000
Machinery and millwork	4,600,000
Mineral oil	2,000,000
Miscellaneous items	3,800,000
Total	$56,000,000

Allowing for a 25 per cent reduction in quantities, principally in cotton goods which would be replaced by Indian manufactures, India could still safely count upon a revenue of $42,000,000 from imports.

Hence the present total of customs revenue of $169,000,000 would be increased under the nationalist regime to $255,250,000.

Railroad Income

Another important source which the British do not want to tap, for their own reasons, is the railroads, which are owned almost exclusively by the Government. The Indian people are not regular users of the railroad; only 600,000,000 fares were paid to the 40,000 miles of railroad in the country. The third-class rate is .64c per mile. The people would willingly stand a higher rate, say a 50 per cent increase, provided the revenue is used for the benefit of the country. The greatest injustice to India lies in keeping the average freight rate at 1.15c per ton mile, chiefly to facilitate the movement of foreign commerce, now controlled by Englishmen. This average again is made up of rates as low as .5c per ton mile for transit of goods, and transactions benefiting British merchants and manufacturers, and the local rates of 2c to 2½c per ton mile for internal commerce conducted by Indians. Keeping the same average rate, but making a more equitable distribution, we could increase the revenue from railroads.

The position with regard to the railroad revenues will be as under:

	Present.	Future.
Passenger traffic	$160,000,000	$240,000,000
Freight and sundries	242,000,000	363,000,000
	$402,000,000	$603,000,000
Expenses	250,000,000	250,000,000
Net revenue	$152,000,000	$253,000,000

We have maintained the expenses at present levels, in spite of the possible economies like dispensing with the very highly paid British staffs because of the need for many improvements benefiting the very poorest classes of railroad users, who are now treated like cattle.

Nationalist India would abolish or materially cut down all imports which now bear down heavily on the food and living of the poor, while luxuries would be heavily taxed. Revenues that arise from sources that complicate the life of the people would also be abolished. Nationalist India would abolish the salt tax, cut down land revenue by at least 50 per cent, forego the stamp revenue, which is the cause of the glut of litigation in courts, causing misery and injustice, and remove from the books the forest revenue, which is now the cause of the death of millions of cattle. The income tax schedule would be maintained. The rich, however, would be taxed more heavily than at present, following the practice in Britain and the United States, and the poor would have more liberal exemptions. Opium would be very much restricted to use for medicinal purposes only. The excise duty would be doubled, and the Government taken out of the liquor business; hence, those that want to drink must pay heavily for the privilege. Returns from irrigation would be cut down materially, like revenue from land.

Taking the central and provincial revenues together, the present and future totals will compare as under:

Source	Brit. Regime	Nat Regime
Customs	$169,000,000	$255,250,000
Income-tax	57,000,000	57,000,000
Salt	25,000,000	.....
Opium	15,300,000	7,600,000
Land revenue	126,000,000	63,000,000
Excise	71,000,000	71,000,000
Stamps	48,000,000	12,000,000
Forest	21,000,000	.....
Registration	5,400,000	5,400,000
Railroad, etc.	122,400,000	253,000,000
Irrigation	25,000,000	17,000,000
Posts and teleg'phs	2,800,000	2,800,000
Interest receipts	23,400,000	23,400,000
Civil administration	14,400,000	14,400,000
Currency and mint	16,000,000	16,000,000
Miscellaneous	36,300,000	30,150,000
Total	$778,000,000	$828,000,000

The discrepancy in the railroad totals arises out of the fact that out of the total net of $152,000,000, the Government pays various additional charges to British companies for management and guarantees; the revenues of a few private companies are not included in the total of Government revenue. Hence the revenue is given as $122,400,000. Under the nationalist regime, all railroads will be run by the Government, thus saving various useless charges.

It is therefore evident that nationalist India could obtain a larger revenue, while at the same time imposing less hardship on the poor. A heavy burden is lifted from the shoulders of the Indian Finance Minister, once he is able to forget Britain altogether. With the advance of years, the same revenue will be productive of benefit to the people, and the people will not feel the burden of taxation anywhere near as much as they do at present.

Expenditure

It is not so much the incidence of taxation as the wastefulness of expenditure that is hurting India under the British regime. In fact, India can stand twice the present taxation, provided the money is disbursed in avenues of benefit to the sons of the soil. British rule has India a land of the very rich and very poor—most of the latter being constantly on the verge of starvation. The middle classes that are now coming to the forefront in cities are the products of nationalism. The lowest pay for the British—excluding the British soldier— is 80 times that of the Indian village headman. The British soldier costs as much as five Indian sepoys. The salary of the Viceroy—exclusive of the various allowances—is equal to that of the per capita earnings of 3,333 Indians. Of the total of 170,000 Britishers in India 45,000 women and 20,000 children do not directly benefit from Indian revenues. Of the rest 60,000 are common soldiers and 15,000 are engaged in commerce. The 30,000 Britishers in the employ of the Indian Government in some capacity or other, including that of army officers, receive on an average $3,600 a year, this total including pay and all other allowances as well as exchange compensation. The lowest pay of a Britisher in India is $1,800 and the highest $90,000. Salaries from $8,000 to $10,000 a year are very common. The total paid to the civilians from Indian revenues amounts to $108,000,000. The British soldiers in India absorb $35,000,000 in salary, keep and allowances. The military services in England, exclusive of pensions, take about $48,000,000. The civil administration charges in England is $6,000,000. Pensions and superannuation allowances to retired civilians in England total $10,000,000. The amount spent from Indian revenus for the benefit of Britishers and Britain is as follows:

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Salaries of Britishers, including those of army officers....	$108,000,000
Salaries and allowances of the British army, rank and file...	35,000,000
Civilian pensions and superannuation allowances.....	10,000,000
Military services in England, inclusive of pensions.....	48,000,000
Civil administration in England	6,000,000
Total.....	$207,000,000

Thus 26.6 per cent of the total revenues of India are spent exclusively in the pay and allowances and pensions of Englishmen. This, added to the military cost, naturally leaves nothing for necessary governmental needs. No doubt these services must be performed by somebody and these people must be compensated. It may safely be stated that the same quality of service can be rendered by the Indians at a third to a quarter of the present cost. Furthermore, the money will be spent in India and not sent to England or spent in England, as is done with at least 50 per cent of British salaries even in India. As a matter of fact, even in India the Britisher spends more money in buying British goods than in his living expenditure benefiting the Indian in any manner whatsoever.

Nationalist India would remove this leech at any cost. She will save at least $138,000,000 a year in salaries alone. On the other hand, her program will include the expenditure of four times as much as at present on scientific departments, three times as much on education, three times as much on medical relief, three times as much on public health, two and one-half times as much on agriculture and five times as much on industries. She will also spend three times as much on irrigation, half as much on civil works, principally roads. All these she can do without adding to her debt.

The various items of expenditure will compare as follows:

	Regime— British	Nationalist
Direct demands on revenue	$54,000,000	$37,000,000
Salt, capital outlay charges to revenue	6,500,000	20,000,000
Railway rev. acct..	100,000,000	100,000,000
Irrigation rev. acct..	18,000,000	18,000,000
Irrigation captl acct. charged to revenue	6,500,000	20,000,000
Posts and telegraphs	2,500,000	4,000,000
Debt services.....	65,000,000	65,000,000
Civil Administration—		
Gen. administration.	43,000,000	36,000,000
Audit	2,500,000	2,000,000
Justice	20,000,000	16,000,000
Jails, etc.....	9,000,000	8,000,000
Police	45,000,000	37,000,000
Ports and pilotage..	2,000,000	2,000,000
Ecclesiastical	1,000,000	.....
Political	12,000,000	7,000,000
Scientific dpts.....	3,500,000	14,000,000
Education depts.....	43,000,000	129,000,000
Medical dpts.....	13,000,000	70,000,000
Public health dpts..	7,000,000	20,000,000
Agriculture dpts.....	8,000,000	20,000,000
Industries dpts.....	5,000,000	25,000,000
Miscellaneous dpts..	3,000,000	3,000,000
Civil works.....	38,000,000	57,000,000
Currency and mints	2,000,000	2,000,000
Military services....	198,000,000	110,000,000
Pensions, allowances and miscellaneous.	76,000,000	57,000,000
Total.....	$778,000,000	$828,000,000

Sir M. Hailey For London "Tamasha"

Chronicle 9 Oct

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SIMLA, Oct. 7.

It is officially announced that Sir Malcolm Hailey has resigned the Governourship of the United Provinces from October 16 to attend the Round Table Conference in a consultative capacity.

Sir George Lambert is appointed Governor in his place. Sir Malcolm is re-appointed Governor of the United Provinces when he returns to India.—A. P.

Prof. Sailendra Nath Ghose, President of the Indian National Congress of America, Brands "British Credo" of Benefits to India Arising Out of Connection With England as "The Most Stupendous Fraud of All the Ages"---People Determined to Win Liberty.

British rule in India was denounced as a "rake's progress" in an address here to-night by Sailendra Nath Ghose, President of the Indian National Congress of America, the New York Times reports in a despatch dated Washington, October 5.

The "British credo" of the benefits to India arising out of intercourse with Britain was characterized by Mr. Ghose as "the most stupendous fraud of all the ages," which "those Britishers," with "unparalleled nerve," he said, were seeking to impose upon the rest of the world, especially the United States.

"The present regeneration of India," he said, "is due to the efforts of our own people, who are inspired with the same determination for liberty which dominated the spirits of the patriots of the American revolution.

"We are determined to obtain our liberty at any cost and at any sacrifive * * * by peaceful means if possible. But if the desire of my people to obtain our independence be met with ugly unyielding military resistance, then let me assure you we shall not hesitate to use the means employed by the American revolutionists to rid themselves of the same vampire that is fattening on our blood."

The professor's address follows:

"According to her own story Britain has been ruling India for the benefit of the Indian people and that Britain has no thought of her own benefit or welfare. She is so sure she can fool the world; has she not done so for over a century and a half?

"Fully alive to the value of constant repetition and propaganda, Britain has not lost one single moment or occasion to proclaim her generosity. She has timed it in such a manner that every fresh act of rapine and robbery on her part should be followed with a fresh declaration of her noble intentions—in such a manner that the feeble outcries of her victims may be drowned by the fanfare of her loud-mouthed declaration on the march of civilization. Actualities are beclouded by meaningless generalities. Civilization is an all-comprehensive word covering a multitude of sins. And civilization has been linked with British imperialism.

Lies Cloak Truth.

"British imperialism cannot go on without the help of lies; if the truth be known; if the situation in India be known as it actually is and not as seen through the colored spectacles of the British; there would be a surge of sympathy and condemnation of the British; it may lead to even worse.

"The falsehood of Britain is no casual thing. It has been carried on multifariously for a century and a half by so-called authoritative organizations and its purpose is and achievement is deliberate debilitation [illegible] deception of the rest of the world.

"British propaganda is intensely active this year in the United States. Britain has been sending her best brains to assure the American people of her good intentions in India; while in India she has been carrying on ruthless, relentless repression of the Nationalist movement, violating every principle of humanity and modern civilization. Those Britishers have unparalleled nerve; they simply deny the atrocities their own press have given details of. They believe they can fool the American people. They believe their word will not be questioned even if they speak the untruth. In short the American people have been fed with British lies by a certain section of the American press. Luckily, however, the majority of the nation has become wise since the World War. They know they must take Britain's statements with a grain of salt.

"The world is being treated with the stuggle between India and Britain. To understand its significance you should acquaint yourself with what Britain has done in India.

"I am going to utter a heresy—an unpardonable heresy against the British credo—which has been unquestionably by the unknowing world and which still remains the fundamental doctrine of the Church of Western Civilization. This credo is a unity in trinity; the benevolence and beneficence of British rule to India; the immense moral and national benefit to India arising out of an intercourse with Britain; and the obligations of the Indian people to sing songs of praise to their British benefactors and remain eternal subjects of the British Crown.

"Would it shock the world to know and learn that this British credo is the most stupendous fraud of all ages? That Britain has not done one particle of good to India? That Britain's efforts in India are wholly and solely for his profit—and an unconscionable profit at that? That Britain has worked untold harm to my people morally, materially and spiritually? That Britain has consistently strived to strangle the life of my people? That Britain has exerted an utterably degrading influence there? That Britain has destroyed everything good, petrified the bad, developed rot and created havoc with the honored institutions of my land? That Britain's professions were fraudulently fraudulent? That Britain's methods are always contemptible? That the present regeneration of India is due to the efforts of our own people and in spite of organized resistance from Britain? That we can save our body and soul by destroying every vestige of British influence there.

"To-day, we are inspired by the heroic acts of your American Revolutionists and, like them, we are inspired with the same determination for liberty which dominated the spirit of [illegible]

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"Ever since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route to India, there has been an unending procession of Europeans after the 'Wealth of the Ind and Ormuz.' All have engaged in commerce and all made conquests. With the sole exception of the British they have been frank enough to admit that they come for profit and glory and were not interested in the welfare of the Indian people.

Looking Back Futile.

"It is useless to delve too much into the past. It may be said that conquests have always been made with foul methods. It is waste of effort to bring up the rake's progress of the British in India in the past—the saturnalia of impudent corruption of the East India Company, the forgery of Clive; the bribe takings of Hastings and Vansittart, the roguery, the trickery and the debauchery and such other questionable methods which the British used in the conquest of India. What did they who claimed to have led the war of civilization against the Germanic hosts of hell do in the few years since the signing of the Versailles Treaty? The men who led the honest but blunt Bethman-Holweg to the contempt of the world for the famous 'scrap of paper' incident have not kept a treaty pledge, or a promise in any part of Asia, except when it suited them and when they profited by it.

Broke Pledge to Egypt.

"They made a solemn promise of independence to Egypt. Within two years British warships were sent to Alexandria to settle a domestic question in Egypt. British warships visited Alexandria only last month to prevent the Egyptian Nationalists ruling their country according to their own constitution and to serve their national interests.

"During the war, Britain, acting through the High Commissioner of Egypt entered into an agreement with the Sheriff of Mecca, undertaking to recognize the independence of Mesopotamia, Syria, and the entire Arab population if they would join the cause of the allies by revolting against Turkey. Before the ink was dry Britain entered into the famous Sykes-Picot treaty dividing the entire Arab territory with France. They obtained a mandate for Arab territory in the Versailles Treaty. As a reward for his treachery, which was perpetrated with the help of saintly Lawrence of Arabia, Hussain was made King of Hedzaj, his son Hussain king of Transjordania, and Feisul king of Irak. Britain retrieved Mosul for Irak. The hosts of hell must have laughed boisterously in uncontrollable mirth at the joke of retreiving Mosul for Irak—Mosul whose oil has been the lure of the British and for which the people of Irak have received nothing.

China Betrayed.

"Britain made a deal with China making certain definite promises if China would join the allies. After the war Britain told China to go to blazes.

"Britain is responsible for the overthrow of King Amanulla of Afghanistan, because he was introducing reforms conducive to modern progress there. Amanulla asked the Hindus and the Moslems of India to be friends—an unpardonable crime in British eyes. Amanulla was overthrown.

"With the exception of India Turkey [illegible] Sevres Treaty practically wipes Turkey out. But Turkish patriots won't be out. When Kemal Pasha was reviving Turkey, Constantinople was occupied by allied troops. Lloyd George asked Greece to march on Constantinople. The plan failed because of France. Britain then egged the Greeks to march on Angora, and left the Greeks to wallow in their own blood. When Turkey abolished Caliphate, Britain used British Indian satellites, Aga Khan, and others, to precipitate internal disorder in Turkey.

Promises to India.

"During the war responsible British statesmen promised self-government and self-determination to India. That pledge and promise were never meant to be fulfilled, as will be evidenced from the recent breakdown of the peace negotiations between Gandhi and British authorities.

"That deadlock proves conclusively that Britain is not prepared to have a Government in India which will be responsible to the Indian people with complete control of national defense and national purse. Britain wants India as a market for British goods and as a producer of raw materials for British industries. She is determined to dominate India for economic spoliation. And that is why we have definitely decided to throw off the alien yoke and foreign oppression. We are determined to obtain our liberty at any cost and at any sacrifice. We shall obtain the same by peaceful means if possible. But if the desire of my people to obtain our independence be met with ugly, unyielding resistance, then let me assure you we shall not hesitate to use the means employed by the American Revolutionists to rid themselves of the same vampire that is fattening on our blood.

"Political intrigues may be palliated if not altogether justified. Britain did more than that. Out of the whole cloth Britain created the so-called antipathy and antagonism between the East and the West and has consistently and untiringly schemed to develop in the Western peoples an attitude of hatred and disgust with the East. Why? Because they wanted to have a perpetual lease to rule over India by damning the Indian peoples. Before Britain came to India—there were people in the world—some living in Asia and some in Europe. Without the benefits of scientific advancement and without modern means of communication, they had little contacts with each other.

Ruled by the Sword.

"The acquisition of scientific knowledge—elementary though it was at that time, the change in fighting methods and the new firearms helped to establish Britain's power in India. Later, the possession of the sea power, and the marvellous development of a mechanical and material civilization confirmed his power. While India, partly by accident and mainly by British design was completely cut off from the knowledge and the weapons. It is easy to libel a man or a whole mass of the people at the point of the gun. Having taken care to disarm us they can easily tell the whole world that we are cowards.

Britain misused the knowledge and the power for the nefarious purpose of not only despoiling us but also fanning the flame of hatred against the

"Britain foresaw the need of fortifying themselves in India and Asia with the support of other Western nations, who had weapons similar to her for war, peace and commerce; and those nations had very small interests in Asia up to the beginning of the twentieth century, and only to the extent the friendly co-operation of the British enabled them to have. Britain's modus operandi is well planned and conceived with devilish ingenuity. Britain helped Germany and France in Asia; she induced the United States to the Philippines. She gives friendly protection to Holland in the Dutch East Indies. Why? Not out of altruism. She wants to create a community of interests for the Westerners in Asia. She wants them to help her keep India. She wants help. Her action is surely not dictated by altruism.

India's Lands Despoiled.

"For more than a century and a half Britain has systematically despoiled our lands, plundered, conquered and upset our lives, manners, thoughts, customs and institutions; Britain has destroyed recklessly; crushed and polluted our ancient cultures and civilizations and reduced our people to abject poverty of body and mind, annihilating morale, enterprise, adventure and originality. Simultaneously, however, Britain has proclaimed to a trusting world the utter unworthiness of the people she destroyed and cast anathemas on our gods, our past and our present. Britain told the world we are unfit to rule ourselves—unfit to live.

"Until two hundred years ago India was the richest nation on this earth. In fact, the 'Wealth of the Indias' was as proverbially an expression of prosperity then as America is its world synonymn to-day. Columbus set sail to discover a new route to India to obtain her abundant commerce for the enrichment of Europe and accidentally discovered America.

"To-day, after almost two centuries of British rule, India is the poorest nation on this earth—the pesthouse of the world so far as ignorance, poverty and disease are concerned.

"Yes, more, Britain elevated herself in the eye of the world and humanity by announcing her magnanimity and nobility—she would elevate my people to her levels—some day.

Made Shambles of India.

Does it occur to those who despair of India to-day, that it is Britain who made the shambles of India? That Britain destroyed everything great, good and vital in the land so that Britain may continue to rule? That the very presence of the British there, not to mention her acts, was sufficient to scorch, blight and blast all that was life-giving in the great cultures and civilization of India?

"Does it occur to those who despair of India to-day, that Britain purposely checked the natural progress of the land, stagnated our society, fostered and furthered religious and sectional antagonisms as it served her interests to keep my people divided amongst themselves, to offer her an alibi for her presence in my country?

"Does it occur to those who despair of India to-day that Britain has not done one single thing to eradicate the evils of Hindu-Moslem tension or to mitigate the hardships of the caste system, remove untouchability and attend to allied social reforms—reforms

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which undoubtedly would have been properly taken care of if our people had the say in their own government? Nay, on the other hand Britain deliberately placed every conceivable obstacle towards such progress and consistently has used the political power to offset the activities of the Indian peoples to solve their domestic problems along the lines of modern civilization.

"Britain attacks our people and our institutions, not to improve, not to guide them, but for the sinister purpose of keeping us under their control economically and politically? Their criticisms are more propaganda to gain the sympathy of the world for themselves and to throw a smoke screen on their inhuman and atrocious crimes.

"When the British vulture descended on India, every village had a school. The bulk of the Indian people were literate. As fast as she came into power, she actually destroyed the schools. In less than thirty years she made an illiterate people out of the then most literate people in the world. Having made us illiterate, she tells the world we are savages, because we are not literates. Britain made my people illiterate. Britain has all the revenues and would not appropriate funds for education, while the army is kept in fine fettle.

"Britain made a nation of cowards out of a nation of warriors.

"'India cannot defend herself,' says the British. 'So we must stay in India.' But they have failed to provide a mechanism for defense. They would not employ Indians in the army except as lowly sepoys, would not allow Indians to go near the artillery. They made it a serious offense for an Indian to own a sword or even a stick.

"Britain used every conceivable means to mislead the world about us. The Anglican missionary, as a class, however sincere and exalted his personal motive may be, has permitted himself to become a British tool.

Denounces Missionaries.

"Coming to India ostensibly to preach the 'Word of the Lord' and permitted to continue his work by the hospitable and tolerant Indian, the missionary degenerated into serving as a British henchman. Everywhere he was encouraged and supported as an adjunct of commercial penetration and his teachings were used to demoralize our people, in order to make British conquest easy.

"The professions and practices of the missionary have differed widely. He has attacked our faiths and institutions. He has arrogated to himself the position of the sole legatee of the Lord in India. In his anxiety, well meant from his narrow point of view, to spread Christianity, he has sent our people from his imperfect and biased observations—to show the people at home what scum of humanity he was trying to save how extraordinarily capable he was to undertake such arduous tasks and how necessary it is for them to give their utmost to keep him in luxury. In the name of God he has done irreparable harm to my people. Above all the missionary has committed the unpardonable crime of hypnotizing himself into believing in the inferiority of my people. He is a potent force in making British propaganda.

India Full of Spies.

"A good deal can be excused in a nation when it is at war, even a war of conquest. Imperialism cannot go on without lies and methods that can stand the scrutiny of local laws. At war times, at least, it is not easy to push emotions aside and reason things out.

"But imperialism in peace, especially the British variety in India, is despoiling our heritage of decency and whipping the peoples of the world with lies. The anthrapoid survives in all human beings; the anthrapoid is the brute. There is more of it in the British than in the brute itself, with his atrocious manners and conduct devoid of all morality.

"India is full of snoopers and spies, sneaks and criminals, employed by the British with Indian money to ferret out what they call disloyalty, to break down the morale, to enable them to clap peoples in jails without trails, and hang or shoot them down. It is an abominable system as has never been known in ancient or modern history.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1930.

THE LONDON 'TAMASHA'

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On the occasion of the departure of the first batch of "delegates" to the Round Table Conference, the organs of Anglo-Indian opinion in this country have expressed their jubilation at the "set-back" to the Indian National Congress, in terms that leave nothing to the imagination as regards the bitter hostility of interested parties to India ever becoming a self-governing country. The "Times of India" particularly excels in this campaign of misrepresentation and vilification of Congress activity in the city. Because the Congress leaders thought it advisable to drop the anti-Conference demonstrations for the sake of the peace of the city, they have been held up to ridicule as shirkers and quitters. The search for gross adjectival abuse would have been, indeed, a difficult task, after this preliminary essay, for our contemporary, had the Congress Committee insisted on actually carrying out the demonstrations! It was a true patriotic counsel that induced the withholding of these protests. And yet these efforts to secure peaceful atmosphere are ridiculed, because the leaders of the Muslim opinion who are with the Congress announced a compromise at the Thursday meeting [illegible]

They are jeered at by our contemporary as "an assorted lot of scarcely-known Khojas and Bohras and other nonentities." The concern these gentlemen showed for the peace of the city is not considered by the inspired penman of the Anglo-Indian oracle as worth a cuss. The same pen would, of course, have found no terms too vitriolic to denounce these meetings and demonstrations, however successful they may have been, as wilfully endangering the peace of the community. These outpourings indicate baffled rage and thwarted hope because Indians are rapidly learning the lessons of self-control and discipline, which indubitably fit them for Swaraj. The Congress, however, and the Nationalist opinion of the country is so secure in their own sense of righteousness, that they may well afford to disregard such ebullience of wrath and futile sarcasm from obviously interested quarters.

But while the Anglo-Indian Press pours out ridicule on a non-violent movement, those who have the real interests,—even of the British Empire,—at heart; those who can see a little ahead, are gravely disturbed by the Congress leaders finding it impossible, under the camouflage presented to them by Lord Irwin, to be present at this mockery of seeking a settlement of the Indian problem, without the participation of India! Says the "Nation and the Athenaeum", an organ of Liberal opinion in Britain: "No attempt should be made to hide the fact that the Conference is necessarily lop-sided. It is not only that some forty or fifty men cannot really 'represent' a sub-continent; but that, in the absence of Congress representatives, some interests will inevitably be over-weighted." This observation of the Liberal periodical is all the more significant and noteworthy, because it is at the same time of opinion that the "Conference" must nevertheless be proceeded with. Such a conclusion, inconsistent and illogical as it is, may be inevitable in a British journal; but contrast this generous admission of the "lop-sided" character of the London gathering with the blatant selfishness of the foreign vested interests in India, as voiced in the "Times of India". The Liberal paper practically admits the reasonableness of the demands made by the Congress leaders. The journal says:

"Theoretically, 'there is nothing inherently absurd in the chief demands'. The 'right to secede' is really an academic point, implicit in the ultimate attainment of full Dominion Status. Control of the Army is an essential part of complete self-government. The justice of charging India with certain sums, which now form part of her national debt, is a subject which may legitimately be brought up for [illegible]

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If these demands are "implicit" in the goal of full Dominion Status, or "legitimate", Lord Irwin and his advisers will have a heavy bill to answer when the time comes for squaring accounts between Britain and India, for categorically rejecting them as impossible. It is futile for them to hope that the hour of real settlement can be postponed. They have sealed the fate of their own remedy for India's ills. The responsibility is obviously not of the Congress leaders for having exposed by clear-cut postulates the Machiavellian policy of the spokesmen of the Indian Government and those who speak of Dominion Status for India, and mean only the prolonged domination of India by Britain. And though journals like the "Nation" may seek to salve their conscience by advising that the Conference must be held, even though it is admittedly lop-sided, because it would be impracticable now to postpone it, the point can no longer be concealed that there is no likelihood at all of a genuine "settlement" at this Conference of the Indian question. That settlement, it is becoming increasingly evident, must be in India as the result of general agreement among the Indian leaders. Neither the Indian States, nor the important Indian minorities, can hope to obtain any guarantees worth the name, while a great majority of the Indian people,—of all creeds and castes,—is opposed to such a lop-sided, self-deluding arrangement, that the Round Table Conference can at all produce. The Conference is a hotch-potch of mutually conflicting elements. The "representatives" of these have made it no secret, that to them the particular interest they hold closest to their heart is much more important than the welfare of the country as a whole. Their deliberations can only end in a world-wide advertisement of the utter incapacity of these "chosen ones" to arrive at an understanding even amongst themselves. The wholesome discipline of a united party, representing truly the vast majority of the country, will be lacking at this "Conference" of these invitees of the Viceroy. In no sense of the term, therefore, are these participants either delegates or representatives. That fact alone, were there no other, should suffice to condemn the scratch lot of communalists and special vested interests, that will present themselves in London as supplicants on bended knees.

The solution, therefore, seems, even now, to lie in a Conference in India of all the elements that matter for a real and lasting settlement. Let the Princes and the Minorities meet, even without the guiding bit and bridle of the Government of India, to arrive at an agreement among themselves on all their outstanding differences. Given mutual good-will,—and we have no doubt there is the amplest measure of such good-will in the Nationalist circles dominated and inspired by a Prince of good-willers like Mahatma Gandhi,—such a Conference has a far greater chance of reaching a most [illegible] acceptable and lasting settlement,—than any farce enacted in Britain, six thousand miles away from the country! If the British Government really are honest regarding their professions of "sympathy" for India, there should be no difficulty in obtaining the final constitutional shape through their instrumentality,—assuming that step to be necessary, for this settlement. And the interests even of the Empire,—in so far as they are legitimate and not inconsistent with the just aspirations of this country, would be better safeguarded, despite the recognition of the right to secede, as the Nation recommends, than by any wirepulling and patching up in Britain. We trust the early experience and prompt disillusionment of the thinking section of the London invitees will induce them to accept this suggestion. They can further its translation into action in co-operation with Nationalist opinion, so that this long-suffering hard-tasked country may not be subjected to a needless period of unrest and unsettlement.

sday, October 9, 1930.

NOTES OF THE DAY.

Chronicle

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Miss Lawrence On R. T. C.

Miss Susan Lawrence, M.P., the first woman President of the British Labour Party, has had something to say about India at the Annual Conference of the Party at Llanduduo. She was of course, generously sympathetic and 'statesmanlike'. While she believes in "respect for peace and order"—are not Congressmen mere irresponsible breakers of law and order?—she also condemns the desire for British domination. We admire this Fabian Philosophy: 'a plague on both houses' propounded by a very respected member of the Fabian Society. But we are more concerned with the defence of Labour attitude towards the Indian problem officially put forward by the President. "We seek settlement by consultation and consent." High sounding and noble words these. What more can one demand than a settlement by "consultation and consent"?

A Mockery Of Principles.

The principle is unexceptionable. It is, indeed, of the essence of ethics and justice. But there is just a little flaw as regards its application to the Round Table Conference. The Labour Party knows that the invitees to the Round Table Conference represent the British view of what the "settlement" ought to be. They certainly do not represent India. The Congress being absent from the proceedings, "consultation and consent" are a mockery. Insistence on them, while ignoring India only confirm the hypocrisy of Labour. We wonder if Miss Lawrence and her friends have ever paused to think that their attitude towards India is a violation of the very raison-d'etre of the Labour Party.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE

MONDAY OCTOBER 6, 1930.

MOMENTOUS PRONOUNCEMENTS!

—:o:—

India has been favoured with a few more pronouncements by some of the "delegates' who are going to represent her against her definite will at the Round Table Conference. We refer elsewhere to Mr. Jinnah's clumsy efforts to seek a parallel for the Round Table Conference in the Irish negotiation. But it is not Indian intelligence only that Mr. Jinnah has insulted. He has tried to insult India's self-respect also. For, speaking at Karachi he is reported to have said:—

"If they did not go to the Round Table Conference they would be told that they had kept deliberately away. He did not say they would succeed at the Conference, but he hoped it would be open to Indian delegates to reject anything injurious proposed, and by going to the Conference they would be able to pin Britishers down to something definite".

"To pin Britishers down to something definite"! This is what Mr. Jinnah is going to the Round Table Conference for lest it might be said that 'they had kept deliberately away". "I can only say to my people that I shall hold India's interests as sacred, and nothing will come in the way of doing my duty to my country". There is a ring of sentimental patrictism in this promise. Only India's sacred interests are "something definite" to which it will be Mr. Jinnah's "duty" "to pin the Britishers down". Why could not the dutiful Mr. Jinnah spare the feelings of his country by keeping silence?

Sir A. P. Patro is in a different category. He optimistically blunders through this statement and that, and safely arrives at the conclusion that all is for the best in that best of all possible worlds promised by the Viceroy.

"The scope of the Conference", he says, "was defined in the memorable address of the Viceroy to the Indian Legislatures. It is not a meeting for mere debate or discussion, but it is a Conference of the representatives of India and of Great Britain with a view to arriving at an agreed scheme which would form the basis of the recommendations to be made to Parliament"

Like the other "delegates" he forgets that he and his friends do not represent India. But unlike them he actually believes that "the assurance which the Congress leaders wanted was furnished in the Viceroy's speech; and even the Secretary of State for India spoke at the Imperial Conference, now in progress, of the same". Sjt. Patro seems to have missed the lat-

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est public utterance of the Viceroy! He is an instance of a man who overcomes difficulties nicely by the simple expedient of refusing to face them. His 'pronouncement' amuses. It does not shock.

But that of Doctor Moonje does. His apologia is difficult to be read with patience. He knows—he admits it—that he can get nothing for India. He is going to England to fight one communalism by means of another. "I do certainly represent pure unalloyed nationalism as opposed to communalism" This is beautiful language, but the very obviousness of the deception is astounding. His "pure unalloyed Nationalism" is as bad as Mr. Mahomed Ali's "communalism". The one seeks to eliminate the minorities, the other to elevate them, to the prejudice of democracy. The one is grasping the other greedy. Both are poison to India. There is nothing to choose between them. But Doctor Moonje goes further. "I shall again hurl myself headlong into the struggle for Swaraj after my return from the London Conference after finishing its work." The cruelty of it is almost too deep for words. Doctor Moonje is deserting "my saintly and religious-minded friend and colleague Mr. M. S. Aney of Berar" and betraying the cause of the country at the critical moment so that he may assist Mr. Mahomed Ali in an exhibition of Hindu-Muslim squabbles for the hilarious delight of the British people. But after pursuing his pet aversion he will come back—to rejoin "the struggle for Swaraj"! But at present, because some others do so, Doctor Moonje must also try his prowess with the dagger and stab India—while she is engaged in "the struggle for Swaraj"—in the back. But he very kindly promises, that, once he is free from his work in London, he will immediately proceed to stitch and treat the wound. As a grave injury added to an equally grave insult this is hard to beat. Does Dr. Moonje regard "the struggle for Swaraj" as a joke or a convenient victim of his political caprice?

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MORE R. T. C. WALLAHS!

SIMLA, Oct. 4.

The Government of India have published a supplementary of the following nine persons who have been invited to attend the Round Table Conference:—Rai Bahadur Kunwar Bisheshar Dayal Seth, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Mr. B V. Jadhav, N. M. Joshi, Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Mr. H. P. Mody, Mr. K. T. Paul, Shafat Ahmed Khan, and Mr. B. Shivarao.

The Gaekwar of Baroda for reasons of health will not attend the Conference and Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan of Baroda, has been nominated instead.—A. P.

6 October By Chronicle

"PULLY WEIGHT AS LOYAL ALLY"

By Chronicle

—:o:—

Sir A. Hydari Represents Hyderabad In R. T. C.

LONDON, Oct. 4.

For the first time since the reign of George Third, a representative of the Hyderabad State will attend the official Conference in England when Sir Akbar Hydari participates in the Round Table Conference.

Sir Akbar and members of the Hyderabad delegation arrived today and were met at Victoria Station by a representative of the Secretary of State. A bouquet of carnations was presented to Lady Hydari by Lord Headley, and Dr. Khalid Sheldrake, President of the Western Islamic Federation, presented Sir Akbar with a basket of fruit. The latter, interviewed, said: "We shall pull our weight on behalf of the Empire as a loyal ally of the Empire in war-time." —Reuter.

URAN WELCOMES MR. A. R. S. KASAM MITHA

—:o:—

And Condemns R. T. C. Tamasha

URAN, Saturday.

The small town of Uran was active yesterday the whole day, villagers pouring in hundreds from some forty villages in the neighbourhood to give a hearty reception to the Vice-President of the Bombay "War Council", Sjt. Abdur Rahman Suleman Kassam Mitha and the party of other Bombay Congressmen, including Sjts. Waman Kabadi, Dost Mohomed, Bhuta and Mahtre.

The whole party was taken in a procession through the narrow streets of the town, almost the whole bazaar having observed a hartal in their honour, Hindus and Mussalmans all having joined in it enthusiastically.

A mass meeting was held in the evening on the open maidan near the Local Board's School, when Sjts. Abdur Rahman, Waman Kabadi, Dost Mohomed and Bhuta spoke explaining the message of Mahatma Gandhi, yesterday being the last day of the celebration of Gandhi Birthday Week.

A resolution was passed unanimously on behalf of the forty villages, who were represented at the meeting disassociating completely with the Round Table Conference and condemning those who were proceeding there in spite of the nation's boycott.

Prizes were distributed to the Prabhat Pheries at the hands of Sjt. Abdur Rahman.

By Chronicle 6 oct

NOTES OF THE DAY.

By Chronicle

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7 Oct

Mr. Brailsford's Appeal.

According to a "Chronicle" cable, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, writing in the "New Leader" has made a moving appeal to the Labour Party to "save its honour" by a "belated affirmative" in regard to Indian aspirations. "A negative answer" he points out "might mean another year of ignominious office, but it might also mean moral wreck of the Labour movement." We appreciate the appeal. But it has come too late, and it is the Round Table Conference that is responsible. Labour dishonoured its pledge to India by rejecting the Congress terms and cynically violated the basic prinsiples of democracy by deliberately inviting "delegates" who represent none but themselves. So far as India is concerned, Labour has lost its "bona-fides". But we would heartily welcofe Mr. Brailsford's visit to our country.

The Congress and the "Leader".

The slow change that has been coming over Mr. Chintamani's paper the "Leader" of Allahabad is a tribute to the lure of the Round Table Conference. Our contemporary has now decided to forget many things—including Lucknow. Congress opposition to the Round Table Conference, may be objectionable from the point of view of the "Leader". But why hold it guilty of every crime that may be attributed to it by the Viceroy or the Rublicity Department? And why condemn it for the sins of others. "The most effective item of the whole programme was the boycott of foreign cloth. If effort had been concentrated upon it, with the certain support and co-operation of large sections of non-Congress but indubitably progressive and patriotic opinion in the country, the history of the last six months could have been differently written." Is the Congress to apologise for slackness on the part of "indubitably progressive and patriotic opinion" also? En passant, what has happened to our contemporary's views about the boycott of British goods?

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BOMBAY HAS MADE HISTORY.

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Women's Glorious Part In National Struggle.

EMERGENCE OF STRONGER INDIAN NATION.

R. T. C.-Wallas "Mere Automations";

While some of the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference were on the high seas bound for London, Bombay was witnessing on Saturday afternoon, a unique demonstration to give expression of the people denouncing the London Farce and disowning the delegates who have flouted the country's mandate.

The delegates sneaked away in the morning by the mail boat unnoticed by the people, the Mole station being practically guarded by the police. The same evening thousands flocked at the Congress House to welcome the released patriots—Messrs. K. M. Munshi, Kanji Master, Prof. Gharpure and Mrs. Munshi. The leaders were taken in procession from the Congress House to the Azad Maidan through a circuitous route in the city.

The procession terminated in a public meeting at the Azad Maidan which emphatically condemned the Round Table Conference.

In opening the proceedings Mr. Virchand Panachand Shah who presided said that they had met to denounce the R. T. Conference and to welcome a number of their leaders who were released recently from jails. He regretted that Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri, the famous Punjab leader (due to his ill-health), the Jain Muniji (owing to his departure for Ahmedabad) and Mrs. Perinben Captain (due to some other engagements) could not join the procession or attend the meeting.

TRIBUTE TO VOLUNTEERS' DISCIPLINE.

He strongly refuted the allegation that the national movement was dying out in Bombay and said that the very meeting was enough to give an idea of the strength of their movement. He paid a tribute to the discipline maintained by the public of Bombay and the Congress volunteers. He described a personal incident and said that even when he was elected the President of the "War Council" he was not allowed by the volunteer at the gate of the Congress House to enter it unless he produced his pass. He liked that spirit of discipline and exhorted the audience to maintain the same spirit till they won the Freedom's Battle.

Referring to the R. T. C., he said that those who had sailed for London that morning were in no way India's representatives.

Mr. Abdul Rehman Mitha, Vice-President of the "War Council," condemned the hooliganism displayed at several Congress meetings during the last week, and declared that Muslim youths would see to it that that sort of hooliganism vanished once for all, and they could declare openly whatever views they held.

Mr. K. M. Munshi was given a great ovation when he rose to address the meeting.

At the outset Mr. Munshi paid an eloquent tribute to the women of Bombay. He said he was simply surprised to notice the great change that had overcome Bombay. When he went to jail some five months back, the women were so shy that they did not even stir out of their homes but now the same women (and especially the Hindu women among them whom Miss Mayo had condemned as the most backward) had become so bold than when he alighted from the train the other day, there were hundreds of them present at the station and when a large number of them came forward to shake hands with him, he was simply bewildered. "What we were striving to do during the last twenty-five years but were unable to achieve, has been achieved on account of this movement within six months" he added.

BOMBAY MAKES HISTORY.

Referring again to the great awakening in Bombay, Mr. Munshi observed that he had so far held Paris which was a great city in great esteem because he felt that it was the City of Paris which gave the message of "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality" to humanity. When he visited that great city in 1923 he felt that he should revere it by putting its sacred dust on his head according to the Hindu custom. But from what he had seen in Bombay during the last three days he had to change his opinion, and he could now say that the part played by Bombay in India's fight for freedom was so great and so noble that he felt sure that Bombay's name would be recorded in the world's history with golden letters, and for thousands of years tourists coming from foreign lands would continue to pay homage to Bombay for her glorious achievements.

Coming to the much-talked question of the Round Table Conference, Mr. Munshi said that he was surprised to find that Lord Irwin was accusing Gandhiji of secret diplomacy. The world knew that Britain was a past master in being anxious to pursue that art. She had thriven on secret and underhand dealings. It was like the story of the spider asking the fly to walk into his parlour.

"Gandhiji was asked to walk into the parlour; but Gandhiji and the Congress who had seen through the game refused to walk into that trap." (Cheers.)

SERVANTS AND AUTOMATONS.

Proceeding Mr. Munshi said that those who were going to attend the R. T. C. could be divided into two classes. One class was of those who would always side with the Government, no matter whose Government it was. They were mere servants and automatons and he did not want to say anything about them. But the other class was of his Liberal friends—men whom he had held in esteem and whose group included Mr. M. A. Jinnah, his ex-chief. These persons to his mind were like pent-up volcanoes.

Continuing the speaker referred to the interview that Mr. Jinnah gave to the Press at Karachi. Mr. Jinnah had made the discovery, said the speaker that it was a "square" Conference between four parties, viz., the Britishers, the Indian Princes, the Hindus and the Muslims. But Mr. Jinnah had left out the real party, and that was the "Indian Nation". Mr. Jinnah perhaps could not see it. It was not possible to see it while Mr. Jinnah sat in his bungalow at Pedder Road or in his Chamber at the High Court. For that one must see the Prabhat Pheris, and the scenes in Azad Maidan and the Lathi Chawk or go and visit the Yeravda Jail. But men of Mr. Jinnah's type could not see that because having eyes they have refused to see. He asked such persons who had flouted their country's mandate not to think of returning to India. "My advice to them is, better stay in Britain. There is no place for you in India", he added.

EMERGENCE OF A STRONGER INDIAN NATION.

Concluding, Mr. Munshi said that out of the blood that was spilt in Azad Maidan and the Lathi Chawk a new "Indian Nation" had emerged and by the time those worthies who had sailed that morning returned that "Indian Nation" would be so strong that they would not dare to face it.

Prof. Gharpure, addressing the meeting, said that Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru had done the greatest disservice to India by undertaking the peace mission at the most critical juncture in the national fight for Freedom. He criticised severely Dr. Moonje who, in his recent statement, had admitted that he (Dr. Moonje) did not represent anybody. "If you do not represent anybody why do you undertake the journey?" asked the speaker.

He exhorted the audience to continue the struggle with re-doubled vigour and to fight to the finish.

Mrs. Lilavati Munshi and Mr. Kanji Master thanked the audience for the honour done to them.

Mr. Shrinivasrao Kaujalgi, the famous Karnatak leader, who is on his way to Lucknow to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee and who was present at the meeting, also addressed the gathering. He paid a tribute to the men and women of Bombay for their work and ex-

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THE HEART OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

By Christopher 9th Oct.

American Analysis Of Britain's Difficulty.

In the course of a review of the Indian situation the "New Republic", New York of September 23 writes:—

Will the Round Table Conference to discuss a future government for India, called to meet in November, succeed or fail? This has been the critical question ever since non-violent non-co-operation began; it is the focus of the negotiations which have been secretly conducted between the British Government and Gandhi. Responsible Englishmen know that to go on attempting to govern India without her consent would be too heavy a burden for the nation to bear; the Conference has all along been projected as the means of bringing together all the minds concerned. The Indian Nationalists, on their side, have been refusing to confer without a prior agreement on essentials. It will be remembered that passive resistance was started only when the Nationalists asked in vain for assurance that the Conference would discuss, not whether dominion government should be granted, but how. They wanted, not the temporizing of a vague hope, but a definite promise. They still want it. The Government is now attempting to satisfy them, so that Gandhi will call off his followers, and substitute co-operation for non-co-operation.

Realization of this fact throws into sharp light and shadow a good deal of the discussion of the Indian passive revolt—especially the discussion from the more imperialist of British sources. Winston Churchill rails at the Government for parleying with Mahatma Gandhi—its own prisoner. Others decry the attention paid to Gandhi by public opinion, especially in the United States. He is, it is repeated *ad nauseam*, a religious fanatic, who represents only a minority of the population of the grerat peninsula. It is charged that he has no sense of practical statesmanship, that he merely wants to prevent the encroachment of Western civilization in the Orient by interposing a reactionary Hinduism. Commetators in other nations are warned that this is a complex business, and that moreover it is a British business with which others should not meddle. It is even inferred that people should close their eyes to it and should not talk about it.

Nevertheless the fact remains that Gandhi's opposition to the Round Table Conference, if it is not removed, will cause the Conference to fail. The British Government understands that no system of government for India, except one precariously dependent on military force, can be operated without the consent of his immense following. Whatever one may think of Gandhi's philosophy, and tactics, they have given him a mundane power that even the most practical of Occidental statesmen must [illegible]

Gandhi, in jail, must be consulted by his keepers. He is at present master of the situation this is in itself the answer to much of the criticism of the nationalist movement by supporters of the British raj.

When a question of sovereignty is concerned, the solution is not always to be found in reason and light—particularly in the reason and the light of the power whose sovereignty is challenged. A dominion government for India, it is said, would be subject to perplexing difficulties. Any intelligent visitor from the Western world can see that there is a fission between the Moslems and the Hindus, that the Native States furnish a problem, that it would be embarrassing both for India and the British Empire if there were not an efficient military force to guard the northern passages, that the plight of the caste of untouchables is unenviable. India, it is said, is incapable of full self-government. The Simon Commissioners saw all this very clearly, and it must be admitted that there is much truth in their view. But, however much may be admitted, discussion of it is at this moment academic. What the Indian Nationalists are challenging is not so much the truth of such observations as the assumption of the British that they have any right or competence over Indian problems which is superior to their own. It is a simple, rather unreasoning belief in the justice of self-government which gets the Indian nationalist movement most of the sympathy which it has outside of India. Now that the issue of self-government has been so sharply raised, there is a feeling that, once Gandhi's cooperation is obtained by a binding promise of "the substance of independence," it will be time to consider the concrete problems of government, but not before.

IRISH EXAMPLE.

We are not aware that any people or group of peoples ever achieved self-government against the force of an alien power as the result of a dispassionate inquiry into their competence to exercise it. The difficulties in the way of granting freedom to Ireland, for instance, were represented for years as insuperable. There was a split between Ulster and the South; there was the closeness of Ireland to England; there was the factionalism in Ireland itself. Nevertheless the active Irish Nationalists—often if not always a minority—kept intriguing, arguing, fighting, until self-government was won. If a Simon Commission had been sent to the American colonies in 1775, it would undoubtedly have found that they would require many years of development before they were ready for independence. The leaders of the nationalist movement were, many of them, fanatical; there were the problems presented by our long frontiers open to attack by wild natives and foreign powers, by the inter- [illegible]

[illegible]ions in our population, by the institution of Negro slavery. Those who actively desired independence were unquestionably in a minority. Such a report would have been true in detail; indeed, nobody can be sure to-day that this nation might not have been better governed if it could have remained subject to the British crown. But all this is irrelevant in view of that contagious spirit of self-assertion which came to dominate the colonies. They wanted independence and they proposed to have it; years of warfare could not suppress the desire. When this spirit is abroad, alien government, even if it seems more fit in the abstract is really incompetent.

An analogy which may illustrate the point better, in view of the fact that a Labor Government is now in power in Great Britain, is that of a strike in a great industry. We always hear, in the heat of an industrial controversy, that a majority of the employees are not really supporting the strike, or that they have been misled by fanatical agitators from elsewhere. We hear that the strike demands are unreasonable, that the workers are incompetent to judge the situation, and that to treat with them would be ruinous. Any comment from those not directly concerned, and especially from those in other sections of the country or from other countries, is resented. In many cases there is a good deal of truth in these defenses of the employer. Nevertheless a sort of fundamental justice, irrespective of details, supports the demand of the strikers to have some power over their own wages and conditions of work.

Unless that justice were generally recognized by public opinion, the labor movement would be much weaker than it is. A minimum admission of the right of self-determination is an essential preliminary to adjusting the conflict.

A WARNING.

Friends of the British Labor Government would be injudicious not to recognize its grave difficulties, both in dealing with India, and dealing with opinion at Home. Every intelligent commentator should hope for the success of the Round Table Conference a success. We do not Gandhi and his followers by the public opinion of the world is, in many quarters, thought to add to the difficulty of the British Government in making the Conference. Any encouragement for share this opinion. The Conference, we believe, cannot succeed unless the Government is honestly prepared to recognize, as a definite preliminary, the right of India to substance of independence—however that may be defined so as to satisfy the Nationalists. Once this concession is made, discussion of the rest may follow. If it is not made, the only alternative is to suppress nationalism. We are not so foolhardy as to predict that a sufficiently ruthless and resourceful use of British power could not accomplish this result for the time being. But it is no proof of hostility to the English to hope that events will not take this [illegible] active revolts may be triumphantly put

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down, but the spirit of Indian nationalism seems to be of the sort that will endure and rebel until it is satisfied. Whatever pressure public opinion can exert ought to be exerted, in our opinion, against those forces in Great Britain, cousin to forces all over the world, which are always reluctant to surrender the power of government over peoples or classes or groups who deeply desire to govern themselves.

LONDON LETTER.

"IRELAND VERSUS INDIA."

(BY GWYNETH FODEN.)

(By Air Mail)

LONDON, Sept. 26.

After so many rumours that the Round Table Conference was likely to be postponed, it is now definitely fixed to begin early in November. And so, I suppose, many of our stay-at-home people will now be lulled into a sense of false security.

Let no one be deceived. The Government know full well that without Mahatma Gandhi, or the other Congress leaders, the Conference is foredoomed to failure. The British authorities know quite well that those delegates chosen by them in India "do not" represent all shades of Indian Opinion. They are feeling very embarrassed even at this juncture to find that American opinion on the Indian question is not favourable to England; this in spite of sending Sir John Simon to carry on a propaganda to delude the Americans about the righteousness of their actions. Really, it is to delude public opinion abroad that the English Government announce that the Round Table Conference will take place.

The "Times" glories in the fact that the Congress Leaders are in jail, and thus there is an opportunity for level-headed views to take hold before the leaders are free again.

AN ANALOGY.

I wonder why the English cannot profit by past experience. Their handling of the Irish problem in April 1917 was exactly similar. On account of the strong opinion in America on the Irish situation. Mr. Lloyd George announced that a conference representing all shades of Irish opinion would be held, to recommend a settlement of the Irish problem. He further announced that even the leaders of the great Irish Movement for Freedom would be invited to send delegates to the Conference. Mr. Arthur Griffith, then president of the Irish Congress, made an astute reply that they would willingly attend a Conference if the delegates were elected by the people of Ireland, and if there were no limitations on the findings of the Conference which should be free to declare for absolute independence if it thought fit. Of course, a Conference genuinely representative of the people of Ireland was the last thing Mr. Lloyd George desired. His sole object, as the people of Ireland knew, in proposing his precious "Conference" was to mislead public opinion abroad and silence criticism evoked by the executions, imprisonment and coercion in Ireland . . But he took good care that the choosing of the delegates would be left to the Government.

LLOYD GEORGE'S TACTICS.

However, Mr. Lloyd George realised that to make some show of genuineness of his proposed Conference, it would be necessary to release the political prisoners. So on June 15th, Mr. Bonar Law announced that all political prisoners would be released unconditionally and immediately. Mr. Lloyd George's proposed Conference was treated with complete indifference in Ireland. They knew too well it was never intended seriously by the British Government for any purpose save to hoodwink public opinion in America—although no doubt members of the Delegation believed otherwise.

Meantime, the Congress leaders and "volunteers", popularly called "Sinn Fein", carried on their intensive propaganda and boycott throughout the country. The released prisoners were applauded; everywhere demonstrations were held at which the leaders expounded their views. "Ireland's claim of Independence" was placed before the Peace Conference at the end of the European war.

"Sinn Fein" volunteers paraded and went through military evolutions though not carrying arms. As might be expected, the British Government endeavoured to prevent this exhibition of militarism by arresting three leaders and others. This only strengthened the Movement, and the Government expressed naive surprise that such a reactionary development should have resulted after their grand gesture of a Conference to solve the Irish problem.

TRICK THAT FAILED.

The Conference was held at the London Mansion House. There were considerable differences among the members, for no fewer than seven separate Notes, signed by various groups and individuals were included. A majority reported in favour of a severely limited measure of Home Rule for a partitioned Ireland. As far as any effect on the English policy was concerned, or on public opinion, the Conference might as well never have been held. Time and money spent on it were sheer waste, foo which unfortunate Ireland was made to foot the bill.

After the failure of this Conference, the British Government adopted more repressive methods to subdue Ireland. Major Beasly of the Free State Army, in his notes, states that "for three years the workers for Ireland's independence had confined themselves to political activities, passive resistance and a few bloodless 'coups' During those thousands were arrested; countless raids were made on private houses; there were proclamations, prohibitions, deportations. Meetings everywhere were broken up; national newspapers suppressed; leaders imprisoned and subjected to treatment as criminals; unarmed people were tracked, chased and harried."

DILLON'S SCATHING ATTACK.

If you want confirmation, let me remind you that Mr. John Dillon. M. P., a most honoured and respected Irishman and patriot, in a burst of passion denounced in the House of Commons his detestation and horror at the assaults, arrests and executions, and declared that thousands of people who had been opposed to the Movement were now becoming infuriated against the British Government and that the feeling was spreading throughout the country. "It is not murderers you are executing", he shouted, "it is insurgents who are fighting a clean and a brave fight, a few thousand men against many thousands backed with machine guns and artillery. When I read of friends of mine who have spent their lives in the service of Ireland—men whom I loved and knew—who have been murdered in cold blood. I clench my fists with rage and long for vengeane." Did not that noted Indian leader, Munshi Iswar Saran, in giving the Viceroy his reasons for his resignation of his membership of the Legislative Assembly, denounce the British Government for useing the repressive methods to check the Indian movement?

"WHERE IS THAT JUSTICE?"

I wonder if history will again repeat itself and the Indian Conference prove a ludicrous fiasco and a waste of time and money as did the Irish Conference held over the Irish problem—the British Government suffered a humiliating defeat, for in 1921 they came to [illegible] the leaders and gave Ireland her freedom.

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An Evening With Mr. Gandhi

[Last week Mr. Gandhi spent an evening with the Editor of the "Spectator." The following is a record of the conversation.]

MR. GANDHI had promised to come round and see me at eight o'clock, but knowing how many engagements he has to fulfil, I expected that he might be late. Within a couple of minutes of the appointed time I heard a motor-car drive up and a minute later my parlourmaid opened the door of my sitting-room and announced Mr. Gandhi. In flowing white robes, the prophet and leader of Indian Nationalism stood before me. I asked Mr. Gandhi whether he would prefer to sit on cushions on the floor, on the sofa or in an armchair, and began the conversation. His [illegible] long-fingered hands. His legs were bare and he wore sandals. Occasionally during the talk his feet would get uncovered and he would then wind the [illegible]

MYSELF: I am very glad to have this opportunity of having a talk with you, Mr. Gandhi, for the benefit of the readers of the *Spectator*.

MR. GANDHI: One of the things I wanted to do while in England was to talk to the Editor of the *Spectator*, because we in India appreciate very much the part the *Spectator* has played in enlightening the people of Great Britain on Indian problems. I know that you may not necessarily agree with all the views I hold, but I recognize that you have repeatedly stated in the columns of the *Spectator* that the only satisfactory basis for the future relations of Great Britain and India is one of friendship, absolute equality and a recognition of the fact that the people of India must be the final arbiters of their destiny.

MYSELF: Let's see; when were you last in England, Mr. Gandhi? It was some time before the War, wasn't it?

MR. G.: Yes, I visited England in 1909 and I was here again just two days after the outbreak of war. On that occasion I assisted in the organization of a Red Cross unit, but unfortunately I fell ill and a severe attack of pleurisy prevented my doing what I [illegible] India at the end of November that year.

MYSELF: What is your chief impression as regards the British understanding of the Indian problem to-day? Do you find that public opinion has changed much?

MR. G.: Yes, I find a vast change in the attitude of the man in the street, and I have made a special point of talking with all sections of the British people. I am very happy in London and I have received wonderful signs of affection from your ordinary folk. In the East End I have been greatly touched by the friendliness displayed. People come out of their houses and shake hands with me and wish me well. I was much gratified by the reception I received in Lancashire, where the people seemed to me to understand my position; and despite the fact that my policy in India was reported to have affected Lancashire so grievously, no grudge was borne me and I found genuine friendship both from operatives and employers alike.

MYSELF: What about the so-called upper and official classes? Do you think their opinion has changed and are they ready to give India what it wants?

MR. G.: I fear they still do not understand the position and are not ready to give the freedom that we claim as our right. They think that India is not ready to-day to control her own affairs, and I fear not many of them would be prepared to admit our right to the same freedom that Great Britain possesses; that is, the right to control our armed forces, our finances and our external affairs.

MYSELF: As you know, Mr. Gandhi, the *Spectator* has always been a great believer in what is called Dominion status. We think it has achieved the apparently impossible task of reconciling two apparent opposites, co-operation and independence. Would India be satisfied, do you think, with the same status that South Africa has as a Dominion within the British Commonwealth?

MR. G.: I regard the status of India as unique. After all we represent a fifth of the human race. I do not think, therefore, that a political status which might suit other Dominions of the British Commonwealth would necessarily suit us. You must remember that India has been a subject nation for a very long time. If Great Britain approaches the question of the future relations between our peoples in a spirit of friendship with no reservations, she will not find India behind-hand in coming to meet her proffered hand. We would be quite ready, once our right to independence has been recognized, to enter into an alliance or partnership on equal terms which would place the relations of Great Britain and India on a satisfactory basis.

MYSELF: Once Great Britain has stated finally and once for all that the peoples of India have the same right to control their own destiny that we have, do you think that India would still want to employ, on terms within India's means, British officials, British soldiers, British technicians, and to draw upon our experience in building up the Indian State of the future?

MR. G.: Yes, most certainly. Once Great Britain recognizes what we consider our just claims, I certainly would not wish to remove all the British officials in India. I want to avail myself of all the experience you have gained. I believe that we could make mutually satisfactory arrangements, once there is no dictation on your side.

MYSELF: Is it true, as some of my more extreme Nationalist friends have said, that India when she wants European advisers would rather turn to Continental Europeans such as Germans, French, Swedes, Dutch, in place of British?

MR. G.: No, I do not think this is true in general. We would certainly need advice and guidance from Europe in several things. If we could get these from Great Britain on terms that we can afford we would welcome them. The only thing that would make us turn away from Great Britain would be if Great Britain refuses to grant what we consider our just demand.

If you will play the game with us and recognize our right to control our own defence, we should confer with your experts and ascertain what is considered the minimum number of British troops necessary for our needs. I would regard the British Commander-in-Chief in India as my technical adviser on military matters, but the British Army in India would, of course, have to be under the Indian National Government.

MYSELF: What about the statement that it would be undignified for British subjects to place themselves in the position of mercenaries to the Indian Government?

MR. G.: I have heard the argument, but I cannot appreciate it. Behind the objection is the lurking belief that partnership is to be partnership in name only and that in reality we are to remain a subject nation. Or else how can British soldiers serving a partner nation be considered mercenaries? But if British soldiers will not serve the National Government, we must do without them.

MYSELF: In terms of self-interest, therefore, from the British standpoint, you think that a friendly India in close alliance and partnership with Great Britain would be an asset to us.

MR. G.: You should be the best judges. In my opinion the solution of the Indian problem in a manner satisfactory to Indian aspirations would largely help Great Britain to solve her own economic question. It would be good for Great Britain, India, and the world. If Great Britain enters into a freewill partnership with India; that is to say, a partnership of equals, she will have a friendly nation to trade with and all the boycotting of British trade would naturally cease, apart, of course, from cloth. I fear Lancashire cannot get much help as we are determined to make our own cloth, but there are many other goods required which we shall have to import from abroad. For instance, I think India imports eighteen crores of sugar and seven crores of hardware, and so on.

We shall certainly not be able to manufacture all our own requirements for a long time to come.

MYSELF: Then, Mr. Gandhi, I understand you to mean that you want India's right to control her own destiny recognized now once for all. If this were done,

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(continued from page 7)

invite both Houses of Parliament to set up a Joint Select Committee to consider their definite proposals for the revision of the Constitution and to give the Committee power to confer with representatives of Indian opinion. And it is their intention, in the belief that this course will commend itself to Indian opinion, to invite Parliament to set up the Joint Select Committee before the introduction of a Bill.

Mr. CHURCHILL (Epping, U.).—The proposals will be made first in general terms?

SIR S. HOARE.—In general terms and in specific terms. It has been the intention of successive Governments that a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament should be called upon at some stage to examine the proposals for constitutional reform. His Majesty's Government hope that by their present decision to recommend that this important task shall be performed before any Bill is introduced they will facilitate Indian cooperation and ensure its effective influence in what is probably the most important stage in the shaping of the constitutional reforms and at a time before irrevocable decisions have been reached by Parliament.

The programme I have indicated is based on the hope that the inquiry by Joint Select Committee may follow as the next formal stage after the conclusion of the Consultative Committee's business. But it may be that the course of discussions in the Consultative Committee may prove that matters will not be ripe for the formulation of definite proposals for the consideration of a Joint Select Committee without further consultation of a more formal character. In that event, at the cost of delaying their programme, his Majesty's Government will make arrangements accordingly; but they would regard it as essential, unless the objects they have in view are to be frustrated, that the size and *personnel* of the body to be summoned for such further discussions in London should be strictly determined with reference to the number and character of the subjects found to require further discussion.

By a procedure framed on these lines, his Majesty's Government hope to ensure both rapid progress towards the objective in view and the continuance of the cooperation between British and Indian representatives on the one hand, and between the three British parties on the other, upon which so much of the success of the constitutional changes must inevitably depend. (Cheers.)

OPPOSITION VIEWS

Mr. M. JONES (Caerphilly, Lab.) moved to reduce the Vote by £100. He said that the information which some members had did not in every particular accord with the glowing and comforting picture which the Secretary for India had given of the condition of affairs in most of the provinces. The people who assured him that all was well in India were called upon to administer the Ordinances and were therefore more or less in the position of sitting in judgment on their own activities. There was substantial reason for the suggestion that a portion of the forces which it had been sought to suppress in the last few months had been driven underground. The policy which had been followed had tended to create a situation in which moderate opinion which had been anxious to cooperate with the Government in the past had been steadily driven to the opposite side.

One ominous omission was apparent in Sir S. Hoare's speech. He found no trace of any intention, or even desire, to effect some policy of reconciliation between the Government and the vast section of opinion represented by the Congress Party. They might think Mr. Gandhi an extremely ill-advised person, but whether he was or not he represented a substantial body of opinion in India, and if the Government wanted to propound proposals whereby India would enjoy a larger measure of self-government it was in the highest degree desirable that first of all they should make that cooperation attainable by a policy of reconciliation between them and Mr. Gandhi's party. The Opposition regarded the pronouncement of the right hon. gentleman as one of the gravest significance, but they must have adequate time to consider it. He did not think that the right hon. gentleman's speech was either unhelpful or unhopeful; it was, like the curate's egg, good in parts. He was sure that the Government would be driven sooner or later to realize the eternal and fundamental truth that reliance upon force was by no means a safe way of leading out of difficulties, either of temperament or philosophy. The House would soon be called upon to build a structure which he hoped would be durable. If that was to be the case that structure must rest on the principles of good will and mutual understanding.

SIR R. CRADDOCK (English Universities, U.) said that Parliament in this matter of India should not be led down a slope by thinking that they could realize an ideal by idealizing the real. It had been said often that they must fulfil their pledges, but who would dare to suggest that they had not done so? They had gone far beyond what they had promised, and the cry about fulfilling pledges was merely designed to push the Government farther down the slope. The whole scheme of constitutional reform in India to which Parliament had been committed by the White Paper was like a building in regard to which it was impossible to calculate beforehand the stresses and strains the building would have to bear. When the House came to grant reforms in India they should make it plain beyond cavil that a difficult and dangerous experiment was being made and that the ground must be reoccupied if the experiment proved a failure and imposed chaos and misery upon 300,000,000 of his Majesty's subjects in India.

COLONEL WEDGWOOD said that a very dangerous step had been taken by the Government in combining the Bill for dealing with autonomy for the provinces with the question of the federation of India. By bringing in the Princes, by strengthening the position of those who had what was called a stake in India, a tremendous barrier would be set up to any sort of real democratic development in India. The duty of the House was not merely to the well-to-do extreme Nationalists, whose one desire was to remain in the saddle, but rather to the mass of the people. The important duty of England was not so much to establish Home Rule Government as to establish government of the people, by the people, for the people, which was real democracy.

SIR A KNOX (Wycombe, U.) said Colonel Wedgwood's speech reminded him of a remark made to him by an Indian member of the Round-Table Conference, that he had talked to every member of the late Labour Government then in office, and found that their idea of democracy was to count heads irrespective of what the heads contained. (Laughter and hear, hear.) He regretted the decision to have a single Bill and would have preferred that autonomous power in the provinces should have been introduced first and a period of five years allowed to elapse in order to see how it worked. Surely the evidence from the Irish Free State showed the need for prudence and that things ought not to be given away irrevocably. We must have the power to retrace our steps in order to protect the people who believed in us.

Mr. HICKS (Woolwich, E., Lab.) said that the Labour Party wished to discuss industrial conditions in India rather than the constitutional position.

SIR J. WARDLAW MILNE said he agreed that India had a right now, after having been consulted fully and freely, to know exactly what the Government intended to do. No one who had followed events in India could say that the emergency had passed and that the Ordinances could be removed. There were hundreds of millions of people in India who only desired to pursue their avocations peacefully and who were entitled to look to the Government for protection. So long as the terrorist movement continued no Government could take any course except to fight it tooth and nail. But government by Ordinance was unfortunate, and we were anxious that the moment should come as soon as possible when the Ordinances could be removed. After the declaration of the Government to-day India had no reason to doubt the genuineness of our intentions. We had now a right to ask India to let us know where we stood and if she intended to cooperate with us and work the system we had put forward, or whether her aim was independence, because, if so, we could not work with her.

SIR E. BENNETT (Cardiff, Central, Nat. Lab.) congratulated the Government on their declaration of policy. He said that nobody liked the Ordinances, but his experience in India had confirmed his opinion that, as long as the Government of India was to go on, some such system of Ordinances was absolutely necessary. There were, however, things in connexion with the Ordinances to which he wished to call attention. He had heard of cases of arrests on suspicion, and the imposition by magistrates of two years' rigorous imprisonment. These were to be deplored in the interests of launching the Indian Constitution on untroubled waters.

Mr. McGOVERN (Glasgow, Shettleston, Lab.) said that the British ruling class had never been sincere in their desire to confer self-government on India.

COLONEL GOODMAN (Islington, N., U.) welcomed the recent evidence of a firmer tendency in the internal administration of India.

MAJOR MILNER (Leeds, [illegible], Lab.) said that the Secretary of State's speech was a distinct departure from the condition of masterly inactivity which appeared to have become static. The right hon. gentleman might well consider an alteration of his present refusal to permit friends to meet Mr. Gandhi and might permit those who were ready and willing to mediate to endeavour to do so in the hope that some good might come out of it.

SIR A. BAILLIE (Linlithgow, U.) said that he supported the policy of the Government which would give the leaders in India a chance to learn the art of self-government. The policy of self-government was risky, and was a gamble; but there was no alternative, and there was a great prospect for trade relations with India.

Miss RATHBONE (English Universities, Ind.) said that she hoped the Secretary of State would see his way, without in any way seeming to climb down to Congress, to build a bridge so that the new Constitution might have a chance of being launched in an atmosphere of greater good will.

SIR W. SMILES (Blackburn, U.) said that the most dangerous shoal ahead of the Secretary of State was the question of money. Several of the provinces would start their autonomous existence very short of cash; and the committee which was to be set up might look into this matter.

SIR N. SANDEMAN (Middleton and Prestwich, U.) said that Sir S. Hoare's statement that the Ordinances would be renewed had given many of them renewed confidence.

Mr. D. GRENFELL (Gower, Lab.) said that the problems of India were simple compared with those confronting Europe.

There was much to forgive and forget in our relations with India, and we should make a generous advance towards her.

Mr. HALES (Hanley, U.) said that any settlement of the communal question by Great Britain would be the greatest mistake that this country had ever made.

Mr. LANSBURY (Bow and Bromley, Lab.) said the procedure announced by the Secretary of State was a departure from the method initiated by the Labour Government with the approval of the Conservative Party. That was that representatives of Indians of all parties should assist in framing the Constitution of India. The Labour Party had placed on record the principle that the people of India had a right, not only to self-government, but to self-determination. They had an absolute right to remain in, or go out of, the British Commonwealth of Nations. That was the rock on which negotiations with Mr. Gandhi had broken down. He had often said and he had been criticized for it, that the Government had no option but to maintain law and order. About that there could be no question. If a Government were unable to maintain its position except by coercion, it had no right to remain in India. The Secretary of State should rise above the spirit of mere conquest in this matter. He asked that the Secretary of State for India should go out to India himself and negotiate with Mr. Gandhi once more, and try to find a solution. (Ministerial cries of "No!") In any case, some day a solution would have to be found; they could not settle the question without the Congress Party and without the good will of the Indian people. (Opposition cheers.)

MR. CHURCHILL'S VIEWS

Mr. CHURCHILL said that he had left home that morning with some feelings of apprehension. This statement which was to be made by the Secretary of State dealt with so many important matters that he felt some anxiety about it. But he was bound to say that on the whole he felt very considerably reassured by the statement which Sir S. Hoare had made. (Cheers.) The forces of disorder had been restrained, but on the other hand the constitutional programme was adding to the difficulties of the Secretary of State, creating the very discontent and unrest which strong measures were required to allay. What could be greater embarrassment to the administration of India than the bringing out of the Lothian Report at this juncture? The Ordinances were to be re-enacted, but at the same time the Lothian Report declared that 36,000,000 people were to be enfranchised to return the Congress Party to Parliament. There were 31,000 people in prison in India, and he was sorry that Mr. Lansbury appeared to apologize for the murder of British officials in India by women.

Mr. LANSBURY intervened to say that Mr. Churchill had no right to make that statement. He had done his best to make it known that in his view murder and assassination were an abomination, wherever they were used.

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CHURCHILL said that in the [illegible] no one could complain of Mr. Lansbury. There were sentences in which he explained [illegible] high-spirited people——(Opposition cries of "No!"), "I heard what the Leader of the Opposition said," Mr. Churchill added, "and I know the interpretation that will be put upon it in some quarters." The Secretary of State was prepared that those people should go out of prison and into Parliament. The Lothian Report was nothing but the cheapest chop-logic—crude, raw, semi-obsolete, half-encrusted principles of mid-Victorian Radicalism. (Laughter.) Referring to the communal problem, Mr. Churchill said the Roman motto was: "Divide and rule," and we had decided unanimously that it would be improper for us to follow that in India; but we ought not to fall into the opposite extreme and "combine and abdicate." (Laughter.)

He was in considerable agreement with the Government in the procedure they had marked out. This procedure seemed to him in the main to be a return to the old Birkenhead proposals. He welcomed the decision, which constituted a very remarkable development in the process of the Government.

The Joint Committee constituted a very great advance in the treatment of the subject, and not only secured thorough control by Parliament, but removed this question from the hateful area of a negotiated treaty, like the Irish Treaty, and brought it back to the broad platform that Parliament was responsible for the well-being of India, and that nothing which Parliament had said could remove from it that responsibility.

SIR S. HOARE'S REPLY

THE QUESTION OF BURMA

SIR S. HOARE said he believed that the two sides of the policy which he had enunciated were inextricably inter-connected and that it would be much more and not less difficult, as Mr. Churchill had suggested, if the Government were only proceeding on one line. Mr. Lansbury seemed to think that the Government had brought to an end the day of the Round-Table Conference method, but nothing was farther from their minds than to bring an end to this chapter of Indian cooperation. The Government's difficulties had been essentially practical. There was no ulterior motive in their minds and they had no desire to sidetrack the expression of Indian opinion. Their problem was to find some effective means that would enable them to proceed without unnecessary delay. If they had embarked on another ceremonial meeting of the Round-Table Conference and another meeting of the Federal Structure Committee, that would have put off the introduction of any constitutional measures, certainly for a year, possibly for even longer, and possibly for an indefinite time. The proposed Joint Committee would be set up by resolution of both Houses, in which the terms of reference and the names of the members representative of the main bodies of opinion in both Houses would be included. This would afford members of both Houses the opportunity of discussing the terms of reference.

It had been asked whether if Burma joined the Indian Federation she could retain the right to withdraw from it at any time if she so desired. It was true that there was a party in Burma who held that if Burma joined the Federation she should have the right to withdraw on her own terms. That was a contingency which his Majesty's Government did not contemplate. Burma would be required at the forthcoming election to decide between two alternatives. Either she must decide to separate from India and pursue her own political destiny on the basis of the Constitution set forth by the Prime Minister at the Burma Conference, or to join the Indian Federation, in which case she would remain a province of India, be treated in the same way as the other provinces of India, and would not have the right to withdraw from the Federation.

With regard to the Meerut conspiracy charges, he had done everything in his power to bring the trial to a speedy end. He had a copy of a letter by one of the prisoners to his father. In this letter it was stated that the defence was responsible for about a year's delay by making useless cross-examination and long statements, and that the defendants on bail, who were afraid of convictions and wanted to remain free as long as possible, were manipulating the present delay.

The Leader of the Opposition had made a plea for reconciliation. He (Sir S. Hoare) had shut no door in anybody's face. In his last speech he made it quite clear on behalf of the Government that they were ready to cooperate with anyone who was ready to cooperate with them, but that on no account were they going to enter into negotiation with people whose objective was still to smash the foundations of ordered Government. (Cheers.) The door was open, and it would remain open for those who wished to cooperate, but they could not begin bargaining and negotiating with people who still showed no signs of wishing to cooperate. He had given instances to show that the motive behind Congress were still arrayed against ordered government in India. So long as that condition remained the Government could not contemplate peace with them. Let them lay aside civil disobedience—let them make it clear that they were prepared to cooperate on the lines of the White Paper—and the Government would not be slow to cooperate with them. Until they definitely abandoned the attempt to smash the machine of government and to set themselves up as a rival force to the accredited Government in India there could be no question of negotiation of any kind. (Ministerial cheers.)

The motion to reduce the Vote was negatived by 242 votes to 28—Government majority, 214, and the debate was adjourned.

The House stood adjourned at half-past 11 o'clock.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTICES

HOUSE OF LORDS

At 3

Town and Country Planning Bill, Committee.

Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment Bill, second reading.

Children and Young Persons Bill, third reading.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

At 2.45

Supply. Scottish Votes for Agriculture, Education, and other services.

COMMITTEES

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Peers' War Memorial, Chairman's Room, at 2.15. Bath Gas Order, Room 1, at 12. Unopposed, Sea Fisheries Provisional Orders (No. 2), London County Council (Money); Special Orders, Liverpool Electricity (Extension) Order, Rotherham Gas Order, Chairman's Room, at 2.55.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Standing Committee C. Gas Undertakings Bill, Room 10, at 11. Selection, Room 13, at 5.

THE FINSBURY JUSTICES

At a private meeting of the Justices for the Finsbury Division held yesterday at the Town Hall Mr. J. E. C. Bigwood, the Chairman of the Justices, was presented by his colleagues with an illuminated address in recognition of the completion of 40 years' service as a Justice of the Peace for the County of London, during the last 13 years of which he has been chairman of the Division. In the address his colleagues expressed their appreciation of his work, not only in the Finsbury Division but also in connexion with the London Quarter Sessions. The presentation was made by Mr. Enos Howes, the deputy chairman. In acknowledging the gift Mr. BIGWOOD said that since he was sworn in 40 years ago the number of Justices had increased from 350 to 800.

INDIA

SIR S. HOARE'S STATEMENT

The House went into Committee of Supply.

On a Vote for a sum of £81,110 to complete the amount necessary to defray the expenses of the India Office,

SIR S. HOARE said:—The time has now come when the Government, having made a number of important decisions, should take this Committee into its confidence as to what are its intentions. During the nine months in which I have been connected with the India Office I have attempted to withhold from the knowledge of the House no material information bearing on Indian questions and I propose to-day to give the Committee as full an account as I can of the present situation, to explain to hon. members the Government's immediate intentions, and to ask hon. members to help us to surmount in a practical and sensible way the obstacles that still stand in the path of constitutional development. The decisions that the Government has taken cover three different groups of questions; first of all there is the group of questions connected with the emergency Ordinances, then there is the group of questions connected with the communal position, and third, there is the group of questions connected with the procedure under the Government's constitutional proposals. The emergency Ordinances have a life of six months, and at the end of that period particular Ordinances lapse. So far as the Bengal Ordinances connected with terrorism are concerned, the Ordinances lapsed some weeks ago, and it was then found necessary to issue a new Ordinance. So far as the civil disobedience Ordinance is concerned, the six months period comes to an end on July 3. The first question therefore to which I would direct the attention of the Committee is this: on July 3 will there be in existence a state of emergency that will justify the imposition of new emergency measures? If we are to make an intelligent answer to that question we must take a survey of the present position in India. Some weeks ago I arranged for a detailed survey to be made, province by province, from one end of India to another.

[illegible] action that has been taken has been completely successful in keeping the civil disobedience movement in check. In some cases it has exceeded our expectations. In the North-West Frontier Province, for instance, where there was an excess of inflammable material, we have got through a difficult period with scarcely any loss of life, and we have been able to launch the province on a new chapter of self-government. Take the great province of the Punjab, a province with a very virile population, with the seeds in it of much communal trouble, with agricultural prices sunk to almost unprecedented figures; upon every hand it might have been supposed that there was a chance of trouble in the Punjab. Yet what did we see during the last six months? Scarcely any trouble at all. The machine of government, thanks to the very able administrators, British and Indian, is working smoothly. Take another centre of difficulty, the United Provinces. There was a state of affairs not many months ago when it looked as if the "no-rent" campaign was going to develop into an agrarian revolution. There again during those six months the attack on the forces of law and order has been effectually checked, and on the whole there has been a period unmarked by any serious disturbance. As to Bombay, I quite admit that in the city of Bombay there has been grave trouble, both economic and communal, and I would say in passing that it has been admitted by almost every one that no little of the bitterness of the communal trouble has been directly attributable to the civil disobedience movement. In the Presidency of Bombay, the centre of trouble in 1930, civil disobedience has been throughout this period kept under effective control. Much the same results have been achieved in the other provinces. Indeed, it may be said that from one end of India to the other every local government obtained the initiative at the beginning of the campaign and has retained it ever since. There has been no hesitation to take action and no doubt regarding the main line of policy and no relaxation of effort. I come to the second part. In these debates it has often been said that we have made excessive use of the emergency powers we assumed, but the survey we have made does not give any ground for justification of that charge. Admittedly the powers are drastic, but they are justified by the necessity for proving that civil disobedience cannot succeed against the organized resources of the State. With very rare and justifiable exceptions, such as the emergency of the communal riots at Bombay, use of the special powers has been strictly confined to persons engaged in civil disobedience, and hardly more than one person in 10,000 has been prosecuted in connexion with civil disobedience, and less than one in 20,000 under the Ordinances. In at least 90 out of 100 villages in India the ordinances have had no practical effect whatever. The possession of these powers has unquestionably prevented loss of life and property, and has greatly diminished the necessity for forcible action. Regrettable instances during this campaign have been remarkably few. The best proof of this is the great difficulty that Congress has experienced in finding material with any basis of truth for propaganda purposes. The charges that have been proved to be falsely brought against certain police subordinates in Benares for alleged ill-treatment of women were evidence of the lack of this material. The use of the Ordinances was strictly confined to the actual needs, and it has been on a diminishing scale. The following figures of convictions, including those under the ordinary law as well as under the Ordinances, speak for themselves. In January the number was 14,800; in February, 17,800; in March it had fallen to 6,900; in April it was 5,300; and in May, 3,776. The total number of convicted persons undergoing imprisonment at the end of May was 31,194, which is a decrease of 1,260 on the total for April. The position may be summed up by saying that the Government have the movement under control and that the initiative is with them and not with Congress. (Hear, hear.)

EMERGENCY POWERS

I wish, as strongly as I can, to emphasize this third result of the survey we have made. The campaign against the Government has been held in check; it has not been called off. It is still in active operation, and it is now mainly directed towards the following objects:—First, to encourage an intensive boycott of British goods; second, to keep alive enthusiasm by demonstrations, such as the attempt a little while ago to hold a Congress session at Delhi, and by subsequent attempts to hold Congress meetings in the terms of the resolution which it passed; third, to extend agitation in rural areas and to dislocate the machine of government, for instance, by malicious damage to Government property, such as telegraph wires and post office boxes. The mischief-makers have been effectively checked, but all the evidence goes to show that they have not yet any intention of abandoning their subversive campaign. In a situation such as this there should be only one test of policy: is action necessary or is it not in the interests of law, order, and good government; and is action calculated to give the protection [illegible] which the community at large is entitled to [illegible]?

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the Government have applied [illegible] ques-
tion—we have come to the conc[illegible]ion that
on July 3 there will be an emergency sufficiently grave to necessitate the exercise of special powers. It is therefore our intention to assumne by Ordinance the majority of the special powers that would otherwise lapse when the existing Ordinances run out. It has not been found necessary to include any additional powers, and it has been found possible to dispense with a few of those now in existence. Although these powers are to be assumed, the desire of the Government of India—this is a point to which I would specially draw the attention of the Committee—is to restrict the application of the various provisions to those provinces only where their use is definitely required. Similarly, inside the provinces themselves the powers will only be applied to those districts where it is impossible to do without them. The ordinary law-abiding citizen need not be affected by the existence of these special powers at all.

I am aware that in arriving at this decision the Government lay themselves open to two lines of criticism. It may be said that the review which I have just given shows so definitely the improvement in the situation that there is no longer any need of the exercise of the emergency powers. In the second place, it may be urged, as it has been urged more than once from the Opposition benches, that the action we are continuing will have the effect of creating a feeling of sullen resentment among many persons not actively engaged in the civil disobedience movement, and whose cooperation we need in the constitutional programme before us. Let me say a word or two about these two charges. Although some of the emergency powers may not be used, it is none the less necessary to have them in reserve. (Ministerial cheers.) We are dealing with people who are engaged in an attack on the whole system of ordered government, and who have used every ingenious device for the purpose of defeating it. We are dealing with very ingenious and subtle opponents who are ready and willing to make use of any gap that there may be in our defences, and are only too anxious to exploit it to the full. These people will concentrate on every gap, and by every cunning device obtain the greatest possible advantage from it. The powers, therefore, must be retained, although their application will be carefully and sympathetically regulated by the needs of particular provinces and districts. I come to the second charge, that our action has stirred up a feeling of sullen resentment in the minds of many who might otherwise be our friends. I put this question specifically to the Government of India: I asked them to make a most careful inquiry, province by province, into the justification of this charge. I have masses of material on which to base my opinion. There is no justification whatever for any so general charge. There is sullen resentment in India, I agree; but it is the sullen resentment of the men who have been attacking the whole basis of ordered government and whose efforts have been frustrated by the action we have taken. (Ministerial cheers.) There are others—I freely admit it—who are not directly identified with the civil disobedience campaign, but who none the less regret the drastic action we have had to take. The Committee should remember that many of these people, excellent as many of them may be, do not regard the situation as we regard it. I should not be misrepresenting their views if I said that most of them wish to see a drawn battle between the Government and the Congress movement. I think that most of the people of whom I am speaking do not want to see a definite result emerge from the action the Government have taken. I regard the issues at stake as so grave that we cannot treat them as if this was a match in which eash side was to play for a limited time, and then, at the end of it, stumps would be drawn. So far as the Government are concerned, we cannot be content with a drawn result of this kind, but we are determined to take every action in our power to suppress this challenge against government. (Ministerial cheers.) I know it will be said that the action we are taking will create suspicions in India, and will endanger our good faith in relation to the future action that we may take in the field of constitutional reform. I am never blind to the words of my critics; I have taken them into account. But just as one should not be blind to the words of one's critics, so, on no account, can one abandon one's friends (hear, hear); and there is no hiding the fact that during the last six months great sections of the populations of India have stood behind the Government. (Hear, hear.) Nine out of 10 villages have refused as a whole to take any part in the civil disobedience movement. There has been our own steadfast band of officials, Indians as well as British, who have stood by us in a time of great emergency. The way to show one's good faith is surely not to break faith with one's own friends. The way to show one's own good faith is not to take action one day and then for no particular reason to abandon it the next, but to go resolutely on with one's programme and to carry out the pledges which we have given to the House and the world. (Hear, hear.) It is in that way that we are going to show our good faith, and the way we are going to [illegible] exists in India, is to go on expeditiously, resolutely, and sympathetically with the program[illegible]ich we have given our hand

THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

The Committee will wish to know something of our future programme and I propose to show them what is in our mind. First I will sketch in a few sentences the programme against which we have to make our decisions. It is a very intractable matter. Hard, unavoidable facts that have to be faced. Across all of them stretches the spectre of the communal trouble. It does not matter where you look in the field of Indian problems at the present time, there you will find in the background the spectre of the communal trouble. It does not matter at what point the constitutional issue engrosses your mind, there at every turn is the communal trouble. It comes to this, that unless some decision is given upon the communal question there can be no constitutional advance, either in the centre or the provinces, of any kind. That was the situation which faced the Government last December. Last December we still hoped that the communities would settle their difficulties among themselves—obviously by far the best solution of this overwhelming difficulty. We have been disappointed, and during the last six months the communal question has on the whole become more bitter and more complicated even than it was last December. Just as we said last December that we should be prepared to make a decision if the communities refused to agree among themselves, so I repeat that here this afternoon and I tell the Committee that we intend to make a decision during the course of the present summer. (Hear, hear.) I cannot be explicit about actual dates for the very obvious reason that these are questions of immense complexity and they are questions that in particular it is essential that we should have the Prime Minister back among us to give his invaluable and undivided attention about a question about which he knows so much. So determined are we to go on resolutely with the constitutional programme that in spite of all the manifest difficulties and dangers with which we are faced we shall give our decision some time during the present summer.

Proceeding to deal with the rest of the Government programme and in particular with the many questions of procedure which they must take into account when they come to consider the last chapters of their constitutional efforts, Sir S. Hoare said that since the Round-Table Conference adjourned last December he had had innumerable communications both with India and with Indians in this country as to the best procedure to be adopted for terminating and bringing to an issue the questions which still remained undecided and undiscussed. They were all unanimous in agreeing that the Government should go on resolutely with the work with as little delay as possible, and that the Government should maintain Indian cooperation until their efforts were completed, which, indeed, had been his desire during the past two years. Another point on which his friends were agreed was that there should be no more committees. (Hear, hear.) At the same time he thought they should all be grateful to the committees for the excellent manner in which the committees had carried out their duties. (Hear, hear.) The Cabinet had also come definitely to the view that, in the interest of India no less than in the interest of the House, it was better to deal with the constitutional question in one Bill, so as to present a complete picture of a comprehensive constitutional scheme. When, therefore, he said that it was the intention to attempt to proceed by one Bill, he hoped he was making a statement that would be generally satisfactory to the great majority of Indians, and would also be for the convenience of hon. members in that House who would not be asked during this Parliament to deal with two big and complicated Indian measures, but would be asked to deal with one in a comprehensive fashion at a single time.

I said just now (the right hon. gentleman continued), and I said it intentionally, that it is our desire to attempt to proceed by one Bill. I use these words for this reason, that no one in any part of this House can categorically say that an All-India Federation Bill can be produced until we know in detail and for certain that the Indian States are going to be an effective part of the Federation. In the same way it is impossible here and now to say that we shall succeed in our endeavour until we have made quite sure that the safeguards to which this House has always given special attention are properly protected.

THE FEDERAL SCHEME
GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS

So far as to-day is concerned, I can say definitely that we are going to proceed with this attempt, and we are going to make every effort in our power to succeed with the attempt expeditiously and without any undue delay. So far as the actual procedure for enabling us to introduce a Bill is concerned, I may tell the Committee that we have at once started conversations with representative Princes, and that these conversations will be continued, primarily in India, with a view to ascertaining at the earliest date how far we can proceed with the All-Indian Federal scheme. I have purposely given the Committee this background, without which they cannot satisfactorily judge the merits of the procedure that we are to-day proposing. Having given them this background, I shall proceed to read a short statement which is going to be issued in India this afternoon summarizing the various details of the action which the Government is proposing to undertake.

Since the policy of his Majesty's Government, as announced to the Round Table Conference, was endorsed by Parliament the primary concern of his Majesty's Government has been so to lay their plans as to facilitate its translation into legislative results with the utmost possible dispatch. The first immediate steps required to supplement the discussions of the Conference were the inquiries of the three Committees which have lately returned from India. The reports of two of these Committees are now in the hands of his Majesty's Government, and, as they hope shortly to receive that of the third, they are in a position to indicate the methods by which they intend to make further progress.

In the first place, his Majesty's Government have definitely decided to endeavour to give effect to their policy by means of a single Bill which will provide alike for the autonomous constitutions of the Provinces and for the federation of Provinces and States. They intend that this measure shall contain provisions enabling the provincial constitutions to be introduced without necessarily awaiting the completion of all the steps required for the actual inauguration of Federation. Since it is an essential feature of his Majesty's Government's policy that the Federation which it will be the object of the Bill to construct shall be a Federation of all India, it follows that the units concerned must be prepared actually to federate, and that the proposals to be laid before Parliament to this end must be complete in all essentials; in particular, there must be reasonable assurances forthcoming at the time the Bill is introduced that the financial and other provisions for the cementing of the structure will enable Provinces, States, the Federal Government, and Parliament alike, adequately and harmoniously to fulfil their several functions, and that the interests which require to be safeguarded shall be assured of practical and efficient protection. But it is their intention, so far as lies within their power, to spare no effort to secure the fulfilment of these conditions, and to this end they will continue to prosecute their endeavours to find means as speedily as possible for surmounting the obstacles which the study of the concrete details necessarily discloses.

His Majesty's Government have carefully considered the procedure by which they can, on the one hand, most expeditiously and efficiently overcome these obstacles, and, on the other hand, retain the advantages of consultation and cooperation with Indian opinion which the Round-Table Conference was designed to secure. After carefully considering the present position, they are convinced that matters have now reached a stage at which the settlement of the urgent and important questions that still remain to be decided will only be delayed by formal sessions of large bodies such as the Round-Table Conference or of committees such as the Federal Structure Committee. They have come to the conclusion that expeditious treatment of the outstanding questions will best be secured by the following programme which, though involving some variation in method, will secure to the full the collaboration which has been the underlying principle of the work accomplished hitherto.

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REMOVAL OF OBSTACLES

In the first place, they will take the next immediate step towards the removal of obstacles and will announce the decision which they have undertaken to give on those aspects of the communal problem which now retard progress. They are now engaged in the settlement of actual terms of the decision, and, unless unforeseen difficulties intervene, they hope they will be able to announce it some time during the present summer.

Secondly, on the assumption that the communal decision removes the obstacles which have been impeding progress, they trust that, as soon as their decisions have been announced, the Consultative Committee will reassemble and will proceed continuously with its programme of work in India, bringing its collective advice to bear on the numerous and important questions entrusted to it, many of which were not examined by the Conference or its Committees in London. Subject to discussion in the Consultative Committee of matters which affect both British India and Indian States, his Majesty's Government are considering the means by which solutions may be facilitated and expedited of those difficulties which confront them in connexion with matters affecting the States alone. His Majesty's Government greatly hope that such progress may result from the Consultative Committee's discussions that there may be found remaining over from its final session only a few specific problems, for example, financial safeguards, of such a nature that they might appropriately be the subject of informal discussions in London with a few individuals whose personal experience qualifies them to speak with authority upon them. If this hope is fulfilled, their intention would be, after such informal discussions, to pass straight to a Parliamentary stage on the following lines.

His Majesty's Government consider that the final stage of consultation with Indian opinion can usefully take place only on definite proposals. They therefore propose to

(Continued on page 8)

Australia Stagge
Omission Of

WHEREVER one wandered yester
all about the omission of Wi
the England team that will oppose
final Test at the Oval.

Harold Larwood, for about the
season, was almost completely forgo
that matter, was Douglas Jardine.

It was Voce's remarkable bowl
at Trent Bridge last Saturday tha
completely into the limelight, but I
the person willing to declare that th
mittee did well in turning a blind ey

The general opinion seems to be
been given the deal he most certain

Should Have Been Firs

THERE are many who go so far a
should have been the first man
Voce proved once again that
the Australians can be made very
unhappy when leg-theory is ex-
ploited, but there is still time for
the selectors to make a move that
will correspond with the feelings
of the majority of cricket followers
in this country.

POLITICA[illegible]S

INDIAN DEBATE ON MONDAY

London —— Times

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION

It is understood that at its meeting yesterday the Cabinet considered various aspects of the Indian Constitutional problem in preparation for the resumed discussion in the Commons on Monday of the India Office Estimates. On the administrative side the six months' period for the Ordinances introduced on January 4 will lapse in nine days' time; and it is expected that some indication will be given of the intentions of the Government with regard to them. On the constitutional side the three committees which toured in India in the early part of the year have completed their work. The report of the States Inquiry Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. C. C. Davidson, was signed a few days ago and copies are on their way to India with a view to simultaneous publication in both countries at the earliest possible date. A body of permanent officials has been meeting from time to time under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey to prepare material for the consideration of the Cabinet.

In these circumstances it is to be expected that the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, will take the opportunity to review the present stage of the dual policy followed by his Majesty's Government of enforcing law and order and steadily pursuing the path of constitutional advance. There has been considerable discussion in India about the desirability or otherwise of a third and final session of the Round-Table Conference in London, and arguments have been advanced for the alternative proposal of assembling a small representative Committee to consider draft proposals. Some indication of Government plans in respect of the earlier future stages may be given on Monday. The Consultative Committee in India ha[illegible] not met recently and is awaiting the pr[illegible] visional settlement of the communal problem which, in the continued absence of agreement between the Indian leaders, is to be made by his Majesty's Government. It is known that the matter has been engaging the close attention of the Cabinet in consultation with the Government of India; but admittedly the issue is so intricate that there will be no surprise if it is found that a provisional settlement has still to be shaped. It is not expected that any award can be announced for at least another month, after which a resumption of the work of the Consultative Committee might be expected.

FUTURE OF INDIA

THE "MUSLIM BASIC DEMANDS"

Sir Reginald Craddock, M.P., presided yesterday at a meeting at the House of Commons of members of both Houses of Parliament and others interested, in support of an appeal to the Government in furtherance of the "Muslim Basic Demands" in regard to the Government in India. The principal demands are the recognition of the right of Muslims to enjoy majority rights in Provinces where they are in an actual majority; the constitution of Sind as a separate Province; and that Muslims should constitute one-third of the British Indian membership of the Federal Legislature.

A manifesto issued in connexion with the meeting stated that Muslims, Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Europeans, and Anglo-Indians signatories to the Minority United Demand at the "Round-Table Conference" numbered 170,000,000, and that the total of caste Hindus was 160,000,000. The Muslims being the largest of the minorities claimed to be trustees for the other minorities.

Colonel the Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, member of the India Council, appealed to the members of both British Houses of Parliament for justice and clearness in the new policy in order to avert the grave danger which threatened the peace and prosperity of India and the good relations between India and Great Britain. He spoke of the prospect of the development of civil war, which had already started in Bombay, and would lead to disintegration and disaster.

Hajee Abdoola Haroon, M.L.A., the Muslim delegate to the Ottawa Conference, appealed for British courage and straightforwardness in policy on behalf of the Muslims and other classes who formed nearly half the population of India, and said if that justice was denied them, he did not know what other form the agitation would take.

Mr. Waris Ameer Ali said one result of the policy pursued in recent years was the tragedy of Cawnpore in April of last year, when 500 men were slaughtered. Another result was what was taking place in Bombay to-day, in the Capital city of one of the largest Provinces in India. Those two examples were only trifles compared with what was likely to happen in the near future if the fabric of civilized government was further undermined. The trouble at Cawnpore arose because the Muslims would not shut their shops in honour of a murderer. The attack at present in Bombay was on Muslims, and might easily in the near future be upon Christians, and if allowed to continue would lead to repercussions all over India. If there were not ample safeguards applicable to all persons industrial progress would be impossible, and it would be well for those interested in industry in India to realize that fact.

Sir Reginald Craddock strongly supported the appeal for consideration of the claims put before the meeting.

Among those present or who had promised to be present, or who had indicated support were :—

Lord Dufferin and Ava, Lord Denbigh, Lord Desart, Lord Iddesleigh, Lord Bertie of Thame, Lord Templetown, Lord Exmouth, Lord Ampthill, Lord Carnock, Lord Lamington, Lord Greenwood, Lord Islington, Lord Treowen, Lord Derwent, Lord Sydenham, Lord Strabolgi, Lord Sinha, Lord Danesfort, Lord Armstrong, H.H. the Rajah of Kollengode, Lord and Lady Headley, Sir Azzudin Ahmed, Sir Vansittart Bowater, M.P., Colonel Quereshi, his Excellency the Prime Minister of Baha Walpur, Miss Margaret Farquharson, Sir Louis Stuart, Sir Alfred Knox, Mrs. Waris Ameer Ali, Sir William Davison, Sir Nairne Stewart Sandeman, M.P., Sir Thomas Polson, Colonel Howard-Bury, Miss Haroun and Mrs. Haroun, Mr. Alfred Denville, M.P., Mr. J. Campbell Ker, M.P., Captain A. J. K. Todd, M.P., Mr. Chotzner, M.P., Colonel Goodman, M.P., Mr. John Remer, M.P., Sir Louis Dane, Atiya Begum, Sir Graham Little, M.P., Sir Percy Sykes, Sir William Wayland, M.P., Vice-Admiral E. A. Taylor, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. St. John Philby, Lieutenant-General Sir Sydney and Lady Lawford, and Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke.

A British Fairey aeroplane attached to the Greek squadron, anchored off CORFU, fell into the sea and sank yesterday while flying off that island. The pilot and observer were able to swim ashore.

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PREMIER SAYS CONFERENCE IS TO END

NO SETTLEMENT OF MINORITY QUESTION

"We have failed to come to a complete agreement."

THAT phrase in the Prime Minister's speech yesterday at the last sitting of the Minorities Committee announced the coming end of the Round-Table Conference.

Moslems and Hindus, and the Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, and other minority classes have not resolved their differences, and in spite of an appeal by several delegates that the time and energy already spent shall not be wasted, the conference will leave its work mainly undone.

"I feel," said Mr. MacDonald, "that so far as this Committee is concerned—and I am informed that Lord Sankey has come to the same conclusion regarding his [Federal Structure] Committee—we ought now to make our reports to a plenary meeting of the full Conference,

so that the work may be wound up and so that the Government may be in a position to make a statement of its own position.

"As regards this Committee, I am profoundly sorry that a complete agreement has not been reached, because I want to emphasise that at the foundation of any progress towards the setting up of an Indian Constitution lies the problem of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on.

"What I propose to do, as Chairman of this Committee, is just to report to the plenary Conference that we have failed to come to a complete agreement.

"We have all done our best. All I can say at the moment is that the Government will not allow this obstacle to stand in its way in carrying out its pledges to India."

"ALL FOR NOTHING!"

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad deplored the Prime Minister's proposals.

"The plenary session will be held," he said, **"and after a general talk we shall disperse.**

"It is much to be regretted that this is going to be the end of this Conference, which has been looked to in the whole of India with very anxious eyes.

"All the expenditure by all the delegates coming overseas last year and this year will practically end in nothing.

"We venture to submit, therefore, that instead of taking the course you are indicating

you, the Prime Minister, should decide the difficulties of the Communal question and report your decision to the Plenary Session.

"That need not be called as early as we have indicated, but a little later, to allow the Federal Structure Committee to deal further with the essential and vital question with regard to which the whole of India is concerned.

Mr. Gandhi, endorsing the views of Sir Chimanlal, said:

"I am quite certain that you did not convene this Round-Table Conference and bring us all 6,000 miles away from our homes and occupations to settle the communal question.

SORRY ENDING

"You convened us, you made deliberate declarations that we were invited to come here to share the process of Constitution building, and that before we went away from your hospitable shores we should have the certain conviction that we had built up an honourable and a respectable framework for the freedom of India.

"Now, because there is no communal settlement, there is to be no building of the Constitution. It would be a sorry ending to a conference brought into being with so much trumpeting, and with so much hope excited in the minds and in the breasts of many people."

Mr. MacDonald then declared that "the work done here is not to be wasted.

"It is going on, and it will come to a successful issue."

He appealed to every member of the Committee to sign a request to him to settle the communal question, and to pledge themselves to accept his decision.

The Committee then adjourned sine die.

NEW PROCEDURE ON INDIAN REFORM

DELEGATES AND PROTEST

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, JULY 5

A meeting of delegates to the Round-Table Conference has been called by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in Bombay next Saturday to consider the new procedure outlined by Sir Samuel Hoare in his recent statement in Parliament and to determine their future course of action.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has sent invitations to about 40 delegates in all parts of India, most of whom are expected to attend. Among them will be Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar. Delegates already in Bombay are Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. H. P. Mody, and Mr. N. M. Joshi.

It is understood that the main issue will be whether the delegates should protest against Sir Samuel Hoare's statement by ceasing to cooperate with the Government in the future constitutional inquiries, or whether they should adopt a milder form of protest. The question will probably evoke keen controversy, and it is believed that Mr. Chintamani, president of the National Liberal Federation, will lead Left Wing delegates to declare for non-cooperation. Mr. Chintamani may find in Mr. Sastri a strong supporter in that form of protest.

THE VICEROY'S TOUR

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA, JULY 5

It is announced to-day that the Viceroy will leave Simla at the week-end for a brief tour. He will not attend official functions or grant interviews. The itinerary is being kept secret, but it is presumed that the Viceroy will acquaint himself at first hand with conditions in Bengal before going to Dehra Dun.

It is recalled that when the Viceroy visited Calcutta last summer unexpected political developments called for his attention, and it is suggested that there may be a repetition this year in view of the Moderates' attitude to the new procedure on the constitutional reforms. No one here professes to know precisely what is at the back of the Liberals' minds, but it is remarked that they show every disposition to misunderstand and misinterpret Sir Samuel Hoare's statement. The Congress Press is exploiting the situation to the utmost: not only is it maintaining the strongest pressure on the Liberals to declare a boycott, but is also cajoling the Moslems. In some Hindu and Moslem quarters the idea of trying to form a united opposition is being toyed with and to this end one prominent Congress newspaper even suggests making very full concessions to Moslem claims. Opinion here is divided on the prospects of success of such a movement, and perplexity will last till after the meeting of Liberals and others in Bombay on Saturday.

Imperial and Foreign News

COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

MOSLEM CLAIMS

The Aga Khan has received from leaders of the Indian Moslems a statement of their position with a request to make it public in this country if it meets with his approval. His Highness, in issuing the statement in the form below, associates himself unreservedly with its arguments and conclusions.

His Majesty's Government is pledged to undertake without unavoidable delay a provisional settlement of the Indian communal problem. In doing so the Government must take account of many complex and important considerations, ranging over the whole vast field of Indian politics and sociology, not concentrating on any local detail of party interest at the cost of a true perspective of the Indian sub-continent.

For this reason we wish to make it clear that, despite suggestions to the contrary, the Moslem claims are not based merely on local or provincial prejudices or ambitions, but are inspired by the belief that their endorsement and constitutional ratification are essential to the peaceful security of the Moslem community's position in India. Were this not true, our claims regarding the Punjab and Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province, and in Sind would not have received the warm support given them by Moslems in territories as remote therefrom as Madras and the Central Provinces. We assert most emphatically that the ratification of our claims in the next Constitution is necessary also to the peace and welfare of India, since neglect to give them effect will lead to an era of suspicion and internecine strife in India at the very time when those evils are most to be deplored. We would even suggest that those who have honest doubts of the justice of our claims should consider whether their consciences would not suffer more from their bequest to India of enduring communal bitterness and strife than from the concession to 78,000,000 Moslems of a position which at best will be rather weaker than that to which they may seem to be entitled by political logic.

HINDU SUPREMACY OPPOSED

That we cannot thus depreciate our claims must be obvious from a study of the distribution of India's peoples. Our claims particularly concern Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, the Frontier Province, and Baluchistan. In these Provinces the Moslems form the majority of the population, and in Sind, Baluchistan, and the North-West Frontier Provinces our majorities are great. But in Bengal and the Punjab the Moslem preponderance is small, and though there is a considerable Moslem minority in the United Provinces, in all other parts of British India the Hindus are in a vast majority and inevitably enjoy complete political supremacy. The vast majority of the Indian Princes, moreover, are Hindus, and in Federal India the Princes will be able to influence all-India affairs to an extent now impossible. We do not begrudge the Hindus such supremacy in places where they are plainly entitled to it and exercise it justly, if they in turn will concede to the Moslems similar advantage where they are entitled to it. But we can do no other than offer the strongest opposition to Hindus having political supremacy even where they are in a minority. Why should our community be denied its political rights where those rights are incontestable?

We could have allowed our claims to rest on these grounds alone had not the Hindus counter-claimed, notably in Bengal, that in all discussion of the rights of the various communities the Hindus' superiority of education and wealth should be given marked consideration. It is wholly contrary to the principles of modern democracy that Constitutions should be based on considerations of accidental intellectuality and wealth. We cannot believe that such suggestions will commend themselves to the innate common sense of the British public. We would set against them certain facts which the Moslems in India justly cherish in their minds.

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[illegible] number of Moslem sol[illegible] serving in the Indian Army is out of all pro[illegible]tion to the Moslem population of India. During the Great War the Indian Moslems made loyal response to the King-Emperor's call for troops, and their soldiers fought, under the greatest hardships, against co-religionists having affinities with them, no less than against the German forces. Englishmen have often said that in the War the Punjab was "bled white," and the great majority of the Punjab troops are Moslem. So are the vast majority of the police, Militia, and Frontier Constabulary, who are charged with the protection of law and order in the North-West Frontier Province and of India's boundaries there and in Baluchistan, where they are exposed to conflict with their kith and kin from tribal areas. We recall these facts in no spirit of vanity or arrogance, but because the public memory is short and such service may be forgotten by the British people.

DUPED RED SHIRTS

The Moslems took little part in the Congress campaign of 1930, save in the North-West Frontier Province, where the Red Shirts were regrettably duped into accepting the Congress banner for a struggle begun independently of Congress, and now ended in the triumph of justice over Congress intrigue by the institution of a dyarchial Constitution in the Province. In the present civil disobedience campaign the Moslems have been openly hostile to the seditionists, and fewer Moslems than ever before have been overtly sympathetic with their activities. We may fairly claim that Moslem abstinence from Congress politics has been inspired, not by hopes of political advantage therefrom—for bitter experience provides a contrary lesson—but chiefly because they recognize that Congress politics spell the economic ruin of India, Hindu and Moslem alike.

It is well known that the Moslems have not taken part in the acts of political violence which have been so unhappily rife in Bengal, the Punjab, and other Governors' Provinces. The cult of revolutionary anarchy has never appealed to them successfully. Even in the period from 1907 to 1919, when Moslem feeling was more than once roused against the policy of the British Government with regard to Islamic countries outside the Empire, there was like abstention on the part of our people from political crime. Nor has the Moslem Press joined the Hindu Congress Press in the systematic glorification of political murderers when they have met the penalty of their crimes.

BRITISH IMPARTIALITY

We are confident that if the alternative to British rule were the ubiquitous supremacy of Hindu rule the mass of our Moslem brethren would prefer the former, not only because of the safeguard offered by its impartiality, but also because under the alternative system there would be hideous strife between the virile and martial Moslem races and those effete Hindus in whom the Congress's Left Wing has sown the seed of lawlessness, insidious conspiracy, and rebellion. But if it be the purpose of his Majesty's Government to give India Federal responsibility, with an equitable and just distribution of power and some guarantee of stability; if the determination of the political rights of the various communities is a matter of great complexity and delicacy, as we know it to be; and if the British people value the friendship of at least one-fifth of the peoples of India, then we suggest that when the rival claims of the two great communities are weighed against one another his Majesty's Government and the British People should weigh in the same scales their relative record in the matter of loyalty and stability as proved by the facts of recent Indian history.

Our Simla Correspondent telegraphs that the Moslem statement, as issued in India, was signed by Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Maulvi Shafee Daoodi, a member of the Legislative Assembly, and Mr. Hussain Imam, a member of the Council of State.

PEACE PICKETS IN BOMBAY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, JUNE 10

A statement issued by the Bombay Citizens' Conciliation Committee describes the new system of civil pickets which came into operation yesterday. Ten pickets, each consisting of a Hindu, a Moslem—both well known in the locality—and a

TRANSATLANTIC TRAFFIC

AN IMPROVEMENT

FROM OUR SHIPPING CORRESPONDENT

During the last two or three weeks there appears to have been a distinct improvement in the volume of certain classes of eastbound passenger traffic across the North Atlantic. It has been particularly noticeable in the tourist and third classes, and at any rate some portion of the increase is attributable to the forthcoming Eucharistic Congress in Dublin.

In some quarters confidence is expressed that the recent reductions in passage rates will be reflected in a continuance of the improvement during the present summer season. While, so far, the recovery has been apparent mainly, in the less expensive classes, the belief continues to be held that the rates for some of the best accommodation in the first-class are now on an attractive scale which should encourage many to travel in the most favourable conditions.

Apart from the little improvement in the ordinary services from North America to Europe, there is encouragement for the British North Atlantic lines, as well as for companies serving other routes, in the remarkable response given by the public to the offer of short holiday cruises at moderate fares. The response has been such that additional sailings of large liners have been arranged within the last few weeks for the autumn months. This form of travel is not expected to produce large profits for the companies, but it is being very useful in providing employment for fine liners and staffs afloat and ashore, and also for the [illegible]

OUTLOOK IN INDIA

Lord Times 25.6.32

APPEAL FOR POLITICAL AMNESTY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, JUNE 24

At the close of its annual session the Servants of India Society has issued a long statement on policy, in which it says that the first step towards the restoration of peace and good will lies with the Government and that opportunities for such a step will soon come. The society appeals to the Government not to prolong the ordinances, as the renewal of the ordinances "would be fatal to peace, good will, and good government," and contends that from many points of view it is imperative that the ordinances be allowed to lapse. But that is only the first step, the society holds, and the statement continues:—

> It will be remembered that the renewal of civil disobedience in January was decided on as a protest against the ordinances and had practically nothing to do with constitutional or other questions. When the ordinances no longer operate the cause of conflict will be removed and civil disobedience will also lapse. The ordinances and civil disobedience are linked together and they will survive or disappear together. There is no cause for fear, therefore, that civil disobedience will survive the ordinances. The release of political prisoners should therefore not cause embarrassment to law and order. There is no serious risk in taking such a step. Should, however, the Congress Party be still bent on civil disobedience and pick another quarrel to justify its renewal, the Government is strong enough to deal with the situation.

The *Times of India*, criticizing this statement, says that if there is no better case for doing away with the ordinances than that advanced by the Servants of India Society the outlook is indeed gloomy.

FUTURE OF INDIA

CABINET PLANS

SIR S. HOARE ON PROCEDURE

A SINGLE BILL

WESTMINSTER, MONDAY

A fairly full House of Commons listened to-day to a careful analysis of the present and the future in India from SIR SAMUEL HOARE.

He announced first that most of the Ordinances affecting civil disobedience would be renewed when they expired on July 3, though they would be put into operation only where necessary. A survey province by province showed that the Ordinances had been remarkably successful even in the most difficult areas, such as the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, and the United Provinces, where communal feeling ran high or economic depression was heavy. Even in Bombay Province the Civil Disobedience movement had been effectively controlled, though it had made communal strife in Bombay City particularly bitter. The Ordinances had, moreover, made the actual use of force unnecessary. Broadly speaking, they had enabled local governments to take and keep the initiative in their struggle with the forces subversive of law and order. The powers had not been used to excess, and Congress was hard put to it to find ammunition for propaganda.

Convictions had declined from 17,800 in February to 3,776 in May, and the number of persons in prison at the end of May was 31,194, or 1,260 less than a month before. But in spite of these symptoms of success the Ordinances must remain as a power in reserve, because the Civil Disobedience movement, though flagging, had not been called off, and there were still attempts to boycott British goods, to raise disturbing demonstrations, and to damage Government property. It was nonsense to say that the Ordinances roused resentment anywhere except among the declared opponents of the Government or among those who wanted to face both ways.

METHOD OF ADVANCE

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S second important announcement was that, in default of an agreement between Hindus and Moslems the British Government would announce their own decision on the communal question during this summer. The precise date must depend upon how soon the Prime Minister would be free to devote his time and experience to the question.

Thirdly, he described the procedure decided upon for constitutional advance. First would come the decision upon the communal question. Next the Indian Consultative Committee would reassemble in India. There would be no more inquiries by Committees and no more formal conferences unless the Consultative Committee found a conference necessary on specific points outstanding after their deliberations. Next the Lords and Commons would appoint a Joint Select Committee, empowered to call Indians

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...nistration ... examine pro-
...s drafted by the Government. Finally there would be a Bill—a single Bill comprising both the provisions concerning provincial autonomy and the scheme for an All-India Federation. This scheme was subject only to the effective agreement of the Indian States to join in a federal system and to the inclusion of the famous safeguards so prominent during the Round-Table Conference.

The House warmly cheered the note of decision in this speech, and particularly the announcement that the era of Committees was past, modified as it was by a very warm compliment to the work of the Committees which have recently visited India. MR. MORGAN JONES was left almost alone to complain that the renewal of the Ordinances was the worst basis for the creation of good will, upon which successful partnership with India must rest, and SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK had an equally poor audience for his fears that irretrievable steps were being taken.

Apart from such extremes the reception of the Government's policy was favourable; and among the Opposition speakers MR. D. GRENFELL abandoned politics for an impressive plea to concentrate upon the economic difficulties of India. MR. HALES caused a mixture of amusement and annoyance by giving the House a half-hour's lecture on his own knowledge of India with a self-assurance only partially redeemed by sincerity. This meant that the closing stages of the debate were unduly rushed. MR. LANSBURY just had time to complain that the new policy differed from the Labour Government's policy in that Indians were not to have a full voice in framing the Constitution and that self-government at the centre appeared to be indefinitely delayed. The Socialist Party, he explained, stood for the right of India to adhere to or secede from the British Empire at her own free will.

MR. CHURCHILL'S VIEW

MR. CHURCHILL announced that he was considerably reassured by the Government's statement. There were, indeed, traces in his speech of what he would have said if the statement had been different. He found a curious contrast about the keeping of 31,000 Indian politicians in prison while plans were being evolved for a constitution under which they would pass to Parliament. The Lothian Report on the franchise was an appallingly irrelevant hotch-potch of mid-Victorian Radicalism. However, he was in lukewarm agreement with the Government on the proposed procedure, chiefly because of the decision to employ a Joint Committee of both Houses. He only hoped that the Committee would not be manned merely by tame or ambitious supporters of the Government, but in any case the final say on Indian affairs appeared to have been restored to Parliament.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE coldly retorted that he must see both parts of the policy of which Mr. Churchill could only see one side. He assured Mr. Lansbury that there was no desire to end cooperation with Indians; on the contrary the procedure chosen was the only practical way to advance speedily. There would be full consultation with Indians, including the Indian States, at every stage.

He must give a word of warning to those parties in Burma who appeared to think that Burma could enter and leave an Indian Federation as she chose. The Government could not contemplate that, and Burma must choose at the forthcoming election once for all whether she wi... to remain attached to India or ... own Constitution.

After a frank declaration that it was the Government's policy ... the standard of industrial life in India, he finally proved by a letter from one of the accused in the Meerut conspiracy trial that the defence, and not the prosecution, was responsible for the dragging on of that case; and, generally, he declared that if the Congress Movement would throw aside civil disobedience he would gladly cooperate with them, but he could not compromise with an attempt to smash ordered government.

The Opposition challenged a division on the amendment to reduce the Vote for the India Office, in order, apparently, to register dissent from the Government's policy, and were beaten by 242 votes to 28.

SIMLA VIEWS

THE END AND THE MEANS

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA, JUNE 27

The Indian reactions to Sir Samuel Hoare's statement in Parliament to-day are being keenly awaited in Simla. Official quarters hope that the form of procedure in the Joint Select Committee will be recognized as actually an improvement on the method of consultative cooperation which has obtained hitherto. Many people had not realized that the Joint Select Committee can confer with non-Parliamentary spokesmen in other capacities than as witnesses before the Bill has been finally drafted; and it is doubtful whether even Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar understood the procedure in this sense when their suspicions of the Joint Select Committee proposal brought them to Simla to confer with the Viceroy and made them threaten to withdraw from all future proceedings.

Stress is laid on three points in Sir Samuel Hoare's statement: (1) the programme now outlined puts importance on the objective rather than on the form of approach, on the substance rather than on the shadow; (2) the procedure proposed serves the essential motive and purpose of the conference method—namely, maximum agreement on the maximum number of points for the passing of a complete Federal Bill in the minimum time; and (3) nothing, except Indian failure, can delay the fulfilment of the Federal ideal beyond the interval which even leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru admit to be inevitable.

The line of criticism may, perhaps, be inferred from a long article published recently in certain Congress newspapers prematurely disclosing, with several inaccuracies, the gist of Sir Samuel Hoare's proposals. The article appeared to be designed not only to depreciate the value of the Consultative Committee's continuing as such, but to pave the way for the resignation of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar if the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference were supplanted by a smaller body with diminished functions. The article denounced equally the procedure it alleged was to be adopted and the precedence given to Provincial autonomy as breaches of faith.

INDIAN REFORM

PLANS FOR NEXT STAGES

Reflection in political circles on Sir Samuel Hoare's statement in the House of Commons on Monday strengthens the first impression that the change of method (there is no change in policy) will quicken the necessarily long process of reshaping the Constitution of India begun with the appointment of the Statutory Commission nearly five years ago. When the British Government has made its provisional settlement of the communal question this summer—possibly before the end of July—the way will be open for the Consultative Committee of the Round-Table Conference to resume its work in India. It is felt that this small body is much better fitted than the Conference as a whole, or than the Federal Structure Committee of nearly 50 members, to discuss the various technical questions which await examination. Some of them are too delicate and complicated to be suitable for debates published *verbatim* in the Conference proceedings.

It is pointed out that a third session of the Round-Table Conference in the autumn would occasion delays strongly deprecated by cooperating Indian opinion. Much familiar ground would have to be gone over again, if only because the appointment of a number of newcomers, particularly on the British side by way of replacement, would be necessary. The second session was in the middle of its work when the General Election deprived a number of British members of their seats in Parliament, while the coming of a National Government brought some other members to Ministerial office. It would be wholly at variance with the original design of the Conference method to allow the British representation at a new session to be partly non-Parliamentary. For a third session it would be necessary to select a number of back-benchers from among the supporters of the National Government, as well as new Labour representatives.

CONSULTING INDIAN OPINION

Very little support is given to the suggestion that abandonment of a method which served a useful purpose in earlier stages indicates any weakening of the desire and intention of the Government to provide for the fullest possible Indian cooperation and consultation at the various stages. When the Consultative Committee has examined outstanding questions, and when the terms on which the Princes are ready to come into the Federation have been precisely defined, the Government should be in a position to formulate its proposals. These will be set forth in a White Paper which will be available when the motion for the setting up of a Joint Select Committee comes before both Houses.

There are precedents for setting up such a Committee before the introduction of a Bill. The object of departure from the usual practice in this instance is to facilitate consultation with Indian spokesmen of various communities or organizations. It is expected that the Committee will both record Indian evidence and confer in private with representative Indians. The two Houses of the Indian Legislature may desire to nominate members to come to London for this purpose; but, as the stage of appointing a Select Committee cannot be reached for many weeks to come, there will be time to formulate plans on the measure of Indian contact. If the Congress organization is unrepresented in the delegations from India the fault will be its own; for if the Congress decides to cooperate instead of maintaining the present policy it will, of course, be free to do so. The great difference between the Round-Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee will be that the latter will be able to discuss specific proposals made by the Government.

It may be added that on the question of the communal settlement the Government have ... ample material, including reports from each of the provinces.

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THE MORNING

Indian Airman's World Flight

UNABLE TO FLY ATLANTIC IN PUSS MOTH

Mr. Ramnath Chawla, who was the first Indian to fly from India to England, in 1930, is now in England again on his attempt to be the first Indian to fly round the world. He has flown from India.

Shortly before he reached Heston air port he was reported missing after having taken off at Gwadar, Baluchistan.

When he arrived at Heston a few days age he was not recognised as the "missing" airman.

"I was never missing," he said yesterday in London. "I made the journey from India to Heston exactly as I had planned it. I was flying a Puss Moth machine, with a range of five hours' flying, and I made the trip by easy stages.

"The route from India is perfectly organised for flying, and there are re-fuelling depots about every 300 miles.

TRIBUTE TO IRAQ AIR FORCE

"I kept to my schedule except that I was held up at Bagdad for five days because of worn piston rings. The Iraq Air Force were splendid; their mechanics put in new piston rings and overhauled the machine."

The world flight on which Mr. Chawla is now engaged has been organised by Dr. B. S. Moonje, who was a member of the Round Table Conference. It is being supported by a number of Indian Princes, and its purpose is to create "airmindedness" in India and to foster civil aviation in that country.

"It is my ambition to fly the Atlantic," he declared, "but I am unable to attempt it on this occasion because I have not the right type of machine. I shall ship the plane to New York."

Mr. Chawla joined the Nottingham Flying Club while an engineering student at Nottingham University.

There are about 17 flying clubs in India.

8.8.32

Guardian

THE MANCHESTER

self-government. If the British occupation has, within limits, kept communal peace in India or at least prevented chaos, it has failed to eradicate the causes of Hindu-Moslem conflict; and education has served to sharpen the wits of communal protagonists, besides creating endless bitterness in the matter of Government appointments. As to self-government, the development of democratic institutions has accentuated the Moslem's sense of numerical inferiority, made him in consequence more aggressive, and has opened up to the Hindu the possibility of a permanent ascendancy by mere weight of numbers. What is there to hope for except that in time the sense of communal allegiance may be translated into a sense of allegiance to India as a whole and the growth of scepticism make democracy practicable?

Indian Communal Award

When the Minorities Sub-committee of the Round-table Conference failed to reach any sort of agreement Mr. MacDonald promised, in the name of the Government, that rather than see the whole federal scheme come to grief because of this difficulty he would impose a provisional settlement. It is generally assumed that the Government has now made up its mind on this matter and that a provisional settlement will shortly be announced. The fate of policemen and other well-intentioned persons who attempt to settle matrimonial quarrels is known to everyone; what usually happens is that the disputants join forces temporarily against the third party, suspend for a short time the blows they are aiming at one another to aim them jointly at him. In rather the same way the Government is likely to get abuse instead of thanks from the Hindu majority and the Moslem and other minorities for attempting the thankless task of settling their differences. Whatever the nature of its communal award may be, it must, by the nature of the case, involve compromise. The Hindus will not, as they have often demanded, get the full advantage of their numerical superiority; the Moslems will not get the amount of "weightage"—extra allowance of seats in the Legislatures—which they believe to be their due; the smaller minorities—Sikhs, Christians, Europeans, Anglo-Indians—will each get something less than the minimum demands of their leaders. Then there is the question of the Untouchables. A cunning move was made at the Round-table Conference to diminish the Hindu majority by counting in the 40,000,000 or so casteless Hindus with the minorities. Even though the Untouchables are denied the most elementary social rights and are not allowed to enter the temples or to take part in any of the ceremonies connected with them, they belong, the Hindu leaders insist, to the majority community. Brahmins who would shudder with horror at the mere idea of praying, let alone eating, in the same building as an Untouchable, yet fervently claim him as a fellow-religionist as far as the ballot-box is concerned. If the Government allows the Untouchables special representation as a minority community the Hindus will be furious; if it leaves things as they are the minorities will be furious, and—more important—the Untouchables will be as little able as now to voice their wrongs or to exert pressure on the Government.

There is a multitude to be fed; the loaves and fishes—seats in Legislatures—are limited, and the Government cannot be expected to work a miracle. Many in all the communities will be unsatisfied and resentful. The police, especially in the Punjab, are prepared for trouble. The Punjab presents particular difficulties. About half the population is Moslem, three-eighths Hindu, and one-eighth Sikh. The Moslems claim a clear majority in the Provincial Legislature over Hindus and Sikhs combined; the Sikhs claim adequate representation for them to hold the balance—that is, for their support to be worth anything whether that Provincial Government is Hindu or Moslem, the

continued. [illegible] condemn [illegible] being undemocratic; the minorities cling to it as their only safeguard against Hindu dominance in the provinces and at the centre. Enthusiasm on the part of the Hindus for uncontaminated democratic theory is not surprising since their interest lies that way; but until there is a reasonable chance that Indian voters will be more concerned with a candidate's politics than with his religion joint electorates are impracticable. Almost the only thing that is inconceivable in India just now is that a Moslem should vote for a Hindu candidate in preference to a fellow-Moslem however much he might admire the one and despise the other. Another Moslem demand likely to be conceded in the Government's communal award is the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and the making of it into a little Moslem province. This would please the Moslems and not annoy the Hindus.

Even if the Government's communal award is tolerated—the most that can be expected—in India it will not solve the communal problem. There must be a paper settlement before an All-India Federation can be established, but a paper settlement will no more lead to communal peace than a paper Covenant has led to international peace. The antagonism itself arises because Hinduism and Mohammedanism produce different and antipathetic human types. This appli[illegible] even in the case of comparatively recent converts. The Moslem is simple and brave and something of a bully; the Hindu is complex and timid and inclined naturally to cunning. Mohammedanism comes from the desert, from a bare, nomadic, comradely life in the desert; Hinduism is as tangled and luxuriant as the jungle, elaborately organised, philosophic, ceremonial. No two attitudes to life are more utterly opposed than that of the average Hindu and that of the average Moslem. How can such fundamental antagonism as this be brought to an end? Your Imperialist tends to answer—Pax Britannica; your antimperialist—education, responsibil[illegible]

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CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

London Times 29.6.32

RECEPTION OF NEW PROCEDURE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, JUNE 28

Commenting on Sir Samuel Hoare's statement, the *Times of India,* while welcoming an honest attempt to avoid interminable delays in introducing the new Constitution, says there is no disguising the fact that the conference method is to be dropped in favour of a purely consultative plan. It adds, however, that further details about the scheme for "more formal consultation" should be awaited before Sir Samuel Hoare's programme is condemned. A patently inspired Simla message says that the consultation scheme meets the full demand of the Round-Table Conference delegates, but enlightenment on that point is awaited here.

The Congress point of view, as given in comments in this morning's party newspapers, is definitely hostile.

One Congress newspaper says that Sir Samuel Hoare and the Government of India have misjudged the country's temper, and asks how long they suppose they can prolong the deplorable conditions which their dual policy has created and which will be aggravated by their inability to tackle constitutional reforms on broad, bold lines.

Another Congress newspaper says that the proposals signify a continuity of the policy of repressing the Congress and a breach of faith with constitutionalists, whose demand the Government has no more intention meeting than it has of meeting the Congress demands. It says that constitutionalists and non-combatant Congressmen will have to learn to come together in a common cause, and that is the only alternative to the precipitate drift towards chaos, anarchy, and disorder which is inevitable if the forces of vested interests and direct action continue the conflict to the bitter end.

It is understood that Western India Liberals are meeting to-day and to-morrow, and will issue a statement. The drift of Liberal opinion may be deduced from a statement made by Sir Phiroze Sethna, who was a delegate to the Round-Table Conference. He says that Sir Samuel Hoare's action must tend to accentuate distrust and antagonize all sections of politically minded Indians. He declares that Indians have only themselves to blame, because they should have completed the whole business of the reform scheme during the first session of the Round-Table Conference.

*** The views held in political circles in London on Sir Samuel Hoare's statement are given on the preceding page.

INDIA'S VIEW OF NEW PLAN

MADRAS, Wednesday.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the Indian Liberal leader, is averse to the new British proposals for a Constitution for India.

He has thrown his authority, as a member of the Round Table Conference and as Agent for the Government of India in South Africa, in opposition to the British Government, whose decision he considers is humiliating in the extreme.—British United Press.

BOMBAY

London Times 30.6.32

COMMUNAL CLASHES

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, JUNE 29

During the last few days occasional assaults have shown a sullen spirit of resentment which may at any moment flare up in an outburst of communal fighting.

Last night a serious riot in Grant-road, when several hundred Hindus and Moslems collected and stoned each other, was prevented only by the opportune arrival of the police. Later in the night several minor skirmishes occurred in gullies and by-lanes, but it was too much to expect that the dispersal of the hostile crowds then would definitely allay the brewing trouble. Two Hindu milkmen were stabbed early in the day, and other incidents in the course of the day show how close Bombay is to a recurrence of the reign of terror through which it recently passed.

Trouble started near Northbrook Garden, where groups of Hindus and Moslems, 300 to 400 strong on either side, engaged in a pitched battle, which the police in the locality were unable to check. Reinforcements arrived within a quarter of an hour, and after an officer had twice fired his revolver the combatants took to flight. Traffic was held up for some time. Several cases of stone-throwing occurred in the course of the afternoon.

INDIAN REFORMS PROGRAMME

POLITICAL LEADERS' VIEWS

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA, JUNE 29

The general impression here is that the reception given to Sir Samuel Hoare's statement on the future stages of constitutional reform is no worse, and is possibly slightly better, than might have been expected. Apart from the extremists, whose business it is to inveigh against every British deed and word, it is noteworthy that the most serious criticism seems to be inspired almost solely by prejudice against a Conservative Secretary of State.

It is suggested that little would have been lost and much might have been gained by naming the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference, or at least a majority of its members, as the body to be summoned for either of the two stages of the London discussions. This is suggested for two reasons. In the first place it is feared that the terms of Sir Samuel Hoare's reference to the intermediate consultation which may have to follow the Consultative Committee's next session will be regarded by those members who doubt the Committee's usefulness as an invitation to leave over much of the work remaining to be done. In the second place, it seems to be fairly generally agreed that the body summoned to London cannot, if it is to be representative, differ much in size and *personnel* from the original Indian delegation of 16 members of the Federal Structure Committee; and it is urged that this might have been anticipated without detriment to the Government's programme.

Mr. Chintamani, the Madrasi Liberal who was a Round-Table delegate, urges that there should be a specified limit to the interval between the establishment of Provincial and of Federal autonomy, and his view is shared in certain official quarters. After their protestations last week, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar could hardly have commented on the new programme otherwise than they have done, and their approval of the decision to introduce a single Bill is read cautiously as a hopeful sign. Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan on the whole supports the Government's programme.

In view of Sir Samuel Hoare's statement that the Government hoped to [illegible] summer, the meeting of the Executive Board of the All-India Moslem Conference fixed for July 3 has been postponed.

INDIAN COMMUNAL QUESTION

London Times 1.7.

MOSLEMS AND GOVERNMENT AWARD

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—The suggestion made in the India Debate in the House of Commons on Monday that H.M. Government should still withhold any award on the communal question is one that will receive no endorsement from the Moslem community. The intimation of the Secretary of State that a decision will be reached during the present summer is welcome, and we hope that the term means that the award will be published before the end of July. We appeal with confidence to the National Government and its supporters for that just estimate of our claims which cannot be withheld if India is to make real political progress. The application of British courage and straightforwardness is needed, for a mere drifting on without a settlement would expose the great Moslem community, the Depressed Classes, the Indian Christians, and other minorities constituting together a full half of the population of India to grave danger.

There can be no misapprehension as to the Moslem claims, which have been put forward in the most explicit terms and are too well known to need recapitulation. No settlement can be effective which does not recognize as a basic principle the right of the majority community in each province to the exercise of majority rights. This principle must apply to Bengal and the Punjab, where the Moslems are in the majority, no less than to other provinces where the Hindus are in a majority. We have given convincing reasons for the claim that one-third of the membership of the Federal Legislature should be Moslem in composition. We are convinced that the continuance of separate electorates, the equality of the provinces under a scheme of federation, the guarantee of complete religious liberty, and the provision of educational safeguards are necessary, and that we can forgo them only at the risk of complete extinction of our community as a definite entity in the political and social life of the country.

Lastly, we have given convincing reasons for the claim of Moslems for Sind separation, and we have also lately given proof before the Sind Separation Conference (which was appointed by the Government of India under the direction of the Round-Table Conference) that Sind is financially a self-supporting province. Not only that, but the representatives of the Sind Zamindars and members of the Conference came forward and agreed to the increase of tax on them if Sind is separated.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

H. A. HAROON, M.L.A. and Delegate to the Ottawa Conference.

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INDIA TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

"A Letter from India." By Edward Thompson. (Faber. 5s.) 3.7.32

Everything that Mr. Thompson writes is worth reading. His latest book he describes as a "letter"; it is, in fact, little more, and it has the characteristics of a good letter; it is chatty, inconsequent, and allusive rather than descriptive.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the book is that which deals with General Dyer and his action at Amritsar. His deed was no crime, but it was (Mr. Thompson concludes) due to an appalling blunder, frankly admitted (in private) by General Dyer himself—and yet (the words are Mr. Thompson's)—

> I have never doubted that General Dyer's action saved the Punjab from a revolt, with its attendant horrors. Nor have I ever doubted that it did irreparable damage to the Raj, and that he shot away more than he preserved.

These sentences are admirably illustrative of Mr. Thompson's methods. The evidence given that General Dyer "lured" the crowd into the garden before he fired Mr. Thompson characterises as "sheer lying," but "lying which had behind it the impetus of uncontrollable passion." General Dyer did not know that there was no way out of the enclosure; that is the simple explanation of his action.

Similarly about Mr. Gandhi. At the Round Table Conference he was a complete failure, "irritating and futile"; and yet—"Mr. Gandhi will live as one of the very few men who have set the stamp of an idea on an epoch."

About the Princes and their States Mr. Thompson is just as frank as he is about Mr. Gandhi and the British Raj. "With the States," he writes, "we still have the chance to be benevolently overbearing, though the scope of such action is woefully limited as compared with what it was twenty years back. . . ." The most definite conclusion which seems to emerge from Mr. Thompson's Letter is that "It is the Provinces that matter."

"Nationalists," as he justly observes, "will have none of provincial autonomy until they can have everything. They are making a mistake." Unquestionably they are. The Provinces are "the living organisms," and should be the basis for the next step in our constitutional evolution of an "India" that only exists because it is British India.

CONSTITUTIONAL STEPS IN INDIA

Lond. Times 7.7.32

MADRAS LIBERALS' INQUIRY

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

MADRAS, JULY 6

The Madras City branch of the South Indian Liberal Federation, after a meeting last night presided over by Mr. P. A. Ramaswamy Moodelliar, issued a manifesto requesting elucidation of Sir Samuel Hoare's recent statement in the House of Commons.

The manifesto agrees with the desire to expedite the reforms, but requests further information, particularly about the conditions of federation and the nature of the "reasonable assurance" mentioned regarding financial and other provisions; inquires, if the Consultative Committee fails to reach conclusions, whether the alternative body to meet in London will be a miniature replica of the Round-Table Conference; and finally requests a definition of the status of the Indians to appear before the Joint Committee.

The manifesto concludes:—"We realize that bare criticism of proposals alleged to have been made with the best intentions will not serve any useful purpose. Simultaneously we venture to suggest that the value of the new Constitution would be greatly enhanced if Indians shared in its actual framing. Capacity to work the Constitution in the teeth of undoubted opposition will depend equally on the Constitution's excellence as on the constitutionalists' sharing the responsibility for its framing."

A statement by Dr. Moonje on the Reform procedure appears on the preceding page.

THE PROGRAMME OF INDIAN REFORM.

THREE LINES OF CRITICISM.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

DELHI, Saturday.

Indian criticism on Sir Samuel Hoare's statement in the Commons on the Indian reforms programme has taken three different lines. Hostile criticism from Congress came, as a matter of course, and the same papers and speakers who, for the last seven months, have been attacking the Round Table, now turn to rend the British Government for abandoning the Conference method.

Of the more serious adverse critics the most noteworthy were Sir Tej Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. In a long statement the two peacemakers charge the Government with having abandoned the Round Table method under the pressure of Conservative influence in the Commons, and express the fear that the granting of provincial autonomy first, with federation to follow, will indefinitely delay the latter, despite the fact that both are provided for in one measure.

In place of the Joint Committee, Sir Tej Sapru and Mr. Jayakar urge the summoning of the Federal Structure Committee, or else that the Indians to confer with the Joint Committee should be selected by members of the Round Table and not by the Government. These criticisms gave rise to reports that Sir Tej Sapru and Mr. Jayakar contemplated resigning from the Consultative Committee, but happily this proved to be untrue.

THE COMMUNAL DECISION.

The Moslems' leaders have generally been slow to comment on the programme. Those who have done so have approved it with an expression of regret, however, that a definite date for the British Government's communal decision is not fixed. Incidentally, this has led to a division in the ranks of the Moslem Conference, the senior Moslem political organisation. On the orders of Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the chairman, the secretary has postponed an important meeting of the executive, fixed for to-day in view of Sir Samuel Hoare's promise of a communal decision during the summer, but Maulvi Shafi Daoodi, the secretary, has resigned owing to disagreement on this point.

The great majority of official and non-official opinion in Simla and elsewhere welcomes the new programme as a sincere attempt to expedite the reforms and eliminate the wasting of time by a third Round Table conference.

The consolidated ordinance issued to replace those expiring to-day follows the lines anticipated. The decline of the disobedience movement is strikingly evidenced by the restricted areas to which the special powers are extended at the will of the provincial Government. Only a few provisions such as the Press Act amendment apply to the whole country.

MORE BOMBAY CLASHES.

PICKETERS

INDIAN REFORMS

Lond. Times 7.7.32

DR. MOONJE'S VIEWS ON PROCEDURE

Dr. B. S. Moonje, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, made a statement to *The Times* yesterday in connexion with the announcement that the Indian Liberal delegates to the Round-Table Conference will meet in Bombay on Saturday to consider the new procedure on Indian reform outlined by Sir Samuel Hoare last week.

Dr. Moonje said that if the revised programme provided for as effective a collaboration with Indian opinion as was possible during the last two sessions of the Round-Table Conference, and on the same terms, then there might be no serious objection to it; otherwise it would give rise to serious discontent, and much of the psychological effect of the Conference would be wiped out. It ought therefore to be made clear that the Consultative Committee was to be maintained to the end to collaborate with the Joint Parliamentary Committee. If need be, the Consultative Committee could be expanded by the addition of a few more members if it was thought that there were interests which were not at present represented on it. The Consultative Committee so far had been found to be very practical in its work. Its terms of reference, too, were wide enough for the purpose. There would be resentment if any less representative committee was appointed to collaborate with the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

The results of such collaboration, Dr. Moonje continued, should immediately be placed before a plenary session of the Round-Table Conference, which need not last for more than a fortnight. The general feeling was that as Indian cooperation had begun with the Round-Table Conference, it should continue to the end in the same way. Dr. Moonje quoted the closing speech of the Prime Minister at the plenary session of the Conference on December 1 last in support of the view that the Government and also Parliament (which approved the White Paper containing the speech) were committed to the convening of a third and final session.

With reference to an announcement that the Viceroy is arranging meetings in Simla with Indian States delegates to the Conference, Dr. Moonje said that it was essential that no decisions should be taken without consultation with the Consultative Committee, to avoid difficulties and deadlocks in future.

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NEW PROCEDURE ON INDIAN REFORM

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S EXPLANATION

Field-Marshal Lord Allenby presided at the annual dinner of the Royal Central Asian Society at Grosvenor House, Park-lane, last night, when the Secretary of State for India, who was the principal guest, made an important statement on the procedure to be followed in furtherance of Indian constitutional reform.

Replying to the toast of "The Guests," proposed by SIR ARNOLD WILSON, SIR SAMUEL HOARE said he soon realized after being Secretary of State that someone or other was always certain to suspect one's motives and to believe that one's action was prompted by some ulterior motive. He would give an example of what he meant, and he took it from the events of the last two or three days. Sir Samuel Hoare continued :—

"Almost every Indian with whom I have had communications during the last two years has constantly impressed upon me the need for swift action and definite decisions in the field of Constitutional reform. I agree with my Indian friends. A long period of uncertainty is bad for everyone. It creates suspicion. It undermines authority. It saps the foundations of friendship. We, here, were no less anxious to bring this period of uncertainty to an end as soon as possible, and we accordingly came to the conclusion that it was necessary to speed up the procedure under which the Constitutional changes were being discussed. Our change of procedure meant no change of policy. We are just as anxious to-day as we were when the Round-Table Conference first met in London for all the help that we can get from representative Indians. We felt, however, that if decisions were to be made in any reasonable time it was quite essential to get away from the big and almost endless formal discussions that we have had during the last two years and to substitute for them much freer and much more intimate and much more definite consultations. Yet within a few hours of the declaration of this programme a section of Indian opinion jumps at the altogether erroneous conclusion that we no longer wish for Indian cooperation and that a change of method means a change of objective. If, however, our Indian friends will scrutinize with care and impartiality the programme we have drawn up, they will see that their criticisms are based upon a misapprehension of its meaning.

AN UNPRECEDENTED PROPOSAL

"Particularly do they seem to have misunderstood the procedure of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses to which the Government proposals will be referred. For the first time in our Constitutional history a Joint Select Committee of this kind will meet before a Constitutional Bill has been read a first or second time in Parliament. This unprecedented proposal is definitely intended to meet the Indian desire to be consulted before any irrevocable decision has been reached. Moreover, it is the intention of the Government to ask both Houses to agree to a procedure under which Indians will be enabled not only to appear as witnesses but also to take part in the discussions of the Committee.

"I hope that I have said enough to clear up once and for all the misunderstandings that seem to have arisen."

Sir Samuel Hoare went on to give some of the impressions he had gathered during his short connexion with Indian affairs. The impression that his political experiences had left most clearly upon his mind was, he said, that "almost every phase of the political developments in India is originally due to the direct encouragement we have now for generations past given to Indians to govern themselves." Almost every speech at the Round-Table Conference was founded upon British Constitutional procedure and phrased in British Constitutional terminology, while the demand for self-government had quite obviously been stimulated for many years past by the unselfish efforts of British officials to help Indians to take a greater share in their own government. Was there any other example in the history of the world of a Government so consciously and consistently preparing the way for a possible successor?

His impressions, however, were not restricted to the political field. He thought also, of the help that they had been able to give to India in a whole series of intellectual activities. Could they not claim to have laid the foundation of Indian archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, Indian history, Indian philology, and critical scholarship?

STATING THE BRITISH CASE

He said these things, not in any way to imply that the British had a monopoly of knowledge and virtue, but rather to give an answer to those who, for political purposes, declared that Great Britain had exploited India for her own ends. [illegible] were the answer of the present [illegible] which are no better than hasty presumptions about the detail of procedure. No responsible opinion here or in India can seriously maintain that the Round-Table Conference of more than 100 members is the right body to enter into the kind of consultation with Parliament itself that was described by the SECRETARY OF STATE last night. To make the changes in procedure a cause for withholding cooperation now would be a sacrifice of the common end to a misconception of the necessary means.

it was mainly [illegible] had gone about their business [illegible] and unostentatiously that [illegible] people did not realize what they had been doing. "Now, however, when we are considering a new chapter in Indian history, we must clearly state our case, and we must take these things into account. Indians must realize what we have done, no less than we must realize the great things that Indians themselves are capable of doing.

"Have we not, perhaps, in the past made too little of the need for intellectual cooperation between British and Indians?" Sir Samuel Hoare continued. "Might not Indian intellectual life be better understood in British society and British centres of learning? While we know much of modernist movements in almost every European country, how much do we know of the very interesting modernist movement that is passing over Indian literature? I would ask you, as the representatives of a body that can have much influence upon British public opinion, to think over these things and to consider if it would not be possible, whether by having Indian Chairs at British Universities, whether by having a closer association between British and Indian students and writers, whether, to give an even more concrete example of what I mean, by encouraging the holding of an Indian Art Exhibition on the lines of the Persian, French, Dutch, and Italian exhibitions at Burlington House, we could not ensure for the future a greater intellectual cooperation between the East and the West, and so by this means bring about a more understanding association between the East and the West."

The NETHERLANDS MINISTER, in proposing the toast of "The Society," said that the colonies of Holland in Asia were now held in a manner hardly distinguishable from the administration of mandated territories. The principles in the treatment of the native populations followed in the Dutch East Indies corresponded closely to those which guided British policy in India. The promotion of the welfare of the people had been the fundamental aim of both countries. They knew that if the interests of the subject peoples were overlooked and their rights ignored, their own interests would suffer in the end.

The toast was responded to by AIR MARSHAL SIR ROBERT BROOKE-POPHAM and Mr. PHILBY, to whose work as a traveller in Southern Arabia complimentary reference had been made by Sir Arnold Wilson and Sir Samuel Hoare.

AY, JULY 8, 1932

[illegible] Liberals and the Reforms

A meeting of Liberal delegates to the Round Table Conference is to be held in Bombay to-morrow. According to a message from our Bombay Correspondent published on Wednesday the object of the meeting is to protest against the announcement of future procedure made by SIR SAMUEL HOARE in the House of Commons a few days ago and to decide whether the protest should be a resolution refusing cooperation in the last phase of Constitution-making or should take some milder form. On the same day our Simla Correspondent reported the view held there that the Liberals are misconceiving and misinterpreting SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S statement. The two messages certainly appear to bear each other out. The desire to protest is inexplicable if it does not result from complete misapprehension of the present proposals. What is there in the procedure proposed which can justify a refusal to cooperate in the final stages? The Government are expected to announce fairly soon the solution of the communal problem which the communities have demanded of them. The Consultative Committee in India should then be free to complete its work and give the Government its advice on outstanding matters. This should leave over only a few specific questions for informal discussion with Indian experts in London. If a broad distinction can be drawn between them the phase of conference will then have been successfully ended and the phase of legislation will begin. In the Government's design cooperation, of course, continues. In accordance with ascertained Indian wishes it has already been decided—and Parliament has accepted the decision—that the new Constitution shall be enacted, not piecemeal, but in a single measure providing both for Provincial autonomy and for the Federation of India [illegible] inces and States. It becomes the Gove[illegible]ent's duty to produce concrete propo[illegible] serve as the basis of a Bill. It [illegible]ttled that these proposals shall go before a Joint Select Committee of both Houses which [illegible]ll consider them in conjunction with representatives of Indian opinion. "This unprecedented proposal," as SIR SAMUEL HOARE told the Royal Central Asian Society last night, "is definitely intended to meet the Indian desire to be consulted before any irrevocable decision has been reached."

Thus the whole preparatory process, down to the final stage which will be decisive for the shaping of the Bill itself, will be responsive to representative Indian views and advice. In addition, if further formal consultation is required, the Government will provide for it even though it means delay. Since any matter for discussion by that time will be technical and legislative rather than large issues of principle, it is thought that the body to be summoned should correspond to the amount and type of the business still to be done. In short the whole procedure is shaped by the need for effective consultation at every stage, by the special requirements of the drafting stage, and by the need for expedition on which Indian opinion has been insistent. It has been very generally, and wisely, held in India that a further session in London of the whole Round-Table Conference would be inappropriate and unhelpful to the detailed work remaining, and all Indian opinion demands dispatch. There has been hardly time yet to consider the best form in which a fully representative but more wieldy delegation should be constituted. It might be furnished from the Conference itself, from the Legislatures, or indeed from both. In any case there can be little difficulty in securing that it shall state Indian views with authority, while the procedure outlined already provides for its full collaboration with the Government and with Parliament. It is scarcely conceivable that Indians who have taken so large a practical share in bringing the reforms near to [illegible] and abandon their task, when

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Lond. Sans. 5th Dec 1931

Imperial and Foreign News

THE MOSLEMS IN KASHMIR

CAUSES OF UNREST

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

The cause of the Moslem community in Kashmir has been taken up by their co-religionists in the Punjab and throughout India, and *jathas* (conferences) have been suggested, if not enlisted, from as far afield as Karachi and Hyderabad State.

This move coincides with the All-India Moslem Conference, which has expressed alarm at the course of events at the Round-Table Conference, and has warned the British Cabinet against "succumbing to the extravagant claims of Mr. Gandhi, which will result in placing the Moslems and the other minorities at the mercy of an aggressive and uncompromising majority." The serious character of the



agitation is seen in the division of opinion it has brought about, and even Sir Muhammad Yakub, secretary of the Moslem League, has urged Moslems in the Punjab to bring the agitation to an end.

The Ahrar ("free and independent") movement is primarily political. It has no doctrinal significance, and is supported by Moslems of every religious school. The most zealous are perhaps the Qadianis, a modern nonconformist sect with headquarters in the Gurdaspur district (North Punjab), whose members are distinguished for their strict adherence to Islamic law and their personal integrity. Meetings are being held in every mosque and at every popular shrine, where the sufferings of the Kashmiri Moslems are described and the true followers of the Prophet are urged to continue the struggle on their behalf. The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League is apparently compelled to endorse the policy of direct action, encouraging the *jathas* to proceed, and demanding the withdrawal of British troops from the Kashmir border.

QUESTIONS OF CONTROL

The sympathy of the Punjab Moslems is sincere. Islam teaches a doctrine of brotherhood which is warmer and more spontaneous than the sympathy of Europeans for, say, the Assyrian Christians in Iraq. Requests for a larger proportion of Moslems in the Kashmir Civil Services, for an amendment of the land tax, and for relief from compulsory labour have been voiced in the Punjab for a generation past. Yet the All-India Kashmir Committee has hitherto commanded only a mild respect, and the Kashmiri community in Northern India, while including many honourable and industrious persons, is hampered by a minority, in all the larger towns, noted rather for its beauty than its chastity. What really stimulates the Moslem League and the Moslems in general to fight the Kashmir battle is the consciousness of the great issues now at stake in Delhi and London.

If self-government is to be given to an India which contains a Hindu majority, Moslem control of the north-west must be solid and the road to and from Afghanistan must be clear. Between the Jamna River and the Afghan frontier lie two non-Moslem forces, the Punjab Sikhs—and Kashmir under a Hindu dynasty. The latter is weak, and many Moslems, not all of them firebrands, picture a North-West India in which the sea of green should be marred by no islets of pink. There is no conspiracy with Moscow, and if the Red Shirts of Peshawar have lent their dye to the Red Shirts of Sialkot, the loan is, at present at least, without deep meaning. But a Moslem Frontier Province, a Moslem Sind, a Punjab with a Moslem majority constitutionally entrenched in the Legislature, will show a strong face to an India in which Moslem ideals, civilization, and language may hereafter be endangered. They will suffer no neutral or enemy behind their backs.

GLANCY COMMITTEE'S WORK

The grievances of Kashmiri Moslems are of long standing. There is little trouble in the Jammu Province, where many of the cultivators are Hindu Rajputs and Brahmans are comparatively few. In Kashmir Province, on the other hand, Moslems form more than 90 per cent. of the population, yet owing to their own backwardness in education and to the traditional employment of Brahmans in State service, the former hold less than one-eighth of the "officers" posts. A distinguished Judge of the Punjab High Court has recently been appointed Minister for Home Affairs and Education, but with this exception the Ministers too are Hindus.

Into the complaints of the Moslems it is not possible to enter; the Glancy Committee is examining their claims, and if evidence is given without intimidation the facts will be sifted. State ownership of all agricultural land, the forest administration, police severities, official control over the sale of silk cocoons, unequal taxation, and the partial payment of land revenue in kind instead of cash—all these are matters in dispute; and to them must be added the usual crop of allegations concerning insults to the Koran, conversion of mosques to profane uses, and so on, which spring up in the soil of bitterness and wither in an atmosphere of contentment. Cattle slaughter is prohibited by the Hindu ruler, and heavy sentences of imprisonment are imposed for this offence; the law, however, is not peculiar to Kashmir, but is common to many Hindu States.

Military recruitment is rarely extended to Kashmiri Moslems, who are not of a martial temper; such Moslems (30 per cent.) as are found in the State forces are drawn from Jammu and from the Punjab, and long training will be required before the necessary spirit is bred in those who are now excluded. There is no representative Legislature, but the demand for this novelty is factitious, and would not be pressed if discomfort were not suffered in other ways.

The pinch of the shoe is felt in its daily use. Much of the Kashmir legislation, such as the Alienation of Land Act and the Agriculturists Relief Act, is conceived in the interests of the peasantry. The control over rice and the monopoly of cocoon purchase are ultimately beneficial to the producer, who, illiterate and unorganized, would be squeezed in a fluctuating market. Land revenue is carefully

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assessed, and rural schools are being multiplied, not as an enthusiast would desire, but as the funds in the Treasury permit. The personal expenditure of the Maharajah is below the average of Indian potentates of equal status. But when the village schoolmasters, the civil and criminal Judges, the revenue and forest officers—in fact, the local representatives of every department—are predominantly Hindu among a Moslem population, friction is inevitable, and is generated by every word of asperity and every inconsiderate action. A fall in the price of agricultural produce, following on a year of devastation by locusts, has driven the villager to the limit of his credit with the moneylender, and a harassed mind resents more keenly an annoyance which prosperity would overlook.

To what end, then, will the Ahrar agitation lead? The example of the Akali Sikhs a few years ago proved the efficacy of persistent *jathas*; a petty Akali campaign is even now being conducted in the Sialkot district, for possession of certain shops adjudged by a Court to an ejected Hindu Mahant. If Sikh *jathas* win in the end, so also may Moslem. But win what? Nobody knows. If the Glancy Committee is entirely free to inquire and pronounce, and if administrative changes are introduced in Kashmir, the passion may all die down.

There is no Moslem animosity against the British Government in India, but the danger remains that anger aroused by a stubborn opponent may be directed against the policeman. Moslems in the Punjab have always been good friends of the British, and it will be lamentable if an error of British policy, the tenacity of a privileged caste in an Indian State, or the weakness of leaders in the Moslem League or in the Legislature should precipitate a conflict in which no party is anxious to be involved.

THE MOSLEM CONGRESS IN JERUSALEM

TURKISH INQUIRIES

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

CONSTANTINOPLE, DEC. 4

Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in answer to questions in the Grand National Assembly about the Moslem Congress in Jerusalem said it was inspired by those who venerated the sheriat (religious law), from which Turkey in the days of the Ottoman Sultans and Afghanistan in more recent times had suffered so much.

He added that when the intention to hold the Congress was announced he had ascertained the attitude of the Powers interested in Moslem countries, and, notably Great Britain, as mandatory for Palestine, who had replied that no questions controversial in a political sense would be discussed, and that the British Government would not sanction any action likely to disturb Turkey. In particular had he been assured that the question of the Caliphate was not to be raised, and that Great Britain was neither protecting nor encouraging the Congress.

Inquiries had also been made of the Governments of Persia, Afghanistan, Albania, and the Hejaz, all of which had replied that they were not taking part in the Congress, while Iraq and Egypt were not sending official delegates, although some of their nationals were likely to attend it in a private capacity. Tewfik Rushdi Bey did not say that Turkey was not accepting the invitation received, but reminded the Assembly that the Republic was strongly opposed to any movement for making use of religion as a weapon in internal or external politics.

The prospect of the Congress, following on the recent marriage of the former Caliph's daughter, had been causing Angora some uneasiness, and Great Britain's assurances have now not only dispelled this but have further improved the friendly relations which have been reviving between Turkey and Great Britain in recent years.

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI ON ITALIAN POLICY

Lond. Times 26.8.33

THE NEED OF STRENGTH

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

MILAN, AUG. 25

Signor Mussolini motored yesterday from the zone of the Army manoeuvres to Cuneo, in South-west Piedmont, where the heads of the Fascist Federations of Lombardy, Piedmont, and Liguria had been summoned to meet him. It is estimated that 80,000 people of the Province crowded into the town, which has a population of about 30,000, to hear him speak.

Signor Mussolini said that at the foot of the Alps, "which must never again at any point be violated by enemy armies or foreign peoples," he wished to declare to the Italian people that the 6,000 years of known human history taught a clear lesson: it was necessary to be strong. "The strong nations have friends near and far in time of peace; in case of war they are feared. Weak nations in time of peace stand alone and neglected, and in case of war run the risk of being crushed. First of all, it is necessary to be strong in numbers, since, if the cradles are empty, the nation ages and declines."

Nobody could challenge the sincere desire of the Italian Government and people for peace. Fascist Italy faced "the noontide of the twentieth century as the sole nation with a doctrine of salvation and of life to give to all the civilized peoples of the earth. . . . To-morrow Italy will be even stronger and greater because we will make her so."

After 48 hours of continuous operations the troops engaged in the manoeuvres rested the whole of yesterday. Signor Mussolini, however, spent another active morning, during which he drove his own car backwards and forwards across the hilly countryside. Wherever he showed himself he was enthusiastically welcomed.

GERMAN IDEAS OF "REVENGE"

MARSHAL LYAUTEY'S VIEW

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, AUG. 22

In a speech delivered at Laloeuf, near Nancy, yesterday, Marshal Lyautey uttered a warning against the dangers of trying to secure peace by unilateral disarmament.

France, he said, was pacific to the core, but there was only one way of maintaining peace at the moment—to be strong, and to make the fact obvious. Germany to-day, he continued, believed in force, and in force alone. Only by shutting one's eyes was it possible not to see that the whole activity of Germany was directed towards an attempt at revenge. French opinion must be thoroughly warned, not indeed to cause panic, but to produce a cool-headed examination of the necessary measures of safeguards. Chief among these was the maintenance in its entirety of the French Army. The old watchword followed by himself during his 30 years of colonial service still held good—"Show your strength and avoid the necessity of using it."

THE IRAQI-SYRIAN FRONTIER

London Times 10.12.31

LEAGUE COMMISSION TO BE APPOINTED

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, DEC. 9

To-day's public meeting of the Council of the League opened with the consideration of the report of M. Fotitch (Yugoslavia) upon the joint request of the British and French Governments for the services of the League in the delimitation of the frontier between Iraq and Syria. The report, which accepts in principle the joint suggestion of the interested parties that a Commission be appointed to examine the question on the spot, was unanimously adopted.

The report suggests that, in the absence of detailed memoranda and maps setting out the French and British points of view, the immediate action of the Council be limited to the appointing of the Commission and the definition of its task. It is proposed that the Commission be composed of three members, nationals of countries not involved in the question, selected for their special competence, and assisted by four assessors. The Council unanimously adopted this proposal, and requested the President, with the assistance of the *rapporteur* for mandates questions, to appoint the members of the Commission.

Lord Cecil expressed the thanks of the British Government to the *rapporteur* and to the League itself for what would, he hoped, provide a solution satisfactory to both sides. In conclusion he said that such activities as these, if less spectacular than others, were sufficiently useful to justify the work of the League.

NAZI METHODS

London Times 18-8-33

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

MUNICH, AUG. 17

Several anti-Jewish outrages have recently taken place at Nuremberg, where the position of the Jewish population is becoming increasingly insecure.

Last Sunday an "Aryan girl" of 19 who was in the company of a Jew was seized by Storm Troopers, who cut away the two long plaits hanging down her back and then shaved her head. A placard bearing the inscription: "I have offered myself to a Jew" was tied round the girl's neck, the two shorn plaits being pinned to the placard. She was then marched through the streets and taken from one cabaret to another. In each she was made to stand on the stage, the Storm Troopers meanwhile shouting the text of the placard at her, interspersed with obscene abuse.

Some days before a Jew and a non-Jew, alleged to be his mistress, were in an open motor-car driven through the streets of Nuremberg bearing "large placards" with the inscriptions: "I have dishonoured a German woman" and "I have surrendered myself to a Jew" respectively.

MILITARY TRAINING

A.B. Patrika 19.1.34

For Soviet Workmen & Peasants

RIGA, Jan. 16.

The military authorities in Leningrad have ordered the construction of fifty-metre rifle ranges in every factory and all rural districts in order that workmen and peasants may practise military training.—Reuter.

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Chronicle 18.12.38

DISBAND KHILAFAT

Lucknow Conference For Reorganisation Of Muslim Assembly

LUCKNOW, Dec. 16.

At the opening of the session, a telegram from Sheik Abdul Majid Sindhi wishing the Khilafat Conference success was read. The telegram further stated:

"My considered opinion is that since the Hindu Mahasabha and Hindu Nationalists cannot jointly define their attitude towards and accept the thirteen Muslim demands it is futile for Muslims to quarrel over the fourteenth demand regarding the electorate. Re-opening of the Communal Award is an inadvisable crusade against Sind separation and representation on the Central and Bengal and Punjab Legislatures.

We should insist on responsibility in the provinces and at the Centre, the protection of personal laws and the autonomy of British Baluchistan.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME.

The economic programme must include the revival of cottage industries, reduction of land revenue assessment, retrenchment of military expenditure and adequate representation of Muslims in the services. My further opinion is that the Khilafat Committee should be called the Indian Muslim Assembly or Supreme Council with the necessary modifications of its aims and rules and that the existing Muslim organisations should end and merge themselves into the Muslim Assembly".

ARABS IN PALESTINE.

Several members laid stress on the seriousness of the condition of the Arabs in Palestine and urged the British Government not to encourage the colonisation of Jews in Palestine. Maulana Hafiz Rahman exhorted the Muslims to organise themselves and carry on a vigorous propaganda on behalf of the Arabs.

Dr. Syed Mahmud thought that the British Government would turn a deaf ear to their demands.

The following resolutions were then put to vote and unanimously adopted:

"As the British policy of supporting Jewish invasion of Palestine and the establishment of their domination in the Holy Lands has caused great perturbation to the whole of the Muslim world, this session of the All-India Khilafat and Palestine Conference assures the Arab brothren that every Muslim in India is willing to help them for the liberation of the sacred lands:

REORGANISE KHILAFAT.

Therefore, this Conference proposes that Muslims in India should immediately reorganise Khilafat Committees in all parts of the country so that they could safeguard the sacred lands from occupation and invasion by non-Muslims. This Conference requests their tried leader Maulana Shaukat Ali to tour the whole of India for this purpose.

The Conference further proposes that the Khilafat Committee should arrange to send a deputation to the Viceroy to represent the strong feelings of Muslims on the Palestine affairs. The Conference also proposes that a deputation should be appointed to visit Palestine and after enquiries report the true state of affairs to Muslims in India and then place the case before British Ministers in London.

The Conference also enjoins that the deputation should get in touch with Muslim State rulers so that they could carry on the propaganda with unanimity."—A. P.

AIM OF UNITY CONFERENCE

Muslim Leaders Meet In Lucknow

(From A Correspodent).

LUCKNOW, Dec. 17.

The All Parties Muslim Conference has not yet met formally. Mufti Kifayatullah, President and Maulana Ahmed Saeed, Secretary, Jamiat Ulamai Hind have reached here last night.

Negotiations regarding the constitution and aims and objects of the Unity Conference are going on between the Jamiats delegates and leaders of other parties.

The sessions of the Cawnpore Jamiat which has been further split in two sections were held yesterday. The meeting had nothing ti do

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DR. MOONJE ON INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS

Pleads Goa Hindus' Case in Lisbon



Dr. B. S. Moonje, the great fighter for Hindus & Hinduism in India and abroad recently returned to India after appearing before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. On his way to India he visited Portugal and saw the President and Colonial Secretary to plead the cause of Hindus of Goa. Here is a translation from Portuguese in English of an interview published in a Lisbon journal which has been specially translated for us by Mr. A. J. Karandikar.

Recently a high caste Hindu Leader has arrived in Lisbon, He occupies an exceptional place in the political agitation of his country. Although he has not achieved the world-wide celebrity of Gandhi, his prestige is immense in the continent of India. Dr. B. S. Moonje is his name. He has taken part in two Round Table Conferences in London. He is a curious figure with a large flowing beard with vivacious and penetrating eyes and dry hands, tired with writing and slow speech. He has taken his medical degree in the Bombay University afterwards specialising in opthalmalogy. He has travelled all over Europe and has visited all the great military centres of the continent observing with great care the working of the military colleges in France, England, Germany and Italy. He comes of a war-like race, called Mahrattas; wellknown in Portugal for the various campaigns in Goa and Bassien. Although European in his dress, he has retained the oriental Fez Cap, which he, however, discards in the streets, so as not to excite the idle curiosity of the barbarous western people.

If Gandhi is the apostle of New India, Dr. Moonje is the politician and diplomat of his country. Keen, flexible, rapier-like conversa-tion is his characteristic. He will bend but not break. We met him in the Hotel of Rossio, where he was being interviewed by Luizdupi Correspondent of the Reuter and afterwards we had a talk with him. 'Who are you?' was our first question to which Dr. Moo je laughed and after a little while he answered. "I am the president of the Hindu Mahasabha, the most powerful organization in India with millions of supporters, which is fighting for its rights."

Q.:—And who is Gandhi?

Dr. Moonje:—Mr. Gandhi is the president of the Indian National Congress and my colleague in the Round Table Conference.

Q.:—What does India want? To shake off the British yoke?

Ans.:—No. we are not opposed to the English Government. I consider myself a subject of the British Empire. We wish to be equal partners in the Commonwealth of Nations of the British Empire. We want to remove British domination.

Q:—Does Gandhi think so?

Ans:—Exactly. Our politics has been and shall be of co-operation with England, so long as we can gain any advantage from it.

Q:—Has this co-operation any use?

Ans:—In fact, in all direstions our rights are being respected for example—the rights of the Indians to serve as officials in the British Army has been recognised after strenuous struggle. Sixty cadets are admitted for the Military course annually. But this is too little. We wish that every body who affords should be admitted to the course with an equality of opportunity.

Q.:—But there is an economic aspect to your movement?

Ans.:—Yes! We wish that we should be free to levy protective tariffs without discrimination on all foreign goods. We wish to have freedom in exporting and importing goods from all countries and not to be slaves of the British commercial interests.

Q.:—What about the religious question?

Ans.:—I am obliged to recognise that England is not very impartial in religious matters. On the one side there are 250 millions of Hindus and on the other side 70 millions of Muslims. It appears to me that the balance of power should be on our side. But... ... ... let us drop that matter. At present the communal question is less acute. But one of the evils of India is the division of castes, and when some castes are more favoured than the others, unity becomes very difficult.

Q.:—Has Bolshevism any influence in India? So far as I know there is a red army in China and Bolshevic influence is increasing in Persia.

Ans.:—Bolshevism does not exist in India. The National agitation does not admit the possibility of Communism. To be strong and serene is our ideal. There are four principles of our agitation. The right to work, the right to property, the right to political equality and religious liberty. Synthetically, the superiority of each individual should depend on his intelligence and his capacity for work. I know well that our ideal will not be realised *en block*. But we wish that our principles should be recognised; and they should be [illegible] as opportunity comes.

Then we began to talk about the philosophical poet; Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Dr. Moonje described his mansions, his gardens, his fountains, his school etc. Now it was sun-set so before parting we asked the Doctor what was his intention in coming to Lisbon.

Dr. Moonje:—I have come from London expressly to pay my respects to the President of the Portuguese Republic and then to confer with the Minister of the Colonies.

Q.—Is it a visit of courtesy?

Ans:—Certainly. However I wish to discuss about the social and religious situation of the Hindus of Goa. I may tell you that this visit has nothing to do with politics.

Q:—What questions are you going to discuss with the Colonial Secretary? Dr. Moonge smiled once more and said that it would be inopportune to answer that question.

Q:—Are the problems of Portugues India as acute as those of British India?

Ans:—Every body has his difficulties. Our grievances are related to costumes, religious disabilities and reconversions.

Q.:—Does the Portuguese spirit persist in India?

Ans.:—Your name is much respected in India. I belong to a race which has fought with you. At first the Portuguese conquerred us but then we conquerred them and then we became friends. And for any proof you may see how the citizens of Goa are treated in British India. Portugal was a great nation in the past, thanks to its moral and fighting qualities; and it has been regalvanised since the World War.

Then we asked Dr. Moonje to tell us if the Portuguese spirit identified better with that of the Indians or the English spirit. But Dr. Moonje observed smilingly that it would be impolitic to answer that question. And thus ended our interview, and Dr. Moonje with a shake-hand conducted us to the door and bid good-bye shouting *Vande Matarum*."

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THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION

PT. JAWAHARLAL'S REPLY TO SIR MOHAMMAD IQBAL

ALLIANCE WITH BRITISH REACTIONARIES CONDEMNED

The following is the text of Pandit Jawaharlal's statement in reply to Sir Muhammad Iqbal:—

'I have read with care the frank and courteous statement that Sir Mohammad Iqbal has issued to the press and I gladly accept his invitation to answer the questions he has formulated. But first I must refer to the incident during the communal negotiations at the second Round Table Conference which has been mentioned by Sir Mohammad. I am obviously not in a position to say anything about it from my own knowledge, and others who are in a better position will no doubt clear up any misapprehensions that may have arisen. But when Sir Mohammad refers to any condition laid down by Gandhiji as 'an inhuman condition' I am quite sure that he is under a serious misapprehension.

MAHATMA'S REPLY TO MUSLIMS

Sir Mohammad says that Gandhiji was prepared to accept, in his personal capacity, the demands of the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference, but that he could not guarantee the acceptance of his position by the Congress. It seems to me obvious that Gandhiji, or any one else in his position, could not possibly adopt any other course. No representative of a democratic organization could do so. Even the Working Committee of the Congress could not go behind the Congress resolutions; it could only refer the question to the All-India Congress Committee or the open session of the Congress, which is the final authority. Quite apart from the general Congress attitude, it was well known that a considerable section of Muslim opinion in India, the Muslim Nationalists, were opposed to some of those demands. Gandhiji had repeatedly stated in India, prior to his departure from England, that he would accept the decision of Dr. M. A. Ansari, as representing the Muslim Nationalists, on this question. He had further stated that if the two Muslim groups could arrive at an agreement, he would unhesitatingly accept it. In order to facilitate this he had pressed hard for the inclusion of Dr. Ansari's name among

he has never opposed the grant of special and additional representation to the depressed classes. Indeed, he holds that every facility must be given them to advance and catch up to the more advanced groups and communities. Subsequent events have demonstrated how far he is prepared to go in this direction. Socialist as I am, I fail to see any flaw or any impropriety in this reasoning.

'A SINISTER DESIGN'

Sir Mohammad evidently suspects a sinister design on Gandhiji's part. He hints that what Gandhiji is after is not so much the raising of the depressed classes, but the prevention of their fusion with the other communities, especially, I suppose, the Muslims in India. It is difficult to meet a suspicion and a prejudice which has little reason behind it, but any one who knows Gandhiji at all will consider the suggestion that he is working for the Harijan movement with a political motive as absurd. Personally I am not interested in religious labels and I am sure that they will soon disappear, or at any rate cease to have any political significance. Sir Mohammad evidently still attaches political significance to them. Gandhiji, to my knowledge, does not, but he is certainly a man of religion and he believes in the essentials of the Hindu faith. He wants to restore these essentials and to sweep away the accretions. It is because he feels that untouchability is a degrading and a disgusting accretion that he fights against it. It is quite wrong to say that he does not want a fusion between the depressed classes and caste Hindus. Indeed he wants this as well as a fusion between both of these and the other communities in India. But, like Sir Mohammad, he is enamoured of certain basic essentials of culture and he wants to preserve these, and at the same time to give perfect freedom to other cultural forms.

FUSION OF DIFFERENT GROUPS

Personally my outlook is different. It is not religious and I find it difficult to think of groups in terms of [illegible] does so, to the exclusion of other [illegible]

each other and produced mixed types but, as a rule, the national type dominated. This has certainly been so in countries with an ancient culture, like India, Persia and China.

What is Muslim culture? Is it the Semitic Arabian culture or the Aryan Persian culture or is it a mixture of the two? Arabian culture after a period of glory receded into the background but even in the height of its triumph it was powerfully influenced by Persian culture. It had little, if any, influence on India. Persian culture is essentially pre-Islamic and one of the remarkable lessons of history is the persistence for thousands of years of this old Iranian culture and tradition. Even today Persia is looking back to the pre-Islamic times for her cultural inspiration. This Persian culture certainly influenced India and was influenced by her. But even so the old Indian culture dominated in India and stamped its impress on the outsiders who came to her.

Today in India there is absolutely no cultural or racial difference between the Muslim and Hindu masses. Even the handful of upper class Muslims in north India, who perhaps think themselves apart from the rest of the country, bear the impress of India on them all over the place and are only superficially Persianized. Would any of them be more at home or more in harmony with their surroundings in Persia or Arabia or Turkey or any other Islamic country?

As a matter of fact this question has only a historical and academic interest because modern industrial conditions and rapid transport and frequent intercourse between different peoples are resulting in developing an international type of culture and obliterating to a large extent national cultural boundaries. Does Sir Mohammad Iqbal approve of what is taking place in Central Asia, Turkey, Egypt and Persia? Or does he think that Indian Muslims will remain immune from the forces that are shaping and re-forming Islamic countries? Whether he approves or not, world forces will continue to act, breaking up the old and out-of-date and building up the new. Personally I welcome this change, though I have no desire to see the world standardized and made after a single pattern. I should like to have the different world cultures keep their rich inheritance and at the same time to adapt themselves to changing conditions.

COMMUNAL PROBLEM CREATED BY UPPER CLASSES

So far as India is concerned, not only do I believe that a united Indian nation is possible but that fundamentally and culturally we are united in spite of numerous superficial differences. The present communal problem is entirely a political question of upper-class groups in various communities and

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VOL. XXI NO. 298 BOMBA

BOMBAY B
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...ey Conspire With Enemies Of India's Freedom

THEIR ANTINATIONAL TACTICS EXPOSED

The following manifesto has been issued by influential Bombay citizens;—

It has long been a painfully obvious fact to all dispassionate observers that those organisations which claim to protect the separate interests of communities divided by religion serve only the self interest of small coteries of exploiters of the religious sentiments of their fellowmen.

ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS

They have in the last few years set up artificial barriers against the attainment of national unity. They have encouraged a narrow sectarianism and intolerance which finds frequent expression in riots, and leaves a continuing trail of hatred and rancour. And they have been attempting to release such anti-social forces as would make any attempt at a wider synthesis of human culture ineffective.

THEY BELIE ALL HOPES

It has been our hope that these symptoms are but the passing and irrelevant phases of a new age struggling to be born. We have remained confident that in spite of the disruptive elements introduced into our body politic, the inherent social affinities cannot long remain obscured from the public mind. And in the expectation of this sanity asserting itself, we have been content to remain ... the antics of these communal agitators who strut in the pomp- incubated organisations.

ON

been a coalescing of reactionary forces, a defin- udes and the development of fresh and danger- l agitation that compel us to express our open ab- And we congratulate Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on given in the matter. We agree with him, that all ion, caste or community hold unholy truck with the ave to be opposed and fought. And we assure our support in his war against the blind and rabid

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A HARD BLOW

Times of India 23.12.33

A rumour got about that Dr. Moonje "had been making contact" with Mr. Winston Churchill when the Hindu leader was in England. Such an accusation must appear almost as appalling as that made by Mr. de Valera when the Irish President accused one of his opponents of holding conversations with the British Secretary for War in Glasgow! Dr. Moonje has naturally hastened to refute such a suggestion. He goes so far as to say that he has never even met Britain's political bricklayer. Indeed, the Indian leader says he would not know Mr. Churchill if he saw him. This is terrible. Mr. Churchill will be thoroughly shocked. Here he has for months been thundering about India and has achieved by the very extremity of his expression much more publicity than he deserved, and Dr. Moonje does not even know what he looks like. We admit to a modicum of surprise ourselves that that hat and features could pass unrecognised but this should convince the storm petrel that he is not certainly taken seriously in this country!

"ALLIANCE WITH IMPERIALISM"

Times of India 5.1.34

MR. GANDHI CONDEMNED BY LABOUR LEADERS

Bitter criticism of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for their "alliance with British Imperialism with a view to suppressing workers' and peasants' organisations in this country" was made by several labour leaders of Bombay on Wednesday evening when they met on Chowpatty sands under the auspices of the Marxist League to bid farewell to B. F. Bradley, an accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, who is sailing for England on Saturday.

Bhayaji Kulkarni of the G. I. P. Labour Union presided. The speakers included B. T. Randive ("Red Flag" Girni Kamgar Union), S. S. Mirajkar and K. N. Joglekar (both of whom were accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case).

Bradley said that the Congress had betrayed the workers and peasants of India by entering into the Delhi Pact and co-operating in the Second Round Table Conference. Mr. Gandhi who was now "perambulating the country" on Harijan work, did so with a view to bringing the peasants and labourers in the villages under his control. While Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru talked of Socialism, he had no definite programme to guide the workers and peasants.

He finally appealed to the workers and peasants of India to organise themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party to "fight world Imperialism and capitalism". On his return to England he promised to carry on propaganda among British Communists to offer their assistance to those in India in their fight against "British Imperialism".

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Sunday Times 10.7.32 15

INDIAN POLICY AGAIN CHALLENGED

LEADERS REFUSE CO-OPERATION

SIR S. HOARE'S CRITICS

BROKEN PLEDGES CHARGE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, Saturday.

Thirteen leading Indian Liberal Round Table Conference delegates, at a meeting in Bombay to-day, decided that they cannot co-operate further with the British Government in the framing of the new Constitution along the lines of the procedure recently announced by the Secretary for India.

The meeting lasted for three hours.

It is understood that a unanimous decision was reached to send a cable to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy saying that, as Sir Samuel Hoare's statement constitutes a "fundamental change" in policy it is impossible for the British-Indian delegates to continue co-operation unless that policy is reversed.

FURTHER MEETING TO-DAY

The meeting was adjourned till to-morrow to await the replies of absent Conference delegates, to whom telegrams were sent to-day inquiring whether they would support the decision. It is expected that at to-morrow's meeting the decision [illegible] not doing more, but they must be made plain, as also our wide-flung responsibilities. They explained why we had offered a reduction in the size of units instead of the number of units, and he claimed that that would lead to both economy and disarmament.

With regard to air bombardment, the only practical way was to rule out kinds of bombing, because almost any kind of aeroplane could bomb. Finally as to future progress, it had been decided to frame a comprehensive resolution embodying the measure of agreement so far reached, and inviting the Powers concerned to make an attempt to extend it to naval disarmament on a Sub-Committee of their own. This would mark a continuing and extend the latter by charging critics with misunderstanding them."

The resignations of Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Sapru from the Ex-Consultative Committee had an unfortunate effect on the meeting to-day.

Their letters to the Viceroy are featured in the Press. Mr. Jayakar accuses the British Government of breaking pledges solemnly given by British statesmen at the Round Table Conference.

If untoward developments occur, the Viceroy may cancel his programme. He had intended to leave to-day for Bengal.

Even the "Times of India" thinks that Sir Samuel Hoare has worsened the position by his speech to the Central Asian Society. It is declared that cabled explanations have done nothing to remove the doubts felt. "The whole basis of co-operation has been shaken," the newspaper says.

[illegible]OARE, Secretary of State for India ([illegible].J.—I am afraid that questions of pro[illegible] very often lead to misunderstanding even among ourselves, and I hope that I shall be able to show to the House that there are misunderstandings between the Front Bench opposite and this Bench here. If that is the case between colleagues in this House, it is obviously much easier to happen between Indians in India and British representatives here. If across this floor there can be misunderstanding, how much easier is it to have misunderstanding over a distance of 5,000 miles. A good deal of the trouble, in my view, is due to a series of misunderstandings. Let us first face the actual facts of the situation. The hon. member for Caerphilly is quite correct in saying that certain distinguished Indian public men are gravely anxious as to the programme which I announced to the House 10 days ago. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and two colleagues have resigned from the Consultative Committee. Thirteen others who met in Bombay on Sunday have sent to me and the Prime Minister a protest against our programme of procedure. At the same time the House should know that I have had other communications from India, also from very representative Indian public men, representing more than one great interest in India, strongly approving of the procedure that I described 10 days ago. (Hear, hear.) I say that this afternoon not in any way to underrate the disappointment that I feel owing to the action taken by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his colleagues, but to show that on this question there is a substantial body of opinion in India strongly behind the Government programme of procedure. (Hear, hear.) I should be the last person to underrate the loss that we shall feel if Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his colleagues are unable to cooperate with us in the later stages of the constitutional programme. I had the pleasure of serving with these gentlemen during last autumn and during the preceding autumn, and I can testify to the great value of their political experience, their ability, their knowledge of constitutional questions provided for every member of the Round-Table Conference. I should be very sorry, therefore, if the period of cooperation between them and us is brought to a termination. I should be particularly sorry if it was brought to an end as the result of misunderstandings that might be cleared up.

THE CONGRESS CAMPAIGN

We have not had too easy a time either here or in India since last December. Those of us who were ready to proceed with the constitutional programme have had our steps compromised at every turn by the complications brought into the scene by the campaign of non-cooperation launched by Congress at the end of the year. At every turn the renewal by the Congress of the non-cooperation campaign has made our way more difficult here, and I am sure that it has made the way of the Indian Liberals much more difficult in India. I venture to say that this afternoon to show how very difficult the course of events has been both for them and for us during the last six months.

Let us look at the position as it is to-day. For years past we have had a series of inquiries of every kind into almost every important feature of Indian life. I have satisfied myself that this continuous series of inquiries, necessary as I admit it was, has, none the less, been one of the most disturbing factors in Indian political life. No one has known what was going to happen. The officials of the Indian Government have been left in uncertainty as to the ultimate policy of his Majesty's Government. The Indian, whether he be a member of Congress, whether he be an Indian Liberal, whether he be a member of this or that community, has never known from week to week or month to month what was going to happen, and that has had a most unfortunate effect not only upon the political situation, but also upon the economic situation of India as a whole. (Hear, hear.) Business men have been left in doubt as to the future. I have had representation after

1932 July,

representation from Indians to bring to an end this long-drawn-out period of suspense. They have said: "Do let us know where we are. Do let the British Government produce its proposals."

Proceeding, the right hon. gentleman said that in view of these representations, it seemed to the Government that it was absolutely necessary to speed up the procedure, if they were to restore to India some measure of confidence in the future. Further, it seemed to them quite essential that they should speed up procedure if they were going to advance by one Bill rather than two Bills. It was clear to him that it was the general desire of most politically-minded Indians that they should proceed by one Bill; particularly was it the desire of those distinguished Indians who had now dissociated themselves from the Government's programme. It was quite impossible in any reasonable time to proceed by one Bill if once again they were going to have these big meetings during the autumn and winter months. It was not that the Government had any ulterior motive in mind. It was simply that, faced with these facts, they came definitely to the view that if they were to proceed by one Bill they must speed up procedure on some such lines as he proposed 10 days ago. Accordingly the Government had attempted to adapt their procedure to the two over-riding factors—the necessity of speed and the fact that in the ultimate resort it was Parliament that must take the final decision upon any Government proposals. That fact had been made clear from the very beginning in the discussions about the Round-Table Conferences. Within those factors, by all means in their power, they should maintain the Indian cooperation which had been so valuable in the past.

There was criticism by some of their friends in India that the Government had broken pledges given in the White Paper. That was not the case in any way. The Prime Minister in his statement was very careful, and wisely careful, to leave open the exact methods of future cooperation. Nobody could foresee exactly what was going to happen in the months before them. Since December two very new factors had emerged in the political picture. In December they hoped that it would not be necessary for the Government to make a communal decision. Since then, owing to the failure of the communities to agree among themselves, the Government had had to undertake to make that decision. He repeated, in case there should be any misunderstanding, that the Government intended to make it during the course of this summer. They hoped in December that they would still maintain the cooperation of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues. Unfortunately both these new features had developed in the picture, and it showed, if any proof were needed, how very wise it was for the Prime Minister to make his speech in general rather than in specific terms. In any case what mattered in a pledge of that kind was the spirit in which it was being carried out. The spirit with which they hoped to carry it out was quite definitely a spirit of cooperation. He knew that some prominent Indians regarded him as a very reactionary, tiresome, conservative Secretary of State, unsympathetic to all their aspirations, hostile to all their programme. He did not believe that was a true picture. He would suggest to Indian friends the kind of way in which the Government still hoped to help. First of all the Government were most anxious to have their continued cooperation on the Consultative Committee.

THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

They hoped when the Consultative Committee was formed at the beginning of the year that it would be a kind of microcosm of the whole Conference. They made it as representative as ever they could of the whole of the Round-Table Conference. They gave an undertaking that the reports of the various committees that went out to India should be put before the Consultative Committee, and it was clear that if the Consultative Committee would help them with its cooperation it would enable the Government to speed up the Constitutional Bill for India to a much earlier date. He still hoped that with Indian cooperation the Consultative Committee might greatly help them in dealing with the wide field that was covered by this change. Assuming that the obstacles which impeded the Moslem delegates from going on with the discussions were removed, the Consultative Committee would meet. He hoped that it would meet, and that they would have the cooperation of the distinguished Indians who were members of it. Next there would be consultation between individual Indians during the summer and autumn. He was afraid that they would not be of a representative character, any more than were the members of the Round-Table Conference. They had been dealing all along with prominent individuals, and they would do so again. It was in view of the financial safeguards that they had suggested this procedure. Many Indians last year took the view that discussions in regard to financial safeguards would be much better conducted by means of informal and confidential talks between individuals. The procedure in regard to the Joint Select Committee was unprecedented. They were anxious to bring [illegible] that Committee before the House of Commons had taken any final decision. It was the firm

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vention of the Government that Indian cooperation and consultation should be as effective as possible during the stage of the Joint Select Committee. They believed that the Joint Select Committee would really be carrying on the spirit of the Round-Table Conference applied to the particular conditions of the time. Moreover, at the Joint Select Committee the Indians would have the great advantage, which they never would have had on the Round-Table Conference, of seeing the specific proposals of the Government. (Cheers.) The discussion of those proposals would be far more profitable than the necessarily indefinite discussions of a large body like the Round-Table Conference, where the Government would obviously not be in a position to put forward concrete proposals, for the over-riding reason that the only place where the Government could put forward specific proposals was Parliament itself. (Cheers.) He hoped that he had said enough to show that the Government's only reason for a change of programme was their desire to speed up the procedure. He had had no suggestions from any quarter as to any better means than those which the Government had suggested. He would be very glad to hear from British or Indian quarters any suggestions for carrying out the Government's programme more effectively, more expeditiously, and more sympathetically than by the proposals which he had made 10 days ago. (Cheers.)

The House adjourned at 5 o'clock until October 27.

INDIAN STATES AND THE REFORMS

Lord Times 4.8.32

MINISTERS TO MEET

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA, Aug. 3

It is announced that the Standing Committee of Ministers of Indian States belonging to the Chamber of Princes will meet here on August 10 to discuss the Davidson and Percy reports, the supplementary report of the fact-finding Committee, and the general political situation. The Committee consists of Sir Manubhai Mehta, Colonel Haksar, Liaqat Hayat Khan, Ras Bahadur Krishnamachari, Mr. Abbasi, of Bhopal, and Mr. K. M. Panikkar.

Attempts are now being made to persuade certain Princes that to send representatives as assessors before the Joint Select Committee would derogate from their sovereignty, and that the Government's programme makes their final decision to federate not urgently necessary, as the first reforms will operate only in British India. But it is not expected in official circles that such arguments will carry much weight.

Official reports received from all districts in the Punjab do not give much indication that any serious Sikh and Moslem trouble is brewing, and it is thought here that nothing very serious will happen before the Sikhs celebrat their Rights Day on August 15. The Congress Press meanwhile displays large headlines announcing that 100,000 Sikhs are to be enrolled, and one or two Moslem newspapers have retaliated with the assurance that they will "bring forth 200,000 sacrificing Moslems."

As Sikhs are allowed to carry ceremonial swords as a religious right, Moslems in some districts are seeking licences to carry swords. It has accordingly been suggested in some quarters here that the carrying of arms of any kind should be prohibited.

ELECTORATES IN BENGAL

MOSLEM AMBITIONS

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA, Aug. 3

With the support of five Moslems th Legislative Council of Bengal yesterday carried a resolution in favour of joint electorates in the new Constitution.

Speaking for the Government, Mr. Reed, a member of the Executive Council, said that while its view was that in a democratic Constitution separate electorates could have no place, practical considerations made joint electorates impossible at present. The Government had decided not to oppose the resolution formally.

The amount of Moslem support given to this resolution is significant, as other Bengal Moslems have been conducting an active platform campaign in which they have demanded not only separate electorates for Moslems, Hindus, and others, but the statutory establishment of a majority of Moslems over all other parties combined. This claim is based on the population as shown by the last census, but the Moslems would not obtain a majority in Bengal on the basis of any system of franchise as yet proposed by any responsible body.

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FLYING INDIAN

HE WANTS HIS COUNTRY TO BE AIR-MINDED

POSSIBILITIES OF TRADE

TOUR OF THE WORLD

INDIA'S flying ambassador is in Bristol to-day, pausing for an interval in his flight around the world.

Modest young Mr. R. N. Chawla is one of India's most distinguished pilots, and he has undertaken this flight to arouse interest in his country's future in civil aviation.

Not only is he doing his best to make India air-minded, but he is driving home to British aircraft manufacturers the extensive potential market that his country offers them.

Mr. Chawla is staying with two of his countrymen who are at Bristol University—Mr. B. B. Moonje and Mr. V. A. Menon, who knew him in India.

Mr. Moonje is the son of Dr. Moonje, a delegate at the historic Round-Table Conference.

ROUND THE WORLD

Dr. Moonje is the president of Hindu Mahasabha, the Indian cultural orgaisation which, among many activities, is endeavouring to make the country air-minded. Dr. Moonje was impressed with the progress of civil aviation in India, and on his return set about the task of making India follow suit.

Hindu Mahasabha is giving its support to Mr. Chawla's flight, which he has undertaken as a private venture.

Mr. Chawla, a well-dressed, pleasant young man, told an "Evening World" reporter some of his adventures during his flight from India.

It began on July 20, when he took off from Karachi in a Puss Moth to circle the globe in easy stages. He arrived in England eight days later.

He came by way of Cairo and the North African coast.

"I was twice forced down by dust-storms," he said. "I landed on the Persian Gulf miles from any sign of habitation.

"I had no water, and I had to wait until the storm abated. I spent five hours smoking cigarettes, simply waiting for a chance to take off."

ENGINE TROUBLE

Those two forced landings were not his only troubles. "I had to land at Tripoli owing to engine trouble," he said. "The Italian Air Force people there looked after me.

"At Marseilles a thunderstorm forced me down."

So far Mr. Chawla has flown 7,000 miles. He spent to-day inspecting Bristol aircraft factories, flying from Bristol Airport to Filton.

His next "hop" will be to Scotland, in company with Mr. Moonje, to visit Lord Clydesdale, the Himalayan air explorer, with whom he was associated in India.

The problem now confronting Mr. Chawla is the Atlantic crossing. Mr. Moonje hopes to accompany Mr. Chawla on his trip to America.



R. N. CHAWLA

BRISTOL MAN "MAD WITH TEMPER"

PRISON PREFERRED TO FINE

A large open clasp knife was produced by a policeman at Bristol Police Court to-day, when Thomas John Dando, aged 34, of Penn-street, St. Paul's, was fined 10s. or seven days for disorderly conduct.

Police Constable Youngjohns said that when he was cycling along Prince-street, St. Paul's, he saw Dando dash across the road.

The man seemed mad with temper, and the constable, producing the knife, said to the magistrates, Mr. T. C. Lewis and Mrs. Robinson-White: He had this open knife in his hand.

"As he came abreast of me, I pinned him with my bicycle against the wall, and arrested him."

He said: "You need not use your strength on me—I am not a 'Red.'"

The constable added: "I should like to say that at the time the man rushed at me he did not know I was a policeman—I was in plain clothes.

"He was quite mad with temper."

Dando refused to allow his wife or anybody to speak to the magistrates, and elected to go to prison instead of paying a fine.

FUNERAL OF MR. H. J. PITT

TRIBUTES TO A BRISTOL BAKER

There was a large congregation, including representatives of trade organisations, at the funeral service held at Ebenezer Methodist Church, Bedminster, for Mr. H. J. Pitt, of 9, North-street, Bedminster, a past president of the Bristol Master Bakers' Association and president of the retail trade section of the Bristol Chamber of Commerce.

For many years Mr. Pitt had carried on business in the Bedminster district as a baker and confectioner, and he was greatly respected.

The service was conducted by the Rev. W. B. Tanner and Mr. H. W.

Give Them Work

(Continued from page 9.)

classes. They naturally could not enlist all castes, because they were in hundreds. There were roughly 38,532 Muslims or thirtysix per cent in the army. There were roughly 85,261 Hindus, including Gurkhas, or roughly fortyeight per cent of the army, and there were sixteen per cent of Sikhs. Those belonging to the north did predominate among these, but they could not enlist people who were either of no use or of small value. What was the use of taking inferior material?

C.-IN-C. SCENTS A MOTIVE

Proceeding Sir Philip Chetwode said that there was perhaps some political reason behind the resolution. Could it be the feeling that when they got a larger measure of self-Government in this country and were approaching full responsibility, an army recruited largely from a few classes and largely from one part of India might be politically awkward? He affirmed that politics could have no place in the army whatever. The moment a nation had the cause to believe that politics had entered into the army it paid for, from that moment it must lose trust in that army, which was no longer worth the money paid for it. If that was the sort of thing some members had at the back of their minds, this country would rapidly sink to the level of Central American Republics or of Spain, where every General had a political backing and there were series of revolutions one after other. If they thought that in future they could not trust their army to be absolutely loyal to India and absolutely loyal to the Central Government in power, they might as well abandon the farce of seeking further measure of self-Government, for it must be a farce in that case unless they could absolutely depend on the army to be loyal. If on the contrary Indians were sincere in their desire for efficiency in the army and that the army should be the instrument on which they could depend, then there was no other way to get that result than one they had adopted, and were adopting now, and that was to get in every way the best value for the money. He would say nothing of the hopeless practical and administrative difficulties of trying to weld small packets of men from all over India from different races, castes and creeds into a homogenous whole. That would be a live army and would fight and live together as an army should do, and not to be a mere collection of men

Pandit P. N. Sapru replying said that members from the Punjab, who opposed the resolution, did so as representing the vested interests benefited by the present military policy of the Government. The speaker never moved his resolution from any provincial spirit, but he strongly believed that the future Indian Self-Government could not be safe if they had military autocracy in the north controlling the entire Indian army. As for the Commander-in-Chief's assertion that the army should be aloof from politics, Pandit Sapru wondered if the present military policy was not dictated by political considerations, though of a different character. As regards the administrative difficulties stressed by the Commander-in-Chief, the speaker asked, what were those difficulties which His Excellency, however, did not explain? Concluding Pandit Sapru emphasised that he was not carried away by provincialism or communalism, and he always spoke of men in the army, whether Muslim or Hindu, in terms of Indians. His resolution only wanted that the basis of recruitment was at present

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The House divided and the motion was rejected by 26 votes against 18.

MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS

Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsarandas moved the next resolution urging the establishment, as soon as possible, of a Ministry of communications by including all functions relating to transport and Posts and Telegraphs within the portfolio of a single member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

Mr. D. G. Mitchell replying on behalf of the Government said that they had already accepted the principle underlying the resolution and repeated the Finance Member's statement that action would be taken before the end of December next.

Mr. Hossain Imam asked whether the portfolio suggested in the resolution would be placed in the hands of an Indian.

Mr. Mitchell replied that that was a matter for the Governor-General to decide.

Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan supporting stressed that the portfolio, if created, should remain in charge of an Indian member.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan then moved a resolution suggesting a Committee of Enquiry into the damage caused to agricultural lands in the neighbourhood of Khewra salt mines in the Punjab. The discussion will take place to-morrow till when the House adjourned.—(A. P.)

GIVE THEM WORK

The Tragedy Of Mass Unemployment

RESOLUTION REJECTED BY ELDERS!

Government Urged To Give Up Policy Of Provincialism In Army Recruitments

NEW DELHI, Mar. 13.

Lala Jagadish Prasad moved a resolution in the Council of State to-day, urging Government to take adequate and effective steps to relieve unemployment in the country. He said that unemployment was felt not only amongst the educated and middle classes, but also among the masses. Only a few days ago, a Bengalee youth, driven to desperation, committed suicide at Lucknow by throwing himself before an engine.

Sir Phiroze Sethna agreed that the system of education in India should be changed so that thousands of graduates now being manufactured by so many universities might receive vocational training to equip them in life. At the same time unemployment should be relieved partly at least by the abolition of social customs like early marriage and reduction of marriage expenses. But Sir Phiroze did not agree that the development of cottage industries, a five-year plan of economic reconstruction and establishment of industries could be undertaken on an extensive scale by the Central Government. These should be undertaken more by Provincial Governments. But funds were not easily available. The mover had suggested the raising of loans. But the tax-payer had to pay interest on loans.

wwpw'k ffi—9-JpU 1-Sf pdfwWL CEv-3 the salaries of officers."

Sir Phiroze Sethna retorted—We have not reached that stage when the Viceroy according to Mr. Gandhi would receive only Rs. 500. Government servants are not getting anything more than what they would get if they were in a commercial firm. There are commercial firms paying their servants more than what Government servants are earning."

SOURCE OF ALL EVIL

Mr. P. C. D. Chari expressed the opinion that hundreds and thousands of students coming out of the universities and failing to find employment were driven to despair and naturally imbibed the cult of terrorism and Communism. Unless Government changed their entire policy and system of education and introduced vocational training and started technological institutes, the problem of unemployment would never be solved.

Mr. Yamin Khan said that the only remedy was that people themselves must come forward and make some kind of provision for the relief of unemployment.

Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das said that the question of starting small industries for providing employment to young people should form the first consideration out of the grant of a crore for rural uplift.

Mr. P. N. Sapru claiming himself to be a liberal socialist urged a scheme of planned economy for which help and initiative of the Central Government

true national army, for which purpose the army should not be made a close preserve of certain classes or certain provinces, but must be thrown open equally to all classes and provinces. It was also necessary to develop martial spirit in the people of India and if enlistments cut out large areas killing the martial spirit of the people living therein, it would be difficult to invoke that spirit at a time of national crisis as the Great War. There were splendid traditions of military valour and glory recorded in the history of almost all parts of India from the Himalayas to South India and from the N. W. F. P. to Bengal and he did not see why over 55 per cent of recruitment, should be confined to the Punjab and the N. W. F. P. alone. This policy Mr. Sapru thought would be unfair to the federating units in the All-India Federation.

Concluding, Mr. Sapru appealed to the people of the Punjab not to look at the question merely from the provincial or personal point of view.

"MISTRUST" OF BENGALEES

Mr. N. N. Sinha appealed to the Government not to mistrust the people as they did in the case of the Bengalees. He recounted feats of chivalry of the Bengalee Regiment in the War.

Sir Akbar Khan maintained that the War had proved that the people of the Frontier and the Punjab Provinces were better fighting men than the people of other provinces and any pay-master would always care for efficiency of the part of the soldier.

Sir Hyat Khan Noon, opposing the resolution, said that the military career was a necessity for the hardy people of the Punjab because they had to defend the province in which they lived and which was open to attack any time from over the border.

Raja Ghaznafar Ali said that the climatic condition of the frontier was such which required a hardy people and he believed for service on the frontier, the people in other parts of India were not very much suited The Punjabis by their inherent capacity provided the best material and the Government realised this fact after sufficient experience. This was the reason for drawing a larger number of men from the Punjab.

Mr. Hosain Imam said that the vested interests of the Punjab and the Frontier had used the same argument as Britishers when they spoke of efficiency. And yet it was a fact that Eastern troops defeated the Punjabis. There were nineteen thousand Nepalis in the Indian army employed as mercenaries. Why should not the representatives of the Punjab and the Frontier join hands with others and work for the elimination of that element and its replacement by Indians.

Sir Phiroze Sethna said that the resolution was modest as it did not exclude the martial classes, but only [illegible] given to others.

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"REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT"

Mr. D. G. Mitchell, Secretary, Industries Department, repelled the charge of want of sympathy in regard to the economic position. The Government were well aware of the distress in villages and towns and amongst the educated unemployed. One thing that the Government of India had done was to keep its head above the water, to balance the budget and maintain the credit of banks etc. This was a remarkable achievement done by very few countries in the world (applause).

Rai Bahadur Jagadish Prasad had referred to several schemes and Mr. Chari wanted the Government to believe that unemployment existed among as well.

Sardar Bhuta Singh preferred the existing arrangement to continue to ensure efficiency.

Mr. H .P. Barua referred to Assamese attacks on Moghuls.

Mr. Yamin Khan opposing the resolution said that the Indian army should consist of the best material available in the country and not on the provincial basis. The Punjab and the Frontier supplied the best material and he deprecated anything said in disparagement of the army as it was composed to-day.

GURKHAS "MERCENARY"

The Commander-in-Chief corrected the impression that the Punjabee or

Ramananda Chatterjee

120-2, Upper Circular Road,

Calcutta, 17-3-1935.

Dear Dr. Moonje,

I hope you have seen my note on your Gunture address in the current March number of The Modern Review, pp. 383-384.

You must have noticed the debate in the Council of State on recruitment in the army. I shall be much obliged if you can kindly let me have early an article on what the Commander-in-Chief & Punjab members said and also giving your own views. The article need not be long. 3000 words or so will suffice.

I enclose a cutting.

Yours sincerely,

Ramananda Chatterjee.

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Appeal To League Against German Violation Of [illegible]

THREE-POWER ACTION AT GENEVA

Plea For Maintenance Of Peace And Collective Security

Times of India

GENEVA, April 16.

In view of the difficulty of finding rapporteurs the French delegation decided to submit the resolution regarding the German breach of the Treaty of Versailles direct to the League Council without going through the usual procedure of drafting by rapporteurs.

A tense atmosphere prevailed when M. Laval rose to submit a resolution in the name of the British, Italian and the French Governments appealing to the independence, impartiality and authority of the League of Nations.

M. Laval asserted that the German initiative in introducing conscription on March 15 must be condemned, and measures taken to make the Covenant of the League more efficacious for the organisation of collective security. Entrusted with the maintenance of peace, the Council of the League of Nations must pursue its responsibility in this matter. France had shown by her acts that she was desirous of peace. The negotiations started in London on February 3 were frustrated by Germany's action. M. Laval added that French policy was directed against no country; the security they demanded they wanted for all nations.



M. Laval.

TREATY OBLIGATIONS

The draft resolution proposed by France states: firstly, scrupulous regard for all treaty obligations is the fundamental principle of international life and the essential condition for the maintenance of peace; secondly, it is an essential principle of the law of nations that no nation has the power to liberate itself from engagements of treaty, or modify the stipulations except by the consent of the contracting parties; thirdly, the promulgation of the military law on March 16 by the German Government conflicts with these principles.

The resolution further declares that Germany has failed to respect the undertaking she contracted, and condemns her unilateral repudiation of international obligations.

The resolution also declares that Germany's unilateral action is inconsistent with the Anglo-French plan of February 3, invites Governments which approve the plan to continue the negotiations then initiated with a view to assuring the maintenance of peace, and states that as unilateral repudiation may endanger the existence of the League as an organisation for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of security, such repudiation calls for all appropriate measures within the framework of the Covenant.

NEED FOR UNITY

Sir John Simon, speaking in the debate on M. Laval's resolution, emphasised that the purpose of the policy outlined in the resolution was the collective maintenance of peace within the framework of the League. He urged the adoption of the resolution in order to prove that the League was united in the cause for which it was founded. Sir John said that nevertheless, if the resolution was adopted, all doors would remain open for a general agreement.

Baron Aloisi pointed out that Italy had always upheld revision of the military clause of the Treaty of Versailles, but the revision must take place legally and by negotiation.

The Polish representative, Col. Bek, questioned whether the League's authority would be enhanced by the introduction of fresh sanctions. He said that Polish public opinion was gravely suspicious of new accords which had been suggested might prejudice the system of peace established in North-Eastern Europe through pacts which Poland had already concluded.

COUNCIL ADJOURNED

The League Council adjourned till tomorrow, when, it is expected, a vote will be taken on M. Laval's resolution. The Polish representative said he must consult his Government, and would therefore make his views known tomorrow, when it is hoped that the resolution will be adopted without modification. There may perhaps be two or few abstentions, however, including probably, three South American States and Denmark. Poland may support the resolution.—Reuter.

German Newspapers Reject Resolution

BERLIN, April 17.

The Anglo-Franco-Italian resolution is unanimously rejected by the morning papers which regard it as a challenge which, if adopted, will seriously prejudice the organisation of peace in Europe.

The *Volkischer Beobachter* says that if the Geneva institution is so arrogant as to claim the role of an infallible judge over a beaten Germany, then Germany will find it very difficult to return to the League.

The *Morgen Post* says that the resolution is a crime against peace in Europe and will close the door towards negotiations with Germany.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* condemns "the attempt to stamp Germany as guilty in a trial in which the three Powers are not only prosecutors but judges." It says that such attempts could not remain without serious consequences.

MAKING A NATION OF WARRIORS

NEW ITALIAN LAW

Statesman — 2.10.34

LONDON (*By Air Mail.*)

The schemes of the pre-military and post-military education, contained in the Bill approved by the Italian Cabinet, are at present the main topic of comment by the Italian Press, says the Milan correspondent of *The Times*.

It is remarked that what Signor Mussolini said in August at the Army manœuvres about Fascist Italy becoming "a military and warlike nation" finds a practical confirmation in the Bill.

Here the Fascist doctrine is translated into a practical reality. As the *Corriere Della Sera* says, "Any separation between military and civil life is now abolished". From the age of eight—nay, from the moment when the boys "are capable of learning" (Article 11.), all Italians are soldiers. "To find anything like this," notes the Turin *Stampa*, "one must go back to Sparta."

There are a few points to which the Press gives particular prominence. The first is that pre-military and post-military education is compulsory. Pupils in the lower schools will not be admitted to their examinations and university students will not be allowed to take their degrees if they "have not followed efficiently the military courses." And for 10 years after a man has been discharged from the Army he must undergo the practical courses of education. Fines will be inflicted on employers who do not give their employees the necessary facilities.

The second point which is particularly stressed is the creation of a new organ "having the task of co-ordinating the armed forces with all those institutions which contribute to the formation of the military nation." Another point is the importance given to the "moral and spiritual preparation." The law says that boys must be "passionately interested" in military life. They must be "frequently brought into contact with the armed forces of the country and told of their war glories and traditions." They must know well the "military and geographical character of the land and sea boundaries of Italy" and make a "comparative study of all the armed forces of the other principal States." They must be taught, among other things, that "the function of Italy in the World War was a decisive one."

Apart from the Press comments, public opinion does not seem to be very much concerned about the Bill, which is looked upon only as being the legalization of a state of things already more or less existing. Besides, all agree that there is a logical and inevitable development in the Fascist Revolution.

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IT IS NOT AN AWARD

Director [illegible] Public Information's H[illegible]th About [illegible]

T. RADHAKANT MALAVIYA'S STATEMENT TO PRESS

(Associated Press)

Bombay, Nov. 5.

Pandit Radhakant Malaviya, son of Pandit Malaviya, has issued the following statement to the press,

It is to be regretted that in his note, dated 30th of October, issued from Delhi on the communal award, the Director of Public Information should have stated what is a half-truth and not the whole truth. In fairness while narrating the happenings of 1931 the Director of Public Information should have also stated what happened on 20th and 24th of February 1932 when the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference met in the committee-room in the Viceroy's House at Delhi. Asked by His Excellency the Viceroy if there was any chance of any agreement being arrived at by the communities, Mr. Zafarulla Khan on behalf of the Muslims stated :—"The difficulty could only be solved by a decision by the British Government. Your Excellency might press upon the British Government the necessity of pronouncing an immediate decision." Dr. Moonje stated :—"The position in London was that the Prime Minister was asked to arbitrate. It was a question of arbitration by the Prime Minister in his individual capacity and not by the Government. There was no question of arbitration by the Government." Dr. Zafaar Ahmed Khan stated :—"The Muslim delegation never mentioned the word arbitration. We stated all along that it is for His Majesty's Government to give a decision. Of course we never asked for arbitration." Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru stated:-"What was stated was that the Prime Minister would give a decision." Dr. Shafat Ahmed Khan again stated:-"We are not asking for his arbitration. We request a decision of His Majesty's Government." Sardar Ujjalsingh stated :-"The Prime Minister undertook to decide if all the communities submitted it to him for arbitration. Some members did send him a letter, but the offer was not accepted by all. There was no question of arbitration now." His Excellency Viceroy summed up the whole position in this words. Said His Excellency the Viceroy :—"I am advised that at that time the Prime Minister made an offer as Chairman of the Committee but that was not accepted." This statement was made on the 24th of February 1932 and His Majesty's decision on the communal question was announced on the 16th August 1932. In face of this statement by His Ex[illegible] the Viceroy it was to be expe[illegible] direct[illegible] ub[illegible]lic Info[illegible]uld not misle[illegible] the pu[illegible] that the decisio[illegible] was a[illegible] must b[illegible]ccepted as such. It is nei[illegible]ther a[illegible]said, nor will it be accepted

COUNCIL OF PEERS AND MUSLIM LEADERS

Times of India 10-5-35

LONDON, May 9.

In honour of the King's Silver Jubilee, a Council of Peers and Muslim Leaders has been formed in London to foster permanent friendship between Great Britain and the Muslim world.

Co[illegible]il of P[illegible]and Muslim Le[illegible]

Times of India 11-5-35

LOND[illegible] 9.

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Agitation [illegible]nst India Bill

Times of India 11-5-35

Pandit Malaviya On Value Of Propaganda

SIMLA, May 7.

A plea for sustained agitation and for vigorous propaganda work in England as well as in India is made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in a press interview. Pandit Malaviya felt much grieved at his inability to proceed to England owing to ill-health.

"My physicians, friends and relations are very much opposed to my thinking of such a voyage at present" said Pandit Malaviya, "but if I find myself fit to do so, I still intend to start for England in the last week of this month.

What purpose do you expect to serve by going to England?

"Not in bringing about any change in the provisions of the India Bill," replied the Pandit. "The situation demands that while the Government of India Bill, which will vitally affect the destinies of the people of this country is going through the Parliament, the British public and the world at large should be informed of the deep sense of wrong and resentment which the provisions of the Communal Award have caused generally among the Hindus and Sikhs and among the nationalists throughout the country, and also of the strong and almost universal opposition of Indian public opinion of all shades to the Government of India Bill as a whole.

REMEDYING WRONGS

"Such a course would help us both in this country and in England to remedy the wrongs which the Communal Award is calculated to inflict. It will also help to prepare the minds of Englishmen to agree to frame a Government of India Bill in consultation with the accredited representatives of Indian public opinion on the basis of transfer of real power from British to Indian hands."

The Pandit referring to the policy of the Congress said, "I am not out of the great national institution—the Indian National Congress. But I am only waiting for an opportunity when I shall be in a position to bring round my old colleagues to the reality of the situation. As I said previously Mr. Gandhi's retirement from politics is a great blunder."

Proceeding Pandit Malaviya declared, "Those who are prepared practically to be reconciled to the constitution laid down in the Government of India have no cause to go to England or carry on agitation here against the Bill. But those who are not prepared to desist even for a day from the endeavour to secure at the earliest possible moment a constitution of national self-Government, ought not to be indifferent to what is going on in England today."

"We have [illegible] and heavily by [illegible]ecting our

duty of pressing our nation[illegible]oints of view in Great Britain [illegible] the civilised world. We shall be g[illegible] of inexcusable dereliction of duty if, even on such an occasion as the present, when the Government of India Bill is being hammered into shape in the British Parliament, we fail to give due publicity to our national grievances.

"I cannot express in words the grief which I have felt throughout these five months of my illness at my being unfit to proceed to England to press upon Englishmen and others the justice of our demand for freedom to manage our own national affairs. Situated as we are, it is our duty to continue an unending endeavour to bring Englishmen round to recognise the justice of our demands."

As regards the recent controversy about the Assembly seat from the Gorakhpur-Benares constituency, Pandit Malaviya apparently felt satisfied at the result, which in his opinion had saved considerable loss of money, time and energy and had saved hundreds of national workers on either side from working in such hot weather.

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MUSLIM UNITY BOARD

Stands for Freedom of Country and Protection of Islamic Shariat

MUSLIM CANDIDATES FOR ASSEMBLY

(From our own Correspondent)

Lucknow, Nov. 1.

Syed Zakir Ali, Secretary of the All-India Muslim Unity Board, in a statement to the press says :—

The All-India Muslim Unity Board, at its last meeting held at Moradabad in September last had, in addition to those previously nominated, adopted the following candidates for the Legislative Assembly :—Maulvi Karimur-Reza Khan, Advocate from Rohilkhand and Kumaun ; Maulvi Mahomed Ahmed Kazmi, advocate, from Meerut division ; Mirza Akbar Hassan, Advocate Khandwa, from the Central Provinces. The Board also decided that Maulana Shaukat Ali should stand from the Seven Cities constituency of the U. P.

As is well known, the Muslim Unity Board stands for freedom of the country and protection of Islamic Shariat from legislative interference. As regards the Communal ' Award ' the Board considers that the only alternative to the Communal 'Award' is an agreed settlement between the communities themselves, deprecates all agitations to get the 'Award' modified by the British Government and expresses readiness to help any movement to bring about complete harmony and understanding between the different communities. It considers the White Paper scheme much below the demands and expectations of the Muslims as it does not confer [illegible] provincial autonomy, nor [illegible] powers in provinces. Moreover there is no semblance of responsible [illegible] in it. The Board also considers that all such laws must be repealed which fetter the natural and fundamental rights of citizenship such as freedom of speech and press. Nominees of the Board will work in the Assembly under the fixed policy outlined above and supplemented by the Board according to needs of time. They have unqualified support of all individuals and Muslim organizations which constitute the Board, including Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the All India Khilafat, Nationalist Muslim and Shia Political Conferences and all Muslims who have respect and regard for services of the above organizations. Those who agree with the policy of the Board are expected to give full support to their nominees. The Jamiat-ul Ulema-i-Hind has already published its support separately and prominent Ulemas of Jamiat are also rendering personal help to the candidates of the Muslim Unity Board. It is hoped that the Muslims will realize the necessity of giving preference to the candidates of Muslim Unity Board, who are pledged to a sound political policy over [illegible] who would certainly be at liberty to do what they like.

The Muslims cannot tolerate their religion being placed under human legislation as Islam claims divine legislation, and cannot, therefore, cast their votes for any candidate who has not given the pledge to oppose legislative interference in the Shariat, much less for those who flout [illegible]

STORY OF GENESIS OF COMMUNAL AWARD

What Happened Behind Round Table Scenes in London

Official View of the Whole Affair

New Delhi, Nov. 1.

The following Press Note has been issued by the Director of Public Information, Government of India, New Delhi.

In view of the controversy on the Communal Award, it will be interesting to know the origin of the Award during the negotiations in London in 1931 at the time of the second Round Table Conference.

During October and November 1931, the Second Round Table Conference finished its discussion of the Provincial subjects and intended to take up the consideration of Central responsibility. This would have included such matters as methods of election of the Legislative Chambers, the Army, financial questions, external affairs and the special responsibilities of the Governor-General. But the Minorities Committee of the Conference had failed to reach an agreement. It appeared that each community was anxious to blame the other for the failure, and the Muslims decided that they could not take part in the discussion of the central subjects until they knew what representation they were to get in the Central or Federal Legislature.

For some days it seemed probable that the Federal Structure Committee would be stultified in consequence and that the whole question of Central responsibility might have to be shelved. This was embarrassing to the Indian delegates in general and particularly to the Hindus and Sikhs. When the Minorities Committee met once again on November 13, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad initiated the suggestion that the Prime Minister should assume the responsibility of giving a decision on the communal issue "which everyone must accept."

"Will You, Each of You ?"

At the end of that particular meet- the Prime Minister (in the chair) said: "Will you, each of you, every member of the Committee, sign a request to me to settle the community question and pledge yourself to accept my decision ? That I think is a very fair offer."

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri replied: "We are willing on this side."

The Prime Minister continued: "But I do not want any section or any one man. Will members of this Committee sign a [illegible]nation asking to give a decisi[illegible] community question and say that you will [illegible] do not want it now. I say, will you put your name to it and give that to me with the assurance that the decision I come to will be accepted by you and will be worked by you to the best of your ability in the course of the working of the new constitution? I have asked several sections—at least individuals—from time to time for that and I have never got it."

What Benaras Pandit Did

Next day the group of delegates led by Pandit Malaviya wrote to the Prime Minister that, with a view to enabling the work of the Federal Structure Committee to continue, they requested him to arbitrate on the communal issue as affecting the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The group added that they would abide by the Prime Minister's decision and would recommend that course to those whom they represented. In addition to Pandit Malaviya, the letter's signatories were the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, Mrs. Naidu, Raja Narendra Nath, Mr. S.K. Datta, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. Rangaswami Iyenger and Mr. Baroodh. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru also wrote to the Prime Minister supporting this request and adding that he was prepared to leave the problem of the Depressed Classes and other minorities also in the Prime Minister's hands.

Liberals Request, Too

A second group consisting of Mr. [illegible]astri, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir [illegible]. P. Patro, Mr. N, M[illegible]r Padamji Ginwala, Sir [illegible]a, Sir Cowasjee Jehan[illegible]n-chandra Rao, Mr. [illegible]a Rao and Diwan Bahadur Ram[illegible]swami Mudaliar also asked the Prime Minister to arbitrate and agreed with[illegible] qualification to abide by his decisi[illegible]

And the M[illegible]

The Muslims offered th[illegible] support provided that [illegible]oups did the same. Th[illegible] clear, however, that the[illegible] would not desert smaller minorities with whom they had already negotiated a pact which was presented to the Prime Minister and recorded as one of official documents of the Conference. Since the various communities could not reach an unanimous agreement, even in the matter of request to the Prime

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Minister, the condition of his consent to intervene was still lacking. But the Minorities Committee itself placed it on record, in its own report, that "during the various discussions suggestions were made that the British Governmedt should settle the dispute on its own authority. These suggestions, however, were accompanied by such important reservations that they afforded little prospect of any such decision securing the necessary harmony in working. But the Prime Minister, as Chairman of the Committee, offered to act and give a decision of temporary validity if he were requested to do so by every member of the Committee signing an agreement to pledge himself to support his decision as to enable the constitution to be put into operation, further efforts for an all-India settlement being made in the mean time."

Times must have its say, too

Two days after the Malaviya group had sent their original request to the Prime Minister, the *Times* commented as follows: "The limitation of the request to the Muslim and Sikh minorities was in line with Mahatma Gandhi's strongly expressed objection to the grant or continuance of special electoral rights to other minorities and in particular his vehement objections to special arrangements for the Depressed Classes. Mahatma Gandhi wrote to the Prime Minister on Saturday night that his non-signature to Pandit Malaviya's letter did not mean that the Congress would in any way resist the Prime Minister's award. Indeed the Congress had indicated that it would approve of any solution acceptable to the three parties concerned, namely, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. As to the other minorities, Mahatma Gandhi was of opinion that their case should be settled by agreement among their representatives and other members of the Conference. The Congress could not, Mahatma Gandhi said, be reconciled to any further extension of the principle of separate electorates or special reservation of seats."

ROUGH WATER IN NAVAL TALKS

Japanese Insistence on Parity : America and England don't See Japanese Point

(Reuter)

London, Nov. 1.

Rough water is being encountered in the London naval talks between Britain, the United States and Japan in consequence of the demand by the last-named country for parity. Diplomatic representatives are striving to reach a basis on which conversations may proceed.

But according to an authoritative Americans source, a two-hour meeting to-day, between the Japanese and the Americans did not carry the discussion over the Japanese proposals forward. The Japanese theory of global tonnage and their ideas of offensive and defensive weapons were discussed. But the Americans were unable to agree to the Japanese ideas on these. Discussion also took place as regards what security and common upper limit mean. The Japanese declare that they have no intention of building warships right up to the common upper limits. The parity on which they insist is mainly, though not solely, a question of prestige. The Americans disagree with the Japanese contention that they are not on equal naval footing with Britain and the United States. The Americans hold that naval strength depends on a country's needs and problems.

JUST A POSTPONEMENT

J. P. C. Meeting Put off For Tomorrow

(Reuter)

London, Oct. 31.

The final meeting of the Select Committee arranged for to-day has been postponed to to-morrow. It is understood that the postponement has no special significance and is merely connected with procedure.

JONES AND WALLER REACH BAGHDAD

(Reuter)

Athens, Oct. 31.

Cathcart Jones and Waller arrived from Baghdad at 1-26 p. m. (G M T.) in their "D. H. Comet." They are leaving to-morrow.

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Travancore's Tolerance to All Creeds and Classes

CHRISTIANS GIVEN FULL SCOPE

First State in India to Have Legislative Council

TRIVANDRUM, May 10.

Responding to the toast proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore at a State banquet, held in honour of His Majesty's Silver Jubilee, Lt.-Col. Garstin, the Agent to the Governor-General, assured His Highness that "the reputation of the House of Travancore for tolerance to all creeds and classes has been appre[illegible] by no community more than by the one which is composed of, in the widest sense of the term, the English race."

"Speaking on their behalf", he added, "I well know that no community in this State has a higher regard for the person of Your Highness, nor cherishes a more earnest and sincere wish for the welfare and happiness of your Highness and the ruling family of Travancore".

The progress of Christianity and the Christians in Travancore has been phenomenal and bears striking testimony to the spirit of tolerance alluded to above. In fact, although Travancore is, in theory, a theocratic state with a Hindu ruler, who is also its religious head, more than a quarter of the total population of Christians in India are found in Travancore. They number sixteen lakhs and comprise various sects and denominations. Syrians, including Jacobites, Marthomites and Romo-Syrians, number above nine lakhs.

MISSIONARY BODIES

A large number of the non-Syrians consist of converts from the depressed class Hindus. It is significant that there are nearly fourteen different missionary bodies carrying on conversion work, and that between 1900 and 1931, while the increase in the Hindu population was only 54 per cent., the increase of Christians was 130 per cent. There were in 1931, 2,307 churches in the State. The erection of churches, temples and mosques is regulated by statutory enactment, under which Government have power to prevent the erection of places of public worship in objectionable areas, with a view to avoiding conflicts between various classes and communities. The result has been that communal riots, which are, unhappily, so frequent in British India, rarely occur in Travancore.

With the exception of the Hindu Ecclesiastical Department, the State public service is open to Christians and all other classes of State subjects. For over a century, affairs of the Hindu Ecclesiastical Department were combined with the administration of the Land Revenue Department and therefore caste Hindus alone were appointed in the Land Revenue Department.

ARMY OPEN TO ALL

The system has been altered now and all classes of subjects in the State are employed in that Department. Similarly, for over a century service in the Army was confined to Nairs. His Highness has now thrown open the Army to all classes of his subjects. The head of the Land Revenue Department is a Syrian Christian and another Christian, a Romo-Syrian, is the Chief Justice of the Travancore High Court.

A Syrian Christian lady is the head of the Women's Medical Service. Similarly, in regard to appointments carrying Rs. 100 and more per mensem, Syrian Christians hold a larger number of appointments than Nairs, who, for historical reasons, predominate in the lower services. The whole question of recruitment to the public service and the equalisation of opportunities for service to all classes has been recently examined by Dr. Nokes, a European judge of the Travancore High Court, and Government have announced that they propose taking immediate action on Dr. Nokes' report.

Age-long inequalities cannot be levelled up in the twinkling of an eye, but sincere attempts made in this direction by the State Government are sure to give satisfactory results.

Travancore was first among the Indian States to inaugurate a Legislative Council. It has anticipated the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and has installed a bicameral legislature, with a substantial non-official majority and with wide functions and powers.

RESERVATION OF SEATS

Representation in the reformed legislature has been a vexed question. The contention regarding the reservation of seats strictly in proportion to the population of the numerous different communities, has been found impracticable. The Assembly is constituted on a very low franchise, namely, land revenue of Rs. 5 per annum. Having regard to the historical accident that Nayars own a larger number of holdings than any other single community and having regard to their political influence and past traditions, they have always been returned in larger numbers than others.

In order to equalise the opportunities of all important communities and 'to eliminate the chances of the predominance of any one community in the Legislature,' His Highness' Government devised an electoral scheme which gave 'a reasonably fair chance or returning at least 16 Christians by election', and which guaranteed the nomination of three others to represent the different classes Christians that did not have a good chance at the elections.

Similarly, the Government guaranteed seven seats for Ezhuvas, who, though considerable in population, had no adequate voting strength. In former councils, the number of elected Christians being roughly one half the number of elected Nairs, the Government promised opportunities for equality of representation for Nairs and Christians in the new Legislature.

Government hoped that the new scheme, when given a fair and proper trial, would 'secure adequate representation for important communities, in proportion to their population,' and that the scheme eliminated the 'chances of any one community gaining undue predominance in the Legislature.'

Government further stated that 'if the scheme, when given a fair and proper trial, is found to result in radical injustice to any important [illegible]

prepared to reconsi[illegible] tion immediately. Without [illegible] perpetuate a pro[illegible] Christians not only abstain[illegible] ed from standing as candidates, but actively opposed Christian candidates who came forward from constituencies, which had a majority of Christian votes and polled heavily in favour of non-Christian candidates who were practically put up through Christian influence.

It is inevitable that having regard to the number of holdings owned by Nairs and the distributions of the Nair population in central and south Travancore, the number of Nairs elected to the House should be appreciable. The disparity in the number of voters between Christians and Nairs is diminishing and within a short period the present inequalities are bound to disappear. Similarly other inequalities consequent upon ownership of land are fast disappearing, and it is not practical politics to remove such inequalities by a stroke of the pen.

Government are thoroughly alive to the whole situation and His Highness has already declared that the final solution of the whole problem will be made on the expiry of the present term of the Legislature.

Christian Political Conference

Travancore Reforms Criticised

TRIVANDRUM, May 10.

In his presidential address to the All-Keral a Christian Political Conference, which opened here today, Mr. Daniel Thomas, a member of the Madras Legislative Council expressed dissatisfaction at the recent legislative reforms in Travancore, which, he said, had only increased old inequalities. He suggested the lowering of the franchise and the reservation of seats as a means for securing adequate representation for the Christian community in the Legislature, and also pleaded for just representation for the community in the Travancore public service.

The conference meets again tomorrow morning, and in the afternoon the Travancore Joint Political (Ezhuva, Christian and Muslim) Congress will open.

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Muslim Society in Great Britain

Times of India 13.6.35

Branches to be Formed in India

(Exclusive to the "Times of India").

FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

LONDON, April 27.

Mr. S. A. Rafique, M.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, Secretary of the Muslim Society in Great Britain, left on May 12 for India, where he will organise branches of the Society. Mr. Rafique will make the overland journey to India and on his way he will visit Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Transjordania, Hedjaz, Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan. Mr. Rafique has already communicated with Mustapha Kemal Pasha, Amin Abdullah, King Feisal, Ibn Saud, ex-King Amanullah, Nuri Pasha, and Imam of Yemen, with a view to securing their official support to the Muslim Society.



A. Rafique.

In an interview Mr. Rafique said: "Our organisation is not a communal organisation. It is purely a cultural society. We have many Hindu members of our Society and I hope in India our Hindu brethren will support our organisation from the cultural point of view."

Mr. Rafique is engaged in writing a book "The Life of Mahammad", which will shortly be published in London. The preface has been written by H. H. the Aga Khan.

...MEN AND THE AWARD

Times of India 13.5.35

During the Commons debate on the schedule to the Government of India Bill containing the Communal Award, several important issues were raised. There was first an attempt by Colonel J. C. Wedgwood to insert a section providing that "the choice "between separate communal electo-"rates shall be decided by the majo-"rity community or the community "in each province." Next came an equally determined effort, initiated by Lord Wolmer, to upset the Poona Pact. To both proposals Sir Samuel Butler, on behalf of the National Government, presented an unbending front, and the amendments were heavily defeated. India would not have thanked Parliament for interfering at this stage in the representation arrangements for the new constitution. Communal electorates, it is true, are bad in principle, since they stand in the way of a truly national outlook by leaders and masses alike. But for the present they are a necessary evil: They supply a basis for democracy in India in default of an agreed plan; without the Communal Award there can be no new constitution and no self-government either in the provinces or at the Centre.

Colonel Wedgwood's proposal would not have been acceptable to the Muslims, to whom [illegible] considered and rejected. That the Poona Pact is resented by many Hindus, particularly those of Bengal, is a fact which is only too patent. But here again Parliament could not have interfered without going back on the pledge given when the Communal Award was made; the whole Award or any section of it can be altered only by agreement among, and with the consent of, the parties affected. If injustice has been done to any community by the Poona Pact which resulted from Mr. Gandhi's coercive measures, it rests with the people concerned to apply the remedy. In this case it is only by Indian hands that Indian wrongs can be righted. Pandit Malaviya, in a statement issued from Simla, reiterates his view that a deputation should go to England before it is too late to inform Parliament "of the deep sense "of wrong and resentment which the "provisions of the Communal Award "have caused generally among the "Hindus and Sikhs and among "the nationalists throughout the "country." We do not deny the feeling against the Award which exists in these two communities. Yet from the point of view of the British Government, who reluctantly undertook a thankless task at Indian request, the Award represents an honest attempt to settle a vexed problem. The British Government cannot now raise a hornet's nest about their ears by chopping and changing it of their own volition. Any remedy for grievances which they might suggest would in all probability prove much worse than the disease.

Whatever may be the complaints against the Communal Award, the British Government can at least claim that it carries general acceptance in India. Moderate opinion regards it as a necessary evil until such time as national feeling develops sufficiently to replace the Award by an agreed scheme. The Congress, with the possible exception of its branches in Bengal and the Punjab, maintains a neutral attitude. This neutrality permitted the Legislative Assembly, by an overwhelming vote, to record its approval of the Award. Whatever may be the reasons which lie behind the Assembly's decision, Parliament cannot fail to take note of the verdict. We have faith in the future and in the capacity of the Indian people eventually to resolve this knotty issue. It may be that the first elections under the new constitution will bear a marked communal aspect, and that communal feelings will in the early stages bulk largely in the new legislatures. But when the legislatures settle down to business they will discover that their main problems cut athwart communal lines. The task of the new governments, provincial and Central, will be to improve the social, economic and educational status of the people. When they find, as they must do, that these great essentials concern all communities alike; when they discover that progress and uplift affect Indians as a whole and not merely communities, we shall be greatly surprised if a national sens[illegible]

FRANCE

Times of India 14.5.35

Weygand Criticises French Youth

"CYNICAL AND SLOVENLY"

PARIS,

Gen. Weygand, the retired Commander-in-Chief, is seriously concerned with what he regards as the degeneracy of present-day youth in this country.

"It is high time," he said to an interviewer, "to give attention to the French race, for it is in danger. It is depressing to see in the streets youths of 20 undisciplined, hands in pocket, with a slovenly bearing, and an air of ridiculing everything. Untidyness seems to be the fashion among young Frenchmen.

"Physical bearing is the outward expression of moral bearing. The genus loafer has an incomprehensible vogue. It is time to react. A rational education must be devised. We must begin in childhood with the creation of a new attitude and give health to all our young people."

Teuton Psychology

Times of India 22.5.35

AN interesting quotation appeared recently in the *Morning Post*:—

"No modern German would plead guilty to a mere lust of conquest for the sake of conquest. But the vague and undefined schemes of Teutonic expansion are but the expression of the deeply rooted feeling that Germany has by the strength and purity of her national purpose, the fervour of her patriotism . . established for herself the right to assert the primacy of German national ideals. And as it is an axiom of her political faith that right, in order to prevail, must be backed by force, the transition is easy to the belief that the 'good German sword,' which plays so large a part in patriotic speech, is there to solve any difficulties that may be in the way of establishing the reign of those ideals in a Germanised world."

These words were written in a famous memorandum of 1907 from the pen of the late Sir Eyre Crowe, who went on to observe that "inability to sympathise with those ideals is regarded in Germany as the mark of a prejudiced foreigner who cannot enter into the real feelings of Germans."

Small wonder people perceive an uncomfortable likeness in the present-day atmosphere.

60,000 AIR PILOTS IN GERMANY

16 Aviation Schools

Times of India 11.6.35

According to official statistics prepared for foreign consumption, Germany had 7,500 pilots on May 1, 1934. At the present time, the position is changed substantially. According to declarations and promises made by General Goering, 16 Aviation Schools in the various provinces are training 60,000 pilots and mechanics. There is one special school in Cottbus which is devoted to the training of 2,000 pilots and observers for night flying. The whole organisation of the German Sport Flying Clubs has now been placed in the service of military flying.

It is only now that other countries are beginning to pay greater attention to organisation of flying training on the example of Germany. The large-scale training of pilots which is to make the nations air-minded is being prepared in Russia, Poland and many other countries.

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IL DUCE'S HIT AT BRITAIN

Italo-Abyssinian Dispute

SPECIAL CABLE.

ROME, June 10.

Another indirect hit at Britain in connection with the Italo-Abyssinian dispute was made by Signor Mussolini in a speech to the Black Shirts at Sassari, Sardinia. "This ... ed public ... more than a ridiculous army which will be burnt up by the zeal of the Black Shirts".

Notwithstanding the Duce's obvious references, it is understood that the Italian newspapers have been officially warned to hold off polemics against Britain. Disobedience will entail confiscation of the issue.

A London message says:

Papers give prominence to Signor Mussolini's speech on Saturday, but with one exception ignore it editorially.

Signor Mussolini in his speech, which was made on the eve of the departure of 15,000 troops of the Nabaudi division to Italian East Africa, said.—

"We will imitate to the letter those who wish to give us a lesson. They have shown us that when it is a question of creating an Empire and defending it they take no notice of world opinion. We will pay no attention to what may be said across the frontier because we alone are the judges of our interests and are responsible for our future."

AUSTRIA

FIVE "AMATEUR ARMIES"

Reorganisation by Prince Starhemberg

Times of India 13.6.35

VIENNA.

In Fascist Heimwehr circles the announcement of the Vice-Chancellor, Prince Starhemberg, that he plans a reorganisation of the armed semi-military formations, was welcomed as a necessary and long expected measure.

At present Austria has five different "amateur armies" whose programmes vary in many respects although they have one point in common, namely, the preservation of the independence of Austria and the maintenance of the corporate system. In theory all these formations are subordinated to Prince Starhemberg in his capacity as head of the Patriotic Front, but only the Heimwehr, which is the oldest and strongest organisation, is completely under his control.

Prince Starhemberg announced that he would shortly issue orders to stop recruiting for all armed formations. Afterwards a new uniform organisation will be built up as a sort of second line of the professional army.

Religion Starving In Soviet Russia

Times of India 15.6.35

... the Bolshevist Government established the church at the same time that it guaranteed religious freedom. With this action came the nationalization of church property, the separation of education and the church, the forbidding of religious instruction in schools, and many other restrictions. By the Soviet Constitution ministers of religion were disfranchised and catalogued as performers of "non-productive work." Yet in the churches that remain in Moscow ... services are held today without Government interference. In ... where almost the entire population are now members of collective farms, a traveller finds churches and worshippers.

SCISM STIRS S. AMERICA

Times of India 15-6-35

AZIL'S MOSLEY

Proposal To Outlaw Uofficial Militia

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

BUENOS AIRES, June 8.

Brazil is the first South American Republic to take steps toward outlawing the rapidly-growing Fascist movement. The National Security Law, signed by President Vargas, provides that "only the State has the prerogative to form a militia of whatever nature."

The Congressional debate on the new law indicated that this restriction was aimed at the Integralista or Green-Shirt Militia, but it is being regarded as weak and faltering, seeking to effect its purpose by implication rather than by direct prohibition. Senor Plinio Salgado, Brazil's Mosley, said his organisation would resist any attempt to dissolve it.

Developments are being watched with close interest by Argentina, Chile and Peru, where pseudo-Fascism has attained proportions that cause these Governments to hesitate to force an issue.

200,000 GREEN-SHIRTS

The Integralista originated a year ago as a civilian organisation, opposed to President Vargas' military rule, and has grown rapidly. Senor Salgado announced recently that there are now 200,000 Green-Shirts, a like number not enrolled in the militia, and monthly subscriptions totalling £13,000.

Integralism, like other forms of Fascism, would outlaw Communism and Socialism. Its motto is, "For God, Nation and Family." It would make Brazil independent of other nations, as far as practicable. It is opposed to borrowing abroad, on the ground that debt payments absorb too large a proportion of the national income.

It is significant that Integralism is the first political movement in Brazil's history that has succeeded in breaking through the thick walls of State regionalism. In that respect, it parallels President Vargas' efforts to achieve national unity, and its nationalist policies follow closely the President's own political outlook.

UNIFYING INFLUENCE IN INDIA

Sir T. B. Sapru on Common Culture

Times of India 15-6-35

LONDON, June 13.

The importance of a common culture and a common language uniting India was stressed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, speaking at an "at home" given by Dr. Katial, under the auspices of the Hindustani-speaking Union, in honour of Sir Tej Bahadur the retiring Nepalese Minister and the Minister-designate for Nepal.

Sir Tej Bahadur said he found it was politics which divided Indians and culture which united them. He expressed the opinion that excessive stress was laid in the West on the things which divided India. He stressed the importance of language as a bond between Hindus and Muslims. There was again a continuous thread running through in the essentials of culture both in Northern and Southern India from ancient times to the present day.



Sir T. B. Sapru

APPEAL TO YOUTH

Regretting the barren controversy between Hindi and Urdu, Sir Tej Bahadur referred to the Hindus' contribution to the development of Urdu literature. He urged the younger generation to eschew such divisions as at present existed and bend its activities to the devotion of a common culture. "You cannot hope for a common religion in India", concluded the speaker, "but can hope for a common culture. Unity founded on that basis will be well worth having".

Sir Abdul Qadir, President of the Union, pointed out that the name of the Union had been purposely chosen to avoid the Hindi-Urdu controversy and stressed their desire to see Hindustani as widely diffused as possible.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is leaving England on June 16, spends some days on the Continent and arrives in Bombay July 8. He told an interviewer that he had received valuable help in connection with his inquiries into middle class unemployment in India from the London County Council, the Ministries of Health and education, and the authorities of Oxford and Cambridge universities.—Reuter.

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